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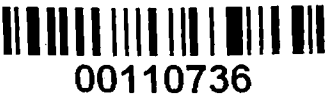

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THE

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

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EDITED, WITH A PREFACE AND APPENDIX, BY

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'The Old Testament will still be a New Testament to him who comes with a fresh desire of information' .....FULLER.

B. b

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK II.

THE THEOCRACY.

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 1

SECTION I. ISRAEL IN EGYPT: TRAINING FOR THE THEOCRACY . . 3

A. INFLUENCE OF THE RESIDENCE IN EGYPT UPON THE ISRAELITES 3

I. THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION 3

II. THEIR ALTERED POSITION 10

B. RISING OF ISRAEL IN EGYPT: MOSES 15

I. SURVEY OF AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF MOSES . 15

1. External Evidences 17

2. Catalogues of Encampments, &c. 21

3. Fragmentary Character of the Histories of Moses . 24

1) Earliest Fragments 26

2) Book of Origins 26

3) Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators . . . 28

4. Rare mention of Moses 31

II. BEGINNING OF THE RISING OF ISRAEL 34

III. BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF MOSES 41

IV. MOSES AS A PROPHET OF THE TRUE GOD AND AS A MAN . 47

1. How he became Prophet 47

2. As a Prophet 49

3. As not more than Man 53

C. STRUGGLE IN EGYPT, AND EXODUS OF ISRAEL . . . 57

I. STRUGGLE IN EGYPT 57

II. PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA 70

III. STRUGGLE AND EXODUS FROM THE EGYPTIAN POINT OF VIEW 76

1. Manetho 76

2. Chaeremon and Lysimachus 84

3. Hellenistic Romancers 88

4. Review of these Accounts 92

SECTION II. DEVELOPMENT AND MATURITY OF THE THEOCRACY UNDER MOSES AND JOSHUA . . . . . PAGE 95

A. THE GIVING OF THE LAW AT SINAI, AND THE COVENANT . 95

I. JOURNEY TO SINAI 95
1. Starting 95
2. Digression to Sinai 97
3. Rest there 101
a.) Promised Deliverance 105
b.) Its Conditions 105
c.) The Covenant sealed 106

II. NATURE OF THE LEGISLATION 106
1. Fundamental Idea 108
1) Its Nature 108
a.) Of God as Spirit 111
b.) As Kindred to Man 112
c.) As Redeemer 112
2) Its Limits 114
a.) As imposing Commands 114
b.) As requiring constant Observance . . . 116
c.) As directed to Israel alone 117
2. Consequences of the Fundamental Idea . . . 120
1) In relation to God 120
a.) God Unchangeable and One 120
b.) God incapable of Representation by Images . 123
c.) God Holy and Spiritual 128
d.) God the great Protecting Power . . . 131
2) In relation to the Community 135
a.) Equality of all before Jahveh 136
b.) Distinction of Vocations 139
(*i*) The Prophet 139
(*ii*) The Priest 141
(*iii*) Other Offices 143
c.) The Covenant a free Act 143
3) The Government: the Theocracy 145
3. Regulations and Morals 151
1) Old Institutions retained 151
2) New Institutions 153
3) Hostility to Heathens 154
4. The name Jahveh (Jehovah) 155
5. The Decalogue and its Ten Clauses 158
1) Its Nature and Object 158
2) Similar Series of Ten Commandments . . . 164
a.) Lev. xix. 164
b.) Ex. xxi. 2–xxiii. 19 166
c.) Lev. iv–vii. 168

B. THE VICISSITUDES AND FINAL VICTORY UNDER MOSES . . 169

I. VICISSITUDES 169
1. Elevation and Relapses of the Age 169
1) Faithlessness of the People in the Desert . . 172
2) Mutiny 177
a.) Moses does not punish 179
b.) The Mutineers are destroyed 180
c.) A Plague is sent 180
d.) Aaron's Rod 180
3) Idolatry 181

SECTION II. DEVELOPMENT AND MATURITY OF THE THEOCRACY UNDER MOSES AND JOSHUA—*continued.*

PAGE

2. Survey and Chronology of the Wanderings . . . 185
1) Frustration of direct March to Canaan . . . 188
2) Residence at Kadesh 193
3) Difficult March thence to Canaan 197

II. LAST PERIOD UNDER MOSES 202
1. His last Activity 202
2. His Death. Balaam's Blessing 211

III. IDEAS ON THE GRANDEUR OF MOSES AND HIS AGE . . 216

C. THE GREAT VICTORIES UNDER JOSHUA'S LEADERSHIP . . 229

I. AUTHORITIES RESPECTING HIM 229

II. JOSHUA'S HISTORY IN GENERAL 235

III. JOSHUA'S VICTORIES IN PARTICULAR 244
1. At Jericho and Ai 244
2. At Ajalon 250
3. In the North 252

IV. END OF THE HISTORY OF JOSHUA. DIVISION OF THE LAND, AND ORIGIN OF THE NEW COMMUNITY . . . 254
1. Completion of the Constitution 258
2. Power of the Nation to hold its own 262
3. Joshua's Retirement 266

SECTION III. PERIOD FROM JOSHUA TO THE MONARCHY. DECAY OF PURE THEOCRACY 269

A. THE DEFINITE SETTLEMENT OF THE TRIBES 274

I. TERRITORIES OF THE TRIBES 274
1. Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh); Benjamin . . 276
1) Joseph 276
2) Separation of Ephraim and Manasseh . . . 279
3) Benjamin 281
2. Judah, Simeon, Dan 283
1) Judah 283
2) Simeon 287
3) Dan 289
3. The four Northern Tribes 290
4. The Transjordanic Tribes 294

II. SURVEY OF THE SETTLEMENT; BOUNDARIES OF THE NATION . 303

III. THE PORTION OF LEVI 308

IV. THE GOVERNMENT AFTER JOSHUA 311

B. INSULATION OF THE TRIBES; RELAXATION OF THE NATIONAL BOND; POPULAR FREEDOM 315

I. RELAXATION OF THE NATIONAL BOND 315
1. In the South 316
2. In Ephraim and the North 320
3. Beyond the Jordan 323

II. EXTERNAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE DISINTEGRATION; NEW HEATHEN KINGDOMS 326

SECTION III. PERIOD FROM JOSHUA TO THE MONARCHY. DECAY OF PURE THEOCRACY—*continued.* PAGE

1. The Canaanites 326
1) In Judah and Ephraim 328
2) In Benjamin 330
3) In the North 331
2. The Eastern Nations 332
3. New Philistine Kingdoms 338

III. INTERNAL RESULTS OF THE DISINTEGRATION . . . 339
1. The Confederate Cities 339
2. Manners of the Levites 344
3. Manners of the People 350
4. Progress in Art and Literature 353

C. COMMENCEMENT OF AN IMPERFECT HUMAN GOVERNMENT. THE JUDGES 357

I. INTRODUCTORY 357
1. The Struggle out of Anarchy 357
2. Dictatorial Power of the Judges 361
3. Preparation for regular Monarchy 362

II. NUMBER, ORDER, AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE JUDGES . . 363
1. Biblical Assertions 363
2. Conclusions drawn therefrom 367
3. Other Opinions 371

III. HISTORY OF THE JUDGES 373
1. The First Judges, to Deborah 373
2. Gideon and his Sons 379
3. The Last Judges 390
1) Jephthah and Samson 392
a.) Jephthah, the Hero of Gilead 392
b.) Samson, the Nazirite and Judge . . . 396
(*i*) His History 396
(*ii*) Its Form 401
a) His Marriage with a Philistine . . 404
b) His Quarrels with the Philistines . 405
c) The Harlot of Gaza 406
d) Delilah 407
e) Samson's tragical end . . . 407
(*iii*) Additions by the Last Narrator . . 408
2) Eli, the High Priest and Judge 408
a.) Eli's Life 408
b.) The Fortunes of the Ancient Sanctuary . 413
(*i*) Of the Tabernacle 413
(*ii*) Of the Ark 415
(*iii*) Destruction of the Sanctuary . . 418
3) Samuel, the consecrated Prophet and Judge . 419
a.) His Character as Nazirite and Prophet . 421
b.) His Life 425
c.) His Guidance of the Nation towards Monarchy 427

APPENDIX.

DISSERTATION BY THE EDITOR ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIVINE NAME יהוה (*Jahveh, Jehovah*) 431

HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BOOK II.

THE THEOCRACY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Migration of Israel into Egypt, and the history of Joseph, stand on the border-land between the preliminary and the actual history of the people. But during the long years of their fixed settlement in Egypt, we see the Israelites not merely enter as an actual people into the clear light of comparatively well known history, but also soon boldly aspire after, and attain to, the supreme rank in that kind of constitution and government which became the most marked and enduring portion of their whole two thousand years' history, and constituted that history's noblest life and its high importance for the general history of the world. This is the THEOCRACY—one among many kinds of rule and polity; as mutable and changeable as any other; passing through the most varied changes and admixtures in Israel, often distorted until all likeness was lost, and weakened so as to threaten total decay, and in semblance found among other nations of antiquity; and yet, in its actual form, unique in this one people, and wholly new on earth—the sole true life and undying breath of its history, always renewing itself on its deepest basis, all chances and changes notwithstanding, and in the course of its development only unfolding itself again to a fuller and riper perfection, till at length it attains to the only true and adequate realisation possible to it. For this Theocracy in Israel is in itself nothing else than the effectual commencement of all true religion in an entire people and realm; and this, like every other necessary great effort and movement in the life of humanity, when once really begun, can find no repose until it attain its full development. As it first appeared,

it was folded, like the grain before it begins to sprout and grow, in the narrowest compass; and then grew to be the purest, and in its original purity the intrinsically strongest, but at the same time the most circumscribed and outwardly weakest—in a word what may be briefly called *pure* Theocracy.

But even this pure Theocracy—at once the commencement of the whole history, and the first of its principal divisions and epochs—did not attain its full maturity and influence as easily, or as rapidly, as a superficial survey might lead us to believe. For it is not until the glorious days of the first complete deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian rule and their irrevocable return from Egypt, that we see its real development and power; and the years which intervened between the giving of the law at Sinai, and the conquest of Canaan under Joshua —a period short indeed, but most influential and decisive for all future time—constitute the highest point, as well as the grand central period of this first long epoch of the entire history. But this elevated point rises very gradually out of the low broad plain of the residence in Egypt; and it is incontrovertible—the history of the whole ancient world in its earliest developments being what it was—that this very Egyptian ground is the only one from which it could arise. For it is only where such an uncommonly high intellectual culture, accompanied by such lofty aspirations, had been already fully developed, as they were in Egypt apparently in the remotest times, and were even ripe enough to be tending to a new and still higher culture, that the living germ of so thoroughly new a life-aim could be first formed, and then developed at so early a date. It was certainly not by chance that the very highest gift bequeathed to us by a remote antiquity germinated on that soil alone, which had already for thousands of years been more deeply intellectualised than any other country on earth; and it is Moses, the greatest hero of this first epoch, and in many respects of the whole history of Israel, whose memory reveals to us most emphatically and distinctly the strict connection of the Egyptian times of Israel with the succeeding ones, and their highest result, the Theocracy. We have therefore full reason to consider all the 430 years of the residence in Egypt as the first stage of this first great epoch, and to examine narrowly, how much light may even now be thrown upon the long night that preceded the day of that era.

SECTION I.

ISRAEL IN EGYPT. TRAINING FOR THE THEOCRACY.

A. INFLUENCE OF THE RESIDENCE IN EGYPT UPON THE ISRAELITES.

I. Their Original Position.

If the emigration of the Israelites to Egypt had the definite ground already assigned, it is explained how the influence of the Egyptians upon Israel could be as strong and lasting as it undoubtedly was. From their position, the Israelites could not bar themselves against the customs and ideas of the ruling nation. The Hyksôs were far more in a position to shut themselves off from the more or less subjugated Egyptians, and yet even they gradually adopted much from that nation of ancient culture.[1] This could not fail to react on the people of Israel also; whose heads, especially the leading tribe of Joseph, necessarily had manifold and important occasions of intercourse with the Egyptian court and the ruling classes. When it is related that Joseph obtained from Pharaoh in marriage, Asenath a daughter of Potipherah, priest of Ôn or Heliopolis;[2] and that Moses was brought up by a daughter of Pharaoh, and therefore initiated, as later writers naturally added, in all the wisdom of Egypt; when even Joseph's Egyptian title of rank and office is still very faithfully preserved;[3] we have every reason to see in all this only a few striking reminiscences of the strong influence of a people of ancient culture and established government upon a less cultivated nation associated with them. Even some Egyptian words naturalised in Hebrew serve as constant witnesses to the intimate connection between the two nationalities.[4]

[1] This follows from what was noticed, i. p. 388, 399, of the recent excavations by Mariette and De Rougé on the site of the ancient Tanis, though many of the views advanced by them may be as yet unproved.

[2] Gen. xli. 45, 50.

[3] Ψονθομφανήχ. Gen. xli. 45, according to the LXX., who here undoubtedly preserve more accurately the Egyptian pronunciation. On the Hebrew pronunciation see my *Lehrb.* § 78 b. The entire description of the elevation of Joseph, ver. 40–45, with its peculiar words and accurate delineations is evidently derived from the earliest narrator; only ver. 44 appears added by the Fifth Narrator, as a mere explanation to ver. 40. How easily, on the other hand, an Egyptian slave was adopted into the noblest houses of Israel, is shown by the ancient narrative in 1 Chron. ii. 34 sq.

[4] The names for weights, אֵיפָה and הִין, especially belong here (comp. Böckh's

How penetrating Egypt's influence, especially on the mind of Israel, was, and how hard it was for many Israelites to forget the charms of the land and soil as well as of the peculiar intellectual life of Egypt, the subsequent history shows by no obscure indications; for, especially in certain gloomy moments of the Mosaic times, the heart of the people suddenly turned back, and the old longing awoke again for the customs and ideas to which they had been habituated during the long residence in Egypt.

Still we must guard against exaggerating the influence of Egyptian life upon the Israelites during those centuries. On this subject it is most instructive to form a clear idea of what this people really was in those old times, and what powerful instincts it possessed which separated it widely from the Egyptians. Though some of these traits have been already noticed, they must now be discussed more fully and systematically.

Above all, the Israelites, on their settlement in Egypt, were much simpler in habits and culture than the Egyptians, and therefore incapable of taking any pleasure in their religion, already degraded into superstition through artificiality and over-subtlety. The refined ideas on the personality and independent life of the spirit, the sacredness of life, the immortality of the soul, and the mysterious judgment after death reserved for all humanity, had long been held most vividly by the Egyptians, even in that distant age. But they had very early been so grievously complicated with many extraneous coarse and sensual notions, as to lead to that curious worship of animals and of the dead,[1] in which the priests kept the people implicated down to the latest times. No sharper antithesis to this ingenious and yet utterly sensuous system of religion could be found than the God and the worship of Israel. The religion

Metrol. Unters. p. 244 sq.), also אָחוּ *Nile-grass*, and יְאֹר *Nile*, although these gradually attained a wider signification. Others, as חֳרָב or חֳרָבָה Job. iii. 14, هَرَام *pyramid* (comp. i. p. 397, and *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1851, p. 431), תֵּבָה κίβωτος, must from their wide diffusion belong rather to the period of the Hyksôs. The question of the possible ultimate connection between these two families of languages, is quite distinct from this, and is treated in my two *Sprachwiss. Abhandl.* 1831 sq.

[1] How natural this animal-worship is, particularly in Africa, may be seen from Livingstone's *Travels*, ii. p. 275, 301; but in Egypt it was affected by the influence of a peculiar and higher system of ideas held by the priesthood. Whether the oldest Egyptian religion was already refined up to so high a point as De Rougé describes in the *Revue Archéol.* 1860, p. 72 sq., ought to be more fully investigated. That Israel was ever attracted towards the true Egyptian animal-worship, is very improbable; and it is equally incapable of proof that the Bull-worship of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes was borrowed from Egypt.

of this nation, as of the other Semites and their nearest kindred, was far simpler, more straightforward, and even more inclined to adhere to bloody offerings than the Egyptian; but (as was shown, i. p. 317 sqq.), from the time of Abraham's influence, it had gained a striking upward tendency towards the lofty and elevating. By nothing are nations, and even the separate members of the same nation, kept asunder so sharply and permanently as by religious differences; and the oldest and greatest example of this which appears in the clear light of history is that which was to be given here. Difference of religion, indeed, divides most easily in cases where other powerful influences work in the same direction, but these also were not wanting here.

The Israelites, though they had entered into a close union with Egypt, had done so only for the special purpose of guarding the north-eastern frontier against Asia. They had therefore originally preserved full independence, and were inspired by all their earlier history with sufficient pride to maintain it for the future. They had obtained this honourable post for their military skill and ardour, at a time when the Egyptians had all this yet to learn; and they therefore remained long practised in arms and dreaded in war. After the times of Egyptian oppression, too, under Moses, and still more under Joshua, they immediately became again a nation of valiant fighters and conquerors.

Their outward habits of life were also quite different from those of the Egyptians. It would, however, be a great mistake to imagine them to have been then a merely roving (or nomadic) pastoral race. Between fixed and roving tribes there are many intermediate grades; on one of these Israel then stood. The love of freedom and independence inherited from earlier times, in conflict with the long-settled nations of Southern Asia and Egypt, created a distaste for being bound to the soil or enclosed in fortified cities as those nations were. So they liked to till the ground where they settled, being already long used to agriculture; but along with this they were fond of rearing extensive flocks and herds, and had greater pride and pleasure in these, which also brought them greater wealth.[1] And, regarding simplicity and freedom as the highest element in religion also,

[1] Thus the lives of the Patriarchs and their relatives are always described, from correct remembrance, Gen. xxvi. 12, xxxvii. 7, Job. i. 14, xxix. 6 sqq., xxxi. 40. Nations of similar hybrid habits are not very uncommon, either in antiquity or now; see Wallin, in the *Journ. of the R. Geogr. Soc.* xxiv. p. 131; Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 328; Vandevelde's *Syria and Pal.* i. p. 254 sq. Ishmael and Esau, on the other hand, were rightly regarded by tradition as gradually sinking lower and lower into the more savage habits of the desert.

they preferred easily movable sanctuaries, and altars open to the sky. They were indeed already in the stage of transition to the completely stationary life, and might soon be reconciled to the advantages as well as the demands of that, if driven towards it by any powerful new impulse from without. At one moment it might seem to a wise man such as Joseph as if the land of Goshen could bind the nation for ever to itself, and transform them into a completely stationary people. This land, extending eastwards from the Bubastic arm of the Nile to the great Arabian desert, has even now a more Arabian than truly Egyptian soil, and, as a pasture-land, has been left by the Egyptians ever since the days of the Hyksôs chiefly to tribes which, besides the necessary agriculture, devote themselves principally to pasturage.[1] Many of the cities which flourished there in ancient times always retained names purely Semitic;[2] and the whole state of affairs in the very district from which the irruption of the Hyksôs once set forth, offered great obstacles to any considerable blending of Egyptian and Semitic life. Here then, and especially so long as they kept within these their first confines, the Israelites long remained in considerable independence and fidelity to their nationality. This locality of the new home of the Israelites, on the border of Egypt, where it was easy to establish connections with Asia, was in itself unfavourable to a rapid absorption into Egyptian nationality. The utterly foreign habits of Israel also tended to the same result: to true Egyptians this hybrid life, divided between tillage and cattle-breeding, was detestable (i. p. 389),

[1] As Herodotus and the rest of the ancients expressly mention; the Copts too call this country *ti Arabia*; on the Pithom named below see especially Herod. ii. 158. Thence also we explain Γεσὲμ Ἀραβίας in the LXX., although it only occurs Gen. xlv. 10, xlvi. 34, instead of the simple Γεσέμ, and looks therefore in these two places like a later explanatory addition.

[2] As מִגְדֹּל or, according to another pronunciation, Μάγδωλον, for which the Copts say *Meshtôl*, i.e. *tower*, or *fortress*. This was the name of a place not far from Pelusium, which is alluded to Jer. xliv. 1, xlvi. 14, Ezek. xxix. 10, xxx. 6; another lay more to the west near Myekphoris, Pithom, and Bubasti (for these two are accurately distinguished in the lists in de Sacy's Abdollatif, p. 617, and in Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. 69, 79); a third, evidently different from both, is the one mentioned only in Numb. xxxiii. 7, and Ex. xiv. 2, because it lay not far from the northern point of the Red Sea; and in truth these three fortresses, north, west, and south, formed the best protection of the boundaries of the entire country for the Hyksôs. Another place here, with a Semitic name, is סְכוֹת *huts*. בַּעַל צְפוֹן is a Semitic transformation; in the same way as the ancient Peremôn was translated by the Greeks into *Pelusion*, by the Arabs into *Thine*, and similarly by the Hebrews into *Sîn*. But such names as *Vicus Judæorum*, in *Itiner. Anton.* (169 Wessel.), and the Arabic *Tell el-Jehud*, which are likewise found in that region, had their origin at a period with which we are not now accurately acquainted, but doubtless a late one; especially as these countries again come into near connection with the Jews at a far later age, the time of Ptolemy Philometor.

partly on its own account, partly from their vivid remembrance of the hated Hyksôs. Such deep-seated differences in the entire mode of life, inherited from the earliest times, always form a very sharp, and often in the long run an incurable separation between nations.

Yet the connection of the Israelites with the Egyptians was after all at first and for a long time so friendly and close, and the superiority of the latter in all the arts of civilised life so great, that in the undisturbed progress of national development the Israelites must inevitably be entangled more and more in the Egyptian habits. Above all it cannot be denied that the Israelites, from that near connection with a people highly civilised even at that early period, learned many of the higher appliances and arts of life, which, as we shall see, they certainly possessed on their Exodus from Egypt, and never afterwards wholly lost. The skilful artificers who assisted Moses in the erection of the sanctuary with their various handicrafts[1] were true Hebrews, but they had doubtless laid the foundation of their art in Egypt. Nor was the case very different with the Semitic art of writing, which the Israelites certainly practised after their abode in Egypt (see i. p. 49 sqq.); and which, according to every indication, was a genuine product of the reciprocal action of Egyptian and Semitic culture. For the idea of moulding the Egyptian hieroglyphic writing to a simple fixed phonetic system would most naturally arise when a nation of non-Egyptian language wished to adapt it to its own wants. Whereas a most imperfect mode of writing may go on essentially unchanged and unimproved among one people and for one language for thousands of years by the mere force of custom,[2] it may yet receive great simplification and improvement, so soon as it is transferred to a perfectly foreign language, for which it was not calculated, and to which it is nevertheless to be applied; because then reflection becomes necessary as to what is really essential, and a new spirit is breathed into the old materials. Just as the Chinese writing has led among the Japanese to syllabaries, and among the Coreans to an alphabet,[3] so the Egyptian must have received from the Hyksôs that momentous simplification and new adaptation, which passed over to the other so-styled Semitic nations. This much we may safely assume generally, because the circumstances themselves warrant it.

[1] Ex. xxxi. 2 sqq., xxxv. 30 sqq., xxxviii. 22 sq., comp. 1 Chron. ii. 20.

[2] Of which the best proof is found in the Semitic writing on the one hand, and the Chinese on the other.

[3] Comp. Abel Rémusat in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. viii. 1827. p. 34–59, and in the *Éléments de la Grammaire japonaise*, par le P. Rodriguez, Paris, 1825.

But to which of the numerous tribes designated by the name Hyksôs the discovery is due, cannot now be ascertained. That it was Israel cannot be proved, and is in itself improbable (i. p. 50. sqq.); but the Israelites undoubtedly appropriated the invention in Egypt, and never lost it again.[1]

This same close contact with Egypt, however, involved the great danger to the Israelitish character, of gradually melting away entirely into the Egyptian, and of thus losing that undeveloped germ of better things which they possessed. The influences which a nation long civilised and grown grey in all the arts of life, exercises on a martial people still quite young and untainted in heart, are seldom improving or salutary. Perhaps there is no country in the world which equally with the luxurious valley of the Nile, by its facilities for the enjoyments of life, permits its old inhabitants to grow perfectly effeminate and morally corrupt, or which so swiftly infects its newly-settled children with the thick and poisonous atmosphere exhaled around them. That on this spot, from the earliest times, an amazing degree of culture was joined with great depravity, the very pictures on the splendid national monuments are unable to conceal; though the dark side of life was the last thing that they would intentionally so perpetuate.

But in the case of a people such as we must imagine Israel to have then been—so full of fresh aspiring energies, and doubtless of ennobling ancestral recollections also: recently raised so high by Joseph, and proud of his memory; and, notwithstanding its intimate connection with the most civilised kingdom of the then world, remaining legally so independent as to its occupation, habits of life, and place of abode—this very danger was in the end more likely to beget a violent reaction against all such Egyptian influences, and an irreconcilable antagonism in the respective tendencies; provided only they did not prove utterly false to themselves, but still preserved a sufficient store of their ancient honest and simple spirit. The greater the error that confronts such a spirit, the more extraordinary may be the new truths to which it is brought in the conflict with that error, and the more resolutely will it hold these hardly-won spoils of the battle; and the many directions in which Egyptian life then went astray afforded a possibility for just so many higher truths, which could only be won in that struggle. Egyptian life had long resigned itself to too

[1] Some attempts have quite recently been made to demonstrate the origin of the twenty-two Semitic letters from the hieroglyphic, or rather from the hieratic writing (see *Revue Archéol.* 1864, i. p. 226); but they are not yet completed.

sensuous a conception of divine things; and with the multitude at least, images of all sorts were obliged to supply the place of the living God. In fact there, earlier than among any people, images of most alluring and seductive aspect became the objects of adoration. Accordingly, by the very power of contrast, the truth that the living God must be quite different from these broke forth at length with all the greater force. The division into castes and the sacerdotal power were early developed in Egypt; and in particular, foreigners, as being hateful to the Gods, were declared unworthy of participation in sacred things. But a people who, like the Israelites, approached the Egyptians in civilisation, and were yet thus repulsed by them, would become all the more jealous of their own dignity;[1] and the truth, that the whole people and the whole community ought to be priestly shone forth in the end with the greater brightness. The kingly power, although often in collision with the priestly, was early carried in Egypt to its furthest limit, and transformed into pure caprice: but this only enabled the truth, that the eternal and purely beneficent sovereignty must be sought elsewhere than in the mortal body of an earthly king, to come forth at length with more irresistible power.

Concerning this long abode in Egypt we possess only scattered fragments of recollections; for the nation, during the bright era which succeeded the deliverance by Moses, looked with gloomy aversion upon a period which had ended in a wearisome oppression. It is therefore utterly impossible here to fill in the details of the history. But regarding only its general result, a single glance shows what an immense advantage the Israelites possessed over all cognate tribes, in standing thus early in such close and enduring contact, whether friendly or otherwise, with the most cultivated nation of that age. For though their life might thus become more harassed and oppressed than that of their kindred tribes who wandered free in Asia, or settled down where their own fancy directed, they early attained that greater dexterity and suppleness, which raised them intellectually high above those; of which tradition has preserved an emphatic image in Jacob's victory in the contest with Esau. And it is clear in the second place that, owing to their peculiar relation to the Egyptians, the only two courses open to the Israelites were, either to suffer their own individuality to be absorbed by the powerful attraction of Egypt, or else to

[1] This feeling is expressed very clearly in the earliest narrative respecting circumcision, particularly in the words Josh. v. 9: 'This day is the reproach of the Egyptians (that you are an impure race) taken from you.'

maintain it by most strenuous opposition. And the great events of the time soon compelled them to decide for one or the other, as no third course lay open.

II. Their Altered Position.

That the connection between Israel and Egypt could not long continue such as it had been when first cemented, and such as it might have lasted during Joseph's life, lies in its very nature, if that has been correctly determined. Though the Israelites may at first have been indispensable for the defence of the frontier against the nations of the east, and so have been joyfully received by Pharaoh as is recorded, yet that usefulness might come to an end so soon as that object appeared to be fully attained. It is always a misfortune for a civilised realm to be obliged to tolerate within its own border a distinct nation with its own law and polity; especially if armed and well equipped. Should the momentary advantage which drew the two parties into such a position towards each other, appear secured, and the danger be no longer pressing, or should irritating differences spring up, then either the more warlike ally, even if inferior in numbers, will absorb the nation it was called in to assist, as the Germans did the Roman Empire, and the Turks the Mohammedan Empire; or else the nation aided will be compelled to use efforts to bring its ally under the influence of its own habits and laws; and, should it encounter opposition, will be only too prone to have recourse to force.

We cannot look upon the people of Israel during this period otherwise than as an uncorrupt, manly, warlike nation, especially in comparison with the Egyptians; for even at its close, after a long course of tyranny, they appear not much depressed. Of this the account of the easy delivery of the healthy Israelite women, in contrast with the Egyptian,[1] may be taken as a significant instance. The Egyptians, greatly their superiors in the sciences and arts, as well as in numbers, were doubtless individually less strong and warlike; but had just then, after expelling the Hyksôs, attained a higher unity and moral strength and a new development of power. If the balance between the two dissimilar nations was so far equal, or if it already inclined on the Egyptian side, the ancient hatred of the Egyptians to the Hyksôs and all their kindred nations, to whom the Israelites belonged, might on the first occasion turn the scale against them. And the fear felt by the rulers (as expressly mentioned in the

[1] Ex. i. 19.

Book of Origins[1]), of the rapid multiplication of this powerful and healthy people, and of the possibility of their leaguing themselves with the enemies of the kingdom—and especially therefore with the Hyksôs—might determine them to begin cautiously to accustom the Israelites by degrees to Egyptian habits, and deprive them of their former independence.

We cannot now exactly determine the way in which all this took place, and how the oppression of the people was increased probably by their resistance. Even the Book of Origins, generally so accurate in its chronology, could determine only three stages in the long period of 430 years, and those only by the reigns of three kings, whose names are not recorded: 'there rose up a new king who knew not Joseph, and gradually laid upon Israel the heaviest burdens; and again in process of time that king died, and Israel sighed, and cried urgently and not in vain to God for help.'[2] Such is the brief and childlike description of the vicissitudes of that long dreary period. It begins with the king who was gracious to Joseph and Israel; in its middle is the tyrant who knew not Joseph, and who chose to know nothing of the promise made to him; and at its close is the king on whose accession the Israelites, as if incapable of further endurance, sent up the most ardent prayers to heaven, and were at length really set free.[3]

There are, however, other accounts preserved in the Book of Origins, which show more distinctly at what time the heavy oppression of Israel began. Among the cities which Israel was compelled to build the Book of Origins, obviously following an ancient tradition, expressly mentions Raamses,[4] which subse-

[1] Ex. i. 9 sq. comp. i. p. 406, 414.

[2] The passages Ex. i. 1–14, ii. 23–25, belong together, and are derived from the Book of Origins. Hence it is obvious that it is unnecessary and erroneous to understand by new king, i. 8, a new dynasty; this is contradicted by the Egyptian history itself (see i. p. 400 sqq.). The error is met with as early as Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9); in his later work against Apion, however, he unintentionally refutes it himself.

[3] We find here, in its pristine distinctness, an instance of a general chronology of particular events, which is very instructive for other cases, especially for the calculation of the three generations of Levi (i. p. 401) belonging to the same period.

[4] Ex. i. 11. The difficulty of determining the exact site of this Raamses is mainly due to the fact, that no city of this name occurs subsequently. We cannot however doubt from the LXX., Gen. xlvi. 28 sq., that at the time of the Ptolemies the city Hero (in Greek, Heroöpolis) was regarded as the metropolis of the eastern part of Egypt; although the chief reason why the LXX. introduced Heroöpolis here was that they erroneously imagined it to be the לְהֹרוֹת (i. p. 413), which they did not understand. It is evident from the connection of their words, that they did not consider it the same as the city Raamses. In modern times, it has been erroneously assumed that it is the same as the city *Avari* or *Abari*, mentioned i. p. 394. The sounds of the two words differ considerably. Even if *Avari* were related to the Coptic *uari*, i.e. *curse*, as some late writers (following Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Phar.* ii. p. 87 sq.) have conjectured, on the ground that, according to Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 26, Avari was by the Egyptians also called *Typhon's city* (though this ex-

quently became the most important city in the land of Goshen,[1] so that the whole region was named from it.[2] But this city undoubtedly received its name from some king of the same name; yet no king of the name Raameses, shortened Ramses (Rampses), alternating with Ramesses, Armesses (but probably not with Armais), occurs at all until the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty (i. p. 403); and even then, according to the extracts from Manetho by Josephus,[3] not until the fourteenth ruler of that house, Armais, the fifteenth Ramesses, and his successor the famous Ramesses Mai-Ammum, under whose long reign Egypt reached the highest degree of power and glory that it ever attained after the expulsion of the Hyksôs. Whether then this city was built and named by this or some earlier Raamses, its building

planation is quite arbitrary, and in my opinion false); yet the sounds are too unlike to be compared with Hero. On the contrary, the Egyptian name for *Abari* was undoubtedly *Typhon's city*; of which the Hebrew equivalent is בַּעַל צָפוֹן i.e. *God Typhon*. According to Numb. xxxiii. 7, Ex. xiv. 2, 9, it lay to the north of the Red Sea, and thus just where the point of conflict was between the Egyptian and Asiatic Hyksôs. And Steph. Byzan. (s.v. Ἡρώ), in making Heroöpolis the scene of Typhon's violent death, as though the word signified *blood*, doubtless mentions the later metropolis of the entire country instead of some definite locality. But we also know that in Egypt *Hero* was the name of a god and a man; and it is remarkable that on the obelisk at Rome, deciphered by the ancient Hermapion, Hero is named as the father of King Ramesses (*Am. Marcell.* xvii. 4), whereas the form Ἡρώων πόλις, i.e. *City of heroes*, in the LXX. and in Strabo, is evidently a mere Greek modification of the name of the city. Now this Hero, from which the ancients named the western arm of the Red Sea, for no other reason probably than because it lay on the Nile-canal which led thither, has, since Bonaparte's expedition, been identified by modern scholars (in accordance with the *Itiner.* of Antoninus, p. 170, ed. Wess.) with *Abu Kêsheb*, so that Raamses would be found in the neighbouring *Turbet Jehudi* (i.e. *Jew's grave*), see *Descrip. de l'Égypte, État mod.* tom. xviii. P. 3, p. 171; if it did not more probably lie still farther to the west. The site of Etham is the principal thing that now enables us to fix its place. At any rate Josephus is mistaken in identifying it with, or in placing it in, the neighbourhood of Letopolis, which occupied the site which Babylon subsequently filled (*Arch.* ii. 15. 1); and he is also refuted by the correct view of the direction of the route taken at the Exodus. Comp. also Lepsius, *Chron. der Aegypter*, i. p. 345 sq.; and Brugsch, *Geogr. Insch.* i. p. 262–66, where is a very instructive old inscription on two cities of Raamses in this district.

[1] Ex. xii. 37; Numb. xxxiii. 3. Just at the time of the Exodus it must have been the capital of Goshen.

[2] Gen. xlvii. 11; where the territory is thus designated even for Joseph's and Jacob's time, by the author of the Book of Origins, who however is quite aware that the city of that name was of later origin. The only other place where the two names are confounded, in speaking of that ancient time, is in the LXX. Gen. xlvi. 28. This confusion, however, would more easily occur if (as we may well suppose) king Raamses built the city that bore his name on nearly the same site which had been occupied by an ancient city of Goshen once inhabited by the Hyksôs, from which the whole adjacent country received its designation. For the name Goshen, or Γεσέμ according to the LXX., has not an Egyptian sound, and afterwards disappears altogether; but that it was an ancient Hebrew name for a city, is clear from Josh. xv. 51; and that it had somewhat the same meaning as *fortress*, so that the whole surrounding district might naturally take its name, is shown by Josh. x. 41, xi. 16.

[3] *Against Apion*, i. 15; slightly different in Africanus in Georgius Syncellus, *Chronogr.* i. p. 134, 136, edit. Bonn, and in Eusebius, *Chron.* i. p. 215, Venetian ed. of the Armen. translation, and according to the better reading. According to Rosellini's *Monum. Storici*, i. p. 240 sqq., the 11th and also the 13th king of this house bore the same name.

cannot at any rate be earlier than the last century of the duration of that dynasty; and even should the heavy oppression of the Israelites have commenced somewhat earlier, we have, according to this, no reason to think of it as lasting much more than fifty years, or at the utmost a century.

It is quite compatible with this very general statement respecting the succession of the Egyptian sovereigns, that the Book of Origins has preserved a more accurate memory of the 'hard and cruel service' to which the Israelites were subjected, and must certainly have long submitted; for it must have occurred as described during the latest period of the sojourn in Egypt, the memory of which was necessarily the most vivid. To break their spirit, it is said, forced labours were imposed on them and task-masters set over them; and by such labours they built royal cities of commerce,[1] two of which, Raamses and Pithom,[2] situate in Goshen, are mentioned by name. The object of this was probably to accustom the Israelites to the stationary town-life already prevalent in the rest of Egypt (i. p. 414 sq.); of course not under terms such as to secure them fixed civil rights, which in case of need they could make good against the sovereign power; but so that they were

[1] Ex. i. 11. The LXX. everywhere understand עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת as *fortresses*, which, as intended to overawe the Israelites who built them, would suit very well; but those are named עָרֵי מָצוֹר. That mercantile towns (properly store-cities) were meant, is seen by the context in such passages as 1 Kings ix. 19, 2 Chron. viii. 4, 6, xvii. 12; comp. xxxii. 28, where they are mentioned with Tadmor, but are distinguished from fortresses and encampments. We have therefore to think of such cities as those commercial cities on the frontier of the Chinese Empire, or those town-like *horrea* which the Romans built in Africa, as described in the *Annuaire de la Soc. Archéol. de Constantine*, 1862, p. 145 sqq.

[2] In Pithom, the Patum of Herod. ii. 158, has long been recognised; and in later times it was named Thûm or Thû, according to the *Itinerarium Antonini*, p. 163, 170, ed. Wessel. (pp. 73, 75, ed. Parth.) According to this it lay to the west of the Raamses mentioned on p. 11 sq., and yet considerably to the east of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile. That it lay west of Raamses follows also from the fact that Israel did not assemble for the Exodus at it, but at Raamses. But these two names of cities and their mutual relation were obscure at a very early date, as appears from the fact that the Lower-Egyptian (Memphitic) translation of the LXX. at Gen. xlvi. 28, 29 puts ⲠⲈⲐⲰⲚ, which is identical with this Pithom, for Heroöpolis. The LXX. indeed here add On or Heliopolis, which lay not far to the north-east of the Egyptian Babylon, and the present Kahira (Cairo); but that truly Egyptian city was much older, and is certainly introduced here only because, according to p. 3 sq., it was connected with the history of Joseph, and in the age of the Ptolemies they liked to fancy Moses himself as having had some connection with it. Still less can we confound Raamses with this On, as Saadia does, Ex. i. 11, actually putting *'Ain elshems* (i.e. Heliopolis) for Raamses, and explaining this name (following Ibn Ezra) as the *sun's eye*, as if it was derived from ⲢⲎ 'sun,' and ⲤⲀⲘⲤ 'to see.' On the question whether the name *Hebrew* occurs in the hieroglyphics, see Birch in Heidenheim's *Deut. Viert. für Eng. theol. Forsch.* for 1865, p. 424 sqq. On the identity of Heliopolis and the Egyptian Babylon, see the Coptic list of places in Lepsius' *Aegypt. Zeitschr.* for 1865, p. 51. Ps. lxxxi. 7 [6] shows traces of a different tradition. See besides the *Book of Jubilees*, ch. xlvi.

brought under a strict discipline which gave the whole advantage to the government. Since the royal will was absolute, they were forced to build these commercial towns, admirably placed on the Asiatic boundary of the kingdom, with their walls, their storehouses, their warehouses and other public buildings, all in the service of the one great monopolist, who in modern Egypt under Mehemet Ali was represented by the Pasha. We are further told that, as the people appeared still to remain too numerous and prolific (for oppression up to a certain point may serve to invigorate a people), the Egyptians made their lives more bitter, by heavy tasks in brick-making, servile field-labours, and other work of the hardest description.[1] The tradition is rather concise, but is explained by similar occurrences in Egypt at the present day, where, according to European travellers, the Pasha occasionally compels the inhabitants of an entire district to make a canal or execute some other public work, without furnishing even to the poorest the most indispensable tools or materials. Such helps may have been withdrawn more and more towards the close from the Israelites, as a punishment for their obstinacy; which would greatly aggravate their despair.[2] Josephus mentions other tasks laid on them—the building of pyramids for instance, and the making of canals;[3] but as he does not indicate his authority, and as the account of the Book of Origins is amply sufficient, and much better suited to the locality, the pyramid building at least may be merely inferred by late writers, whom Josephus follows, from the frequency of such buildings in Egypt.[4]

The Third Narrator,[5] indeed, goes a step further, when he relates that Pharaoh commanded the two Hebrew midwives (i. p. 296 sq.) to kill every new-born Hebrew male child on the spot;[6] and that when these women were found at once too

[1] Ex. i. 12–14.

[2] It is thus described in the long account of the vexations of the people during the last part of their stay, Ex. v. 6 sqq. Wilkinson, indeed (*Mann. and Cust.* vol. ii. p. 98 sqq.), maintains that the brick-makers in Rosellini, *Mon. Civ.* t. xlix. 4 and t. ii. p. 254 sqq., are not Israelites, as had been asserted; but the lighter colour of their skin shows them at least to have been captive Asiatics. All this has been made still clearer by later published discoveries; see Brugsch, *Hist. d'Égypte*, vol. i. pp. 106, 174 sq.

[3] *Ant.* ii. 9. 1. Philo also, in his *Life of Moses*, i. 7 sq., which, however, is pervaded by a very free style of description, mentions the making of canals; and certainly it is more easy to imagine this than the building of pyramids in that part of Egypt.

[4] Proofs of these facts are now thought to be discovered in Egyptian writings; see *Revue Archéol.* 1864, vol. i. p. 228; *Theol. Studien und Kr.* 1863, p. 719 sqq., 727; but the subject must be more fully investigated.

[5] The idea that the passage Ex. i. 15–ii. 22 is derived from a later narrator, is far from confirmed by its general spirit and colouring. I believe it to be a fragment of the work of the Third Narrator, who on other occasions gives great prominence to the person of Moses.

[6] This is the meaning of the controverted expression עַל הָאָבְנָיִם Ex. i. 16; properly 'upon the (two) wheels' (since

wise and too pious to obey, the order was extended to every Egyptian. But that this command, was not so imperative as the one relative to the building of the cities, and that this story is not to be taken as literally as that, is evident from the fact, that besides Moses, who was saved from the Nile, there were so many thousand male Hebrews ready to march with him out of Egypt. Besides it presupposes the whole nation's dwelling near the Nile, which is not quite accordant with the other accounts. It is undeniable that the object of such a tyranny must have been to annihilate the manhood of the people; the narrative however, in its present form, is mainly occupied with Moses, and is intelligible mainly in reference to his history.

Even from the shorter accounts in the Book of Origins it is quite clear that the relation established by Joseph between Israel and Egypt was now entirely dissolved, and that something new must of necessity take its place. From the very commencement of this connection the Israelites had the option of either losing themselves entirely in the life of Egypt (as, in our own day, has been done by the Islamite Fellahs, who migrated from Arabia into Egypt, and have wholly lost their nationality), or else of freeing themselves by a determined effort from its dominion; and the course of events had only brought this alternative before them in a more distinct and urgent form. How the die was cast we must learn from the following period of the actual rising of Israel and from the sublime genius of Moses.

B. RISING OF ISRAEL IN EGYPT: MOSES.

I. Survey of the Authorities for the History of Moses.

With the history of the ultimate rising of the people, as it now lies before us, is closely interwoven that of Moses, its mightiest hero; and thus we here approach one of those periods with whose exceptional grandeur every good man loves to quicken his own spirit, and which he therefore desires to bring fully before him even to the minutest details. For, taking only an outside view, we may discover the surprising greatness of Moses from the fact that it is not merely in this story of the gradual rising of the Israelites and their deliverance from Egypt that his name shines preeminently bright, but also,

the earliest carriages had only two); hence in the midst of driving, without stopping in the course; just as we (Germans) say *flugs* 'on the wing' for *instantly*. This is also the simplest interpretation of עַל אֲבְנָיו Prov. xxv. 11, 'a word nimbly spoken,' Germ. *flink*, i.e. quickly and without hesitation; comp. على جناح طاير Freyt. *Chr.* p. 53, 9.

and if possible with even greater lustre, in the succeeding very different history of the development of the liberated people in Asia. Thus he is the unparalleled hero who sustains the grandeur of two perfectly distinct yet equally exalted epochs. But nearly all these glorious times lie too remote from the mature development of the Israelitish literature preserved in the Old Testament, for us easily to ascertain very many particulars concerning it with historical fulness and certainty; so that an inquiry into the sources of the history becomes an imperative preliminary. And as we cannot, with regard to these sources, completely separate the whole long life of Moses into two halves, we must here treat of the authorities for the history of his whole life and his times generally.

To fathom such an actual life as that of Moses, would be one of the most difficult of historic problems, did we even possess the most abundant materials. For we here approach a power which produces the mightiest and most lasting results, but which works in a mysterious privacy, which in its own nature is hard to apprehend, and is especially difficult for us of a later age to penetrate. Our life moves in the midst of those very truths which received their first currency and acknowledgment from Moses and other minds like his; we are sustained and protected by them; we live in the hourly enjoyment of their blessed fruits. But the very ease with which we now move in their sphere, tempts many, learned and unlearned, to regard their first establishment and promulgation as a light affair. How few are now able to appreciate the power which first and alone grasps such truths, and is then able also to connect them with the innermost life of a nation, and thus permanently establish them in the world! There is still great difference of opinion among us about Mohammed, although we can all judge him without bias, and although we possess numerous and well-preserved documents by which to discern his life and character.[1] How much more difficult is it to conduct such an inquiry satisfactorily, when it concerns the founder of a religion, who towers far above Mohammed both in depth of spirit and permanence of influence, and whom nevertheless the extant historical records do not exhibit to us in anything like the same vividness and authenticity!

Hence some and in other respects by no means contemptible writers of our own day have turned the light of history into

[1] I pointed this out in the *Zeitsch. für das Morg.* vol. i. p. 87 sqq., and in a notice of G. Weil's Life of Mohammed, in the *Zeitsch. für Geschichtswiss.* vol. i. (Berlin, 1844) p. 170 sqq.

total darkness over the head of this—next to Christ—greatest founder of a religion; and some among us have doubted whether Moses ever lived, or whether anything certain can now be asserted respecting him.[1] But this is only the language of a despair that knows not how to use the still extant records, and restore by their means distinctness to the historic picture.

Of the early life of Moses up to the Exodus the present records of the Old Testament furnish, it is true, only meagre accounts, and chiefly such as have already passed through several forms. But precisely for this period of the history we encounter some Egyptian traditions, which have taken root independently of the Hebrew narratives, and are therefore all the more welcome as filling up many blanks in our historical survey. These we shall subsequently examine in one series.

As soon as ever the history passes from Egypt to Asia, we completely lose the advantage of being able to compare foreign reports, or at least traditions, with the Hebrew ones. The nations with which Israel then came in contact already possessed some kind of historical records, as several indications show (i. p. 52): and their annals may have contained much respecting the conquests and the wonderful qualities of the people of Israel: but all such documents are lost to us now. The perfect silence of all foreign accounts of that period, however, is compensated by the fuller and more authentic records preserved by the people themselves, which only require to be correctly brought together and consulted.

When we review the records of the Old Testament as our chief means of reconstructing this history, we perceive on a closer survey that their number is made up of such various kinds, that we must commence any nearer acquaintance with the history as a whole, by distinguishing and describing the varied fragmentary recollections of those times.

1. This is the earliest period of which several notable external evidences, enduring in the life of the community itself, and thus constituting an indestructible basis of genuine historical reminiscence, had been preserved at the date of the older narrators and particularly of the author of the Book of Origins. These are primarily objects of art, which, as well from their nature as from the way in which they are described, could only have come into existence during that period, and be handed down from it to succeeding generations, as venerable

[1] I have spoken of it in the Berlin *Jahrb. für Wissenschaftl. Kritik*, 1836, No. 11 sq., and elsewhere.

heirlooms of the glorious Mosaic age. As surely as the Ten Commandments are due to Moses (as we will soon show), so likewise the two Tables of stone, the oldest and most sacred monument of the Mosaic religion, date from that age. The duality of the stone Tables corresponds exactly with the true division of the Ten Commandments into two equal halves, of which the one contains the five precepts respecting what the Romans called *pietas*, and the other the five relating to social duties. Even the older chief narrator knows these Tables of stone as the most sacred of visible relics, inscribed by the finger of God himself, and, like the Palladium of the Trojans, brought down[1] from heaven to earth. We also know that in Solomon's time they were still in the Ark of the Covenant, an especial relic almost too sacred for the touch of human hands, and therefore were also deposited unchanged in their wonted place in the new Temple.[2] As to the other sacred relics, the Ark at all events belongs to this period, as it contained and preserved the Tables of stone, and was the outward sign of the Holy Place to the community; and it was therefore also transferred almost unchanged into Solomon's Temple.

Besides these antiquities, derived without doubt from Moses, many of the other things which the author of the Book of Origins ascribes to the Mosaic age, may really belong to that early period. If we examine the Tabernacle, we cannot indeed be sure that it descended from Moses complete and unchanged, with all the specialities described by the author of the Book of Origins; for the most ancient account shows that altars of a much simpler kind sufficed at an early part of the Mosaic age,[3] and in particular the Golden Altar[4] from its entire character and position may have been a somewhat later addition, although one which in David's time had long been considered indispensable. But as a whole the Tabernacle is proved by unmistakable indications to have been derived from the early times of the wanderings. It was only the most sacred of the many tents of a migratory people, resembling the general's tent in the midst of a camp; and according to the minute description of it, all the objects belonging to it were adapted for carrying, like those of an ordinary tent. In fact, by the use of the word *tent* at a much later period to designate the holy place,[5] the Temple of Solomon itself, notwithstanding all its splendour and its expanded proportions, shows itself to be only a tent on a large scale, though no longer portable. In like

[1] Ex. xxxi. 18; comp. xxxii. 16.
[2] 1 Kings viii. 9.
[3] Ex. xx. 24 sq.
[4] Ex. xxx. 1–7. See *Alterth.* pp. 134 sqq., 374 sq.
[5] Ps. xxvii. 5 sq., lxi. 5; Ezek. xli. 1.

manner it is not without reason that the Book of Origins, besides the Tabernacle and its vessels, ascribes the costume and decorations of the priests to a heavenly pattern and sanction.[1] From this we at once conclude, that in David's time these things were considered to have descended from the sanctity of the Mosaic age; and a closer examination confirms their high antiquity. A memorable tradition[2] expressly ascribes the origin of the staff of the High Priest, and its deposition in the sanctuary, to the time of Moses; and in fact in those antique times this sceptre must have had as high a significance, and been as carefully preserved as the imperial insignia in any other realm. Even the small pot of manna which, according to the Book of Origins,[3] was preserved as an eternal remembrance, must, if we rightly estimate the character of that book, be supposed to have actually existed in the sanctuary at the time when it was written, and been publicly exhibited at the usual repetitions of the sacred history in that place.

Still more important, however, is the conservation of actual laws, sayings and songs by Moses and his contemporaries; a considerable number of which are discoverable by a careful examination, although we ought to be perfectly satisfied if only a few thoroughly authentic utterances of so remote a time could be proved to be genuine. There is no well-founded doubt that the Ten Commandments are derived from Moses, in their general import, their present order, and even in their peculiar language. They are genuinely Mosaic in essence, and comprise the highest truths which the new religion brought into the world, in so far as they may be summed up in a few short sentences for everybody, and are expressed with so much precision and order as of itself to indicate a superior mind. Their arrangement possesses the most antique simplicity imaginable, and has itself become the model of many similar series of laws, in groups of five and ten. They are moreover twice (Ex. xx. and Deut. v.) placed at the head of all expositions of the Mosaic religion; and in both cases distinctly marked as most sacred and peculiar words. And whereas there are several peculiar expressions[4] even in the ten very brief sentences of which they undoubtedly originally consisted, both the copies now extant insert several additions and explanations—an infallible criterion of a very ancient text variously

[1] Ex xxv. 1–9.

[2] Num. xvii. 16-28 [1–13]; comp. xx. 9.

[3] Ex. xvi. 32–34.

[4] E. g. Ex. xx. 3; no other gods עַל פָּנַי *before me*, i. e. as if they desired to obscure me and take my place; an unusual expression, comp. Psalm xvi. 2; and ver. 17, to covet *the house*, i.e. as it is correctly explained in Exodus, any sort of real property belonging to the neighbour.

interpreted in after-times; of a text in this respect without a parallel in the Old Testament. In Deut. v. we discover still greater license in the transcription of an ancient copy.

We are not indeed able to point out many large series of laws as derived directly from Moses. But, beyond doubt, single utterances of an archaic and very peculiar character, which from their whole spirit, and generally from their position also, can be ascribed to no other master-mind than Moses himself, can be detected in various places. The identical explanations[1] which we find in the first five of the Ten Commandments in Exodus and Deuteronomy, improbable though it be that they were on the Table of Stone, may yet, as to their meaning, and mostly as to their tone also, very likely belong to Moses; since their meaning and expression are not less peculiar than those of the Ten Commandments, and since, as we will show, they are connected with these by an internal tie. Again, the peculiar and pregnant description of Jahveh as to his twofold moral characteristics, which is interwoven as an explanation in the Decalogue, Ex. xx. 5 sq., Deut. v. 9 sq., is repeated with but little variation in other passages of an elevated tone; as if all later writers on the Mosaic Age regarded it as being, like the Ten Commandments, an ancient set phrase by Moses himself. It occurs as Jahveh's designation of himself, by which he, like a king, announces himself with all his titles;[2] and it is more freely introduced into Moses' prayer.[3] And as the Ten Commandments were law for every one without exception among the whole people, they have a worthy counterpart[4] in a similar emphatic declaration concerning the Priests: their distinction from the laity, as well as the heavy responsibility of such a position, could not in the genuine Mosaic sense, be more sharply defined than it is there; and that declaration is there quoted as ancient and well known. We may certainly also include in this class the glorious words of the true Gospel wherewith the Jahveh-religion is announced to the whole people.[5] Moreover all these statements—those in the Ten Commandments as well as the others—have this in common, that the purely prophetic declarations respecting Jahveh are given in the first person, Jahveh himself speaking the command;[6] and it is matter of history that this is found only in Moses himself. There are other sayings which we may well conjecture to belong to this class.[7]

[1] Of those which are not identical we do not speak.

[2] Ex. xxxiv. 6 sq.; comp. xxxiii. 19, just as in the Decalogue.

[3] Num. xiv. 18.

[4] Lev. x. 3.

[5] Ex. xix. 4–6.

[6] In the expression, '*I am Jahveh!*'

[7] As in the remarkable discourse, Ex. xvi. 6 sq., which has already received a different exposition, ver. 8, from a later narrator.

Further, those hymns and songs or fragments of songs which every indication shows to belong to Moses' time, occupy an important place here. The beautiful and simple blessing pronounced by the priest upon the community, which was ever retained in after times,[1] evidently sprang from the Mosaic period, as certainly as did the military words of command,[2] which were spoken when the sacred camp set forward or halted. In these antiquely simple but powerful and beautiful utterances there is nothing contrary to the age and spirit of Moses; the first poetically describes the peaceful and the second the warlike feelings of the community during that primeval age; and it is remarkable how both—the peaceful and the warlike congregational chant—became the foundation of all later congregational songs, and were reproduced and remodelled for a later age in two successive Psalms, lxvii, lxviii. What a joyous exultation of feeling animated the whole people in the Mosaic age, and on what varied occasions it flowed forth in the brief winged words of popular song, is shown by two songs preserved entire[3]—speaking memorials of the glory of the last days of Moses. We also discover traces of other songs which belong to that early period;[4] and the fine triumphal song in Ex. xv. belongs, in its present extent, at latest to a period very soon after Moses, but its basis and germ are certainly to be referred to the fresh enthusiasm of the time of Moses.

2. But we also find connected records of the course of events during the long period of the wanderings, which must have been written very early, and which, if we only possessed them in greater abundance, would still enable us to trace the outlines of the entire history of that period. Of this kind there has come down to us complete a very remarkable catalogue of the places where the Israelites encamped, from the time of their departure from Egypt to their arrival at the Jordan.[5] This catalogue, in its present form and position, betrays indeed that it has not only been inserted, but also dressed and shaped, by the author of the Book of Origins; for we easily recognise his peculiar style from the first, and trace it consistently throughout the whole. The Book of Origins, when it before described the various marches, and treated at length of the memorable events occurring at each encampment, always enumerated the very same encampments in the very same terms as we find here.[6] And in here, at the close of the wanderings,

[1] Num. vi. 24-26.
[2] Num. x. 35 sq.
[3] Num. xxi. 17 sq. and 27-30.
[4] Ex. iii. 15 and xvii. 16.
[5] Num. xxxiii. 1-49.
[6] וַיִּסְעוּ מִן־ and וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּ־ used quite differently in the passage Num. xxi. 16-20.

summing up all the encampments in one series, the writer evidently only means to bring the history, previously minutely detailed, and often with long pauses at the several encampments, closer together, and to conclude it, according to his practice, with a brief summary. At the same time, however, he does not scruple, in his partiality for fulness and pleasing refrains, on mentioning some encampments, briefly to repeat some events which have been more fully described before,[1] in their proper place. Nevertheless it is equally certain, that the author of the Book of Origins met with this catalogue as a very ancient and authentic document, and as such made use of it; for he himself expressly mentions that it was written by Moses,[2] and how much that phrase signifies in his mouth, and how certainly therefore this document must be very ancient, has been explained, i. p. 122. In fact he so evidently makes this summary of the encampments of the Israelites the groundwork of his entire minute description of that period of forty years, that he divides the numerous and various occurrences which he has to represent in detail, in accordance with the encampments therein named, which is inexplicable unless he had really received the catalogue from tradition and considered it the most ancient and trustworthy record of the events of that period. And how otherwise could he have known so accurately these forty-two encampments? Observe moreover, that they appear on examination to be quite historical, and contain the most correct memorials of the whole varied course of the nation's fortunes during that period, and represent them with greater accuracy and vividness than the Book of Origins is able to do in its detailed narrative. Now a series of forty-two encampments may be readily retained in the memory of one or two generations, and partly at least with the greater ease from the fact that occasionally the people passed through the desert upon long-known caravan-tracks. But when we reflect how dim and confused the recollection of the commonest things of the desert —manna, for instance, and water—must have become at the time of the Book of Origins, it will appear perfectly impossible that the memory should have retained this long series of forty-two desert-stations, some of them otherwise quite unknown. We may add that the ancient catalogue has peculiarities of

[1] Ver. 3 sq. comp. Ex. xii. 1–51; ver. 6, comp. Ex. xiii. 20; ver. 7, comp. Ex. xiv. 2. 9; ver. 8 and ver. 9, comp. Ex. xv. 22 and 27; ver. 14, comp. Ex. xvii. 1; ver. 37–39, comp. Num. xx. 22–29; so much so that even Num. xxi. 1, which commences another narrative and has little connection with the present passage, might seem to be repeated here, xxxiii. 40, unless this verse 40, which seems out of place, be here repeated through the mistake of a later transcriber.

[2] Num. xxxiii. 2.

nomenclature: in it the name 'Desert of Paran' current in the Book of Origins,[1] is wholly unknown; and it is only through an easily discernible alteration that the name Kadesh,[2] a favourite in that book, has been admitted into ver. 36 sq. of the catalogue.

It is certain, then, that the author of the Book of Origins made this very ancient catalogue, Num. xxxiii, the basis of his enlarged narrative; and yet it is surprising that not nearly all the forty stations therein enumerated are separately named by him during its course.[3] We might easily account for this circumstance by the supposition that all the encampments were originally mentioned in the Book of Origins, each in its own place, without omitting one; and that a later reviser had left out those now missing. That many names may really have been lost in that revision, cannot well be denied, considering its general character as described at i. p. 113 sqq.; just as many links must likewise have dropt from the chain of the chronology of these forty years. Nevertheless, when we reflect that the author of the Book of Origins clearly allowed himself some freedom in the use of this document,[4] and that the eighteen camp-stations, which are wanting in Num. xii. 16, are given by him in the final summary in Num. xxxiii. without any parenthetical observations, of which in general he is not sparing: we feel more inclined to the view, that he is himself responsible for the chief omission, that of the eighteen encampments, and hurries the narrative over that break with so slight a hitch, only because he was without any clearer or more complete tradition respecting that section of the wanderings. Hence arises a fresh argument for the high antiquity of the catalogue in Num. xxxiii., as well as for the expediency of at any rate introducing it in full at the close of the detailed narrative.

But this important catalogue, Num. xxxiii, was not the only one of its kind. We find elsewhere some small fragments in a different style;[5] and the list of seven camp-stations in Num.

[1] Num. x. 12, xii. 16, xiii. 3, 26, comp. Gen. xxi. 21.

[2] Num. xiii. 26, xx. 1, 22, comp. xxxiv. 4; Deut. xxxii. 51.

[3] In the detailed account we find several encampments omitted; as the Red Sea for the 7th encampment, ver. 10, comp. Ex. xvi. 1; then the 9th and 10th, ver. 12 sq., comp. Ex. xvii. 1; the 15th to the 23d, for all which the writer has apparently intentionally substituted the great desert of Paran or Kadesh, Num. xi. 35, xii. 16, xiii. 3, 26 (comp. xx. 1, where however Kadesh is treated as identical with the desert of Zin); also the 35th and 36th encampments, ver. 41 sq., comp. Num. xxi. 4, 10; and lastly the 39th to the 41st, ver. 45–47 (instead of which Num. xxi. 12–20 mentions encampments differing at least in name); whereas the last encampment, ver. 48 sq., does recur in Num. xxi. 1, comp. xv. 1.

[4] E.g. in this, that he, as already shown, in Num. x–xiii. and especially xii. 16, gives the general name 'the Desert of Paran,' instead of other more specific names.

[5] In Deut. x. 6 sq. a fragment of a similar catalogue is inserted, which, al-

xxi. 12–20 is very different from Num. xxxiii. These seven must correspond to the three specified in Num. xxxiii. 45–47; but even the names as well as the numbers are quite different. The very tone of the description itself is changed from the eleventh verse; it is itself conciser, but (according to ver. 14) borrows from an older and apparently more poetical work many detailed descriptions of places in ver. 14 sq. and ver. 20 (see i. p. 67 sq.). We can readily understand the possibility of different statements respecting the camp-stations. The forty-two mentioned in the complete list in Num. xxxiii. were to all appearance only the principal stations, where the Ark of the Covenant took up a fixed position in the centre of the wide-spread camp for some time, and frequently after a journey of several days.[1] It was therefore easy to reckon up other encampments where the people had remained for a shorter time; or, from the great extent of the whole camp, more than one name might be given to the same encampment by the people themselves—not to mention that many wide tracts have several names; and in fact we do elsewhere find names of places where the people halted by reason of some event, which are not recorded in Num. xxxiii.[2] But, granting all these possibilities, the conclusion only acquires greater force, that the fragment on the seven camp-stations in Num. xxi. 12–20 belonged to another catalogue, also extremely ancient, but widely different in details. It is of the greatest importance to us, however, that we are still able to discover such ancient documents of strictly historical contents and value. We will not and cannot affirm that these catalogues were kept during the journey, or written down at once during its last year; but at a much later period they cannot have been attempted.

3. With respect to the narratives themselves, the first thing which forces itself on our notice is, that notwithstanding their riches in many parts, derived often from quite different sources, they still contain many gaps which cannot escape an attentive

though on the whole agreeing with Num. xxxiii. 31–33, nevertheless diverges so far from it in the form of the local names (sometimes indeed only in the punctuation גֶּדְגָּד and גֻּדְגֹּדָה), in the order of the resting places, and especially in the casual mention of the place of Aaron's death, that it must be derived from a distinct and independent source; and from an equally divergent authority is most likely derived the statement in Deut. ii. 13 sq. respecting the encampment at the brook Zared, comp. Num. xxi. 12.

[1] The expression 'after three days' journey' which often occurs, Num. xxxiii. 8, x. 33; Ex. xv. 22, comp. Ex. iii. 18 sqq.; Gen. xxx. 36 and xxii. 4, is seen by its frequent repetition to be a round number, almost as much as a 'seven days's journey' used in a somewhat different sense in Gen. xxxi. 24, 2 Kings iii. 9.

[2] As Meriba and Massa, Num. xx. 13, 24; Ex. xvii. 7; Taberah, Num. xi. 3; apparently introduced, like all these encampments not mentioned in Num. xxxiii, from the earliest historical work.

observation. These losses and defects may be in part original, such as even the earliest historian was unable to supply and fill up. For we have no reason to think that the contemporaries or immediate successors of Moses wrote his history at great length; on the contrary, we have just seen in the important case of the eighteen camp-stations which even the Book of Origins treats as a blank, how soon certain links of the remote history were dimmed in the memory. But other omissions (and this is to us more extraordinary) can only be accounted for by the superfluity of written narratives which later revisers pruned away, and by the manifold variety and diversity of matter, which later compilers felt called upon to simplify. Thus the Fifth Narrator has introduced breaks into the chronology. We sometimes find a certain Hur[1] mentioned together with Aaron, and as his equal, but we possess no other trace of him. We perceive that he must have played an important part in the fuller traditions; moreover he is mentioned quite briefly and abruptly in those passages as a person as well known as Aaron; and yet in our extant circle of traditions we cannot even trace his genealogy.[2] Compare with this the exact description of the pedigree of Aaron and of his four often-named sons;[3] and bear in mind that the primitive account above all could not have introduced a man of such importance in so perfectly incidental and obscure a manner; and then it will be granted that the written accounts from which the Fifth Narrator takes his mention of this man must have spoken of him much more in detail. The following may serve as another example. The father-in-law of Moses, first mentioned in Ex. ii, must, from all the traces we can discover,[4] have been one of the most important characters connected with the history of Moses; but how fragmentary and sometimes contradictory are the extant short accounts of him! According to the Book of Origins he was called Hobab son of Raguel,[5] but according to the still earlier narrator, Jethro;[6] and this name is adopted also by the Third and Fifth Narrators.[7] That Moses did not take his

[1] Ex. xvii. 10, 12, and xxiv. 14.

[2] It is by mere guesswork that the later Jews called him the husband of Miriam; but even Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 2. 4, 6, 1, regarded the artificer Bezaleel of Judah, mentioned in Ex. xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxviii. 22, 1 Chron. ii. 20, as Miriam's son or rather grandson, because his grandfather is named Hur.

[3] Ex. vi. 20–23.

[4] Ex. ii. sq. iv. 18 sqq. xviii.; Num. x. 29-32.

[5] Num. x., comp. Judges iv. 11.

[6] Ex. xviii., comp. iv. 18.

[7] Ex. ii.-iv. In Ex. ii. 18, the words יִתְרוֹ בֶן have in my opinion fallen out before רְעוּאֵל; and this error must have been a very early one; compare the LXX. ver. 16, who present the text more complete. It might be imagined that Hobab was the man's real personal name, and יִתְרוֹ, which signifies *prefect*, his title of honour, about equivalent to the Hebrew כֹּהֵן and the Arabic Imâm. The change between יִתְרוֹ and יֶתֶר (which occurs once,

wife and children with him into Egypt, although another ancient account says he did,[1] must have been fully detailed by one of the very earliest narrators;[2] though in the present state of the narrative, this is scarcely discernible now.

As these narratives now stand, we can discover in them three separate groups by different authors, and from very different ages.

1) A small, but in some respects very remarkable, group consists of the scattered fragments of the earliest accounts of the Mosaic times. To these belong the passages enumerated at i. p. 64 sqq.; and, at the same time, many short notices derived from these earliest writings may be interwoven in later narratives. Their distinguishing characteristic is, that in simplicity and accuracy of recollection, as well as in fulness and variety of original matter, they greatly surpass even the Book of Origins, and must therefore be of much earlier date. The incidents and peculiarities of that remote antiquity can nowhere else be so certainly learned as in them, so that there is scarcely any loss of this nature to be more deplored, than that they have not come down to us entire. They give us such accurate information as we find nowhere else respecting the direction of the journey through the desert, and the stations of the camp;[3] they also allow to Jethro a considerable share in the glory of the Mosaic age;[4] they do not restrict the solemn period of instruction and the giving of the law so exclusively to the encampment at Sinai,[5] as is done in the Book of Origins; and, among other more simple conceptions, they exhibit the Divine guidance of the people under Moses only by the simple and beautiful image of an angel of God going before the host.[6] Moreover the work of the Earliest Narrator comprised probably the beautiful song of praise, Ex. xv. 1–21, and certainly the Decalogue, and the ancient attempt at a complete code of law, Ex. xx. 22–xxiii. 19, making a slight change in the narrative in the case of the last two; see also i. p. 64 sqq.

2) By far the largest group appertains to the Book of Origins, the character and age of which is described at i. p. 74 sqq. To it belongs great part of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus with the exception of xxvi. 3–45, the chief part of Numbers, and

in Ex. iv. 18; besides which the LXX. always have Γοθόρ) is most easily explained by supposing the name to have been formed like ܐܝܬܪ and other Syriac words (see my *Lehrb.* § 202 a, *note*). If so, this Nabatean formation shows it to be not an Israelitish name.

[1] Ex. iv. 19-26.

[2] According to the short hint, Ex. xviii. 2, comp. iv. 18.

[3] Ex. xiii. 17 sq.; Num. xx. 14–22, xxi. 12–35.

[4] Ex. xviii.

[5] According to Ex. xv. 25 sq.

[6] Ex. xiv. 19, xxiii. 20, 23; Num. xx. 16.

Deut. xxxii. 48–52 and xxxiv. 1–9. Yet when we regard the contents of this mass of records as they now lie before us, we cannot be surprised (i. p. 82 sqq.) that they subserve rather the detailed exposition of the Mosaic laws and institutions than the proper history of the events of the Mosaic age. This narrator makes legislation his principal object; even when he speaks of Moses and the events of his life, he seizes every opportunity of explaining the laws, and it is chiefly then that he becomes eloquent and full of detail. He indeed sets all his representations of what he mentions as legislatively handed down from Moses and his time, in a solid historical frame; he even carries out the chronology exactly in details, after his fashion: but nevertheless, being a late writer and having so circumscribed an object, he has necessarily a far more contracted historical horizon than those earliest historians. To him, at all events, Moses is only the lawgiver and leader of the holy community, as Aaron is the head of the priestly tribe; and therefore he purposely selects out of a large circle of stories about the Mosaic times[1] those portions only which he can easily render subservient to his object; and makes no other use of several records of memorable events than as occasions for expatiating on legal enactments or certain sacerdotal doctrines. Hence too many original and undoubtedly genuine narratives, as given by him, appear quite disconnected, or are even scarcely intelligible—as, for instance, on the punishment of individual transgressors of ordinances.[2] Contemplating the whole Mosaic age mainly in relation to the laws and to the blessings accruing from their observance, he uses the far from joyful and elevating memories in which he finds the Mosaic age rich—accounts of the frequent murmurings of the people, or the rebellion of individuals—mainly for the special purpose of showing in eloquent language the dignity of Moses as the leader appointed by Jahveh, and the perniciousness of all false desires and transgressions.[3] But at the same time he has such an antique simple reverence, not so much for the holy personages as such as for the great truths of the Mosaic age, and so true

[1] Observe, for instance, how many undoubtedly historical names of men belonging to that period, are mentioned by this Narrator, and often on apparently very trivial occasions; Ex. xxxi. 2; Lev. x. 4, xxiv. 10 sq; Num. i. 5 sqq., xiii. 4 sqq., and then it will be admitted that an abundance of early and very complete traditions must have lain before him. For the most part we are unable to define with any accuracy the nature of these authorities, but it would be great folly to deny their existence at the time of our Narrator. For a special proof of the historical character of these names, see the section on the name Jahveh, *infra*.

[2] Lev. xxiv. 10 sqq.; Num. xv. 32; Ex. xvi. 20 sqq.; Lev. x. 1 sq.; comp. Num. xvi. 5 sqq.

[3] Ex. xvi., comp. Num. xi.; Num. xiii. sq.; xvi. sq.; xx. 1–13.

an awe of the actual words and laws of Jahveh alone, that throughout he has no scruple in telling that even Moses himself, and still more the persons surrounding that holy man, were in certain moments not sufficiently firm and full of faith, and were therefore compelled by a higher power to endure each his own share of the chastisements of the time.[1]

3) The last important group belongs to the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators (see i. p. 96 sqq.). At their late period, the principal aim of the writers (as we can discover from their own conduct) could no longer be to gather and relate oral traditions, nor to attempt the first full pictures of the Mosaic time. But the special elucidation of the great truths of this history seemed then to become more than ever important. Moreover the time gradually arrived when it might seem desirable to recompile and perhaps occasionally to curtail the multifarious and often prolix writings respecting Moses; and in fact the chief peculiarity of the Fifth Narrator consists in combining and working up all the older books accessible to him into a new whole. Nevertheless it was by no means their whole aim to reproduce and remodel the older works on the history of Moses; they evidently wished to renew the glorious memories of the Mosaic age, then scattered through a multitude of books, in such form as was best adapted to the wants of their contemporaries. And since the era of those writers had already become predominantly *prophetical*, we can readily understand why they regard Moses in his prophetical character only, strive to represent him as the almost unattainable model of all prophets, and seize every occasion presented in those histories to glorify in animated and graceful descriptions the prophetical truths which had attained so great an elevation in their own age. To awaken faith, particularly faith in Moses as the great hero, the bearer of power and salvation, far surpassing all ordinary prophets—faith in him who had himself proved that the highest faith is that in Jahveh—this was a requirement of that prophetic age, and therefore plainly a primary object with the Fifth Narrator.[2] Led by such considerations, these writers enlarged or altered many portions of the history of Moses, especially towards the beginning in Exodus, less so towards the close.[3] They did it chiefly by means of fuller descriptions, but also occasionally by single words and sentences merely; and many of their new

[1] Lev. x.–xii.; Num. xii. 1–3, xx. 12 sq., 23 sq., xxvii. 12–14; Deut. xxxii. 48–52.

[2] Ex. iv. 1–9, 31, xiv. 31, xix. 9; Num. xiv. 11, xx. 12; comp. Gen. xv. 6. In the passage Num. xx. 12, לֹא הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם has been probably substituted by the Fifth Narrator for another word; comp. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51.

[3] Num. xi. xii. xiv. 11–25.

conceptions of ancient traditions are animated by surprising prophetic truths. On the other hand, they manifestly added very few or no stories wholly new as to substance. Nevertheless, they occasionally have genuine historical names which we find nowhere else;[1] and it is especially in these instances that we must recognise traces of ancient documents which are now lost.

The Fifth Narrator, thus combining older works and with his own hand remodelling and enlarging them, has unfortunately also permitted himself to omit many things which earlier works contained as requisite to the connection. It is, indeed, a great gain for our historical survey that, where he does follow them, he quotes them with such accuracy that we can even now quite clearly discern their traces; and particularly that he reproduces the important legal portions of the Book of Origins with such slight curtailments. But yet it cannot be denied that the account of the murmurings of the people, given in Numbers xi. 1, stands quite out of connection; and that after Exodus xxxi. 18, taken from the Book of Origins, the account necessarily expected from xxv. 9, 40, xxvi. 30, how Jahveh showed to Moses the pattern of the sanctuary, must have fallen out; not to mention again the cases of this kind noticed at pages 23 sq. In the same way the numerous and important transpositions of entire passages, discoverable on a close examination of the Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, are best explained as the results of that adaptation and amalgamation of different works.[2]

If we collect into one view what has just been explained respecting the three groups of narratives relating to Moses, and combine them with what has been discussed on i. p. 64 sqq., we clearly see through what various stages and modifications the glorious recollection of the personality of Moses incessantly passed. Whilst in its substance that recollection became ever narrower and more limited in the eyes of later ages, with regard to its representation and development it became at each stage more free and unconfined, the more the original entire image was reduced to merely fragmentary recollections. For these would have been utterly unable to express themselves freely, if, with the external limitations of the matter, the internal restraints which opposed the spiritual resuscitation,

[1] As Hur, Ex. xvii. 10, 12, xxiv. 14; Eldad and Medad, Num. xi. 26 sq.

[2] Ex. xxiv. 1 sq., derived from a very early record, ought properly to be placed before ver. 9–11. On the many displacements in the Book of Origins see i. p. 87 sqq. Also the passage Ex. xxxiii. 7–11, which, according to all criteria, cannot have been written by any earlier historian than the Third Narrator, is now quite displaced, and ought most probably to follow chap. xxxiv.

instead of disappearing, had become more and more rigid. The earliest records, which exhibit a many-sided picture of Moses derived from still perfect memory, are the most tied down by the power of still living tradition. There he appears rather as a mere lawgiver and national leader; and the narrative has a freer play. In the eyes of the succeeding age he appears more limited in his action, as a prophet using only spiritual weapons; and then the narrative breaks almost the last fetters of ancient strict memory; until at length the author of Deuteronomy, completely setting aside all strict history, makes him a mere prophetical orator. This is in one sense an advance; but it also becomes perfectly clear what we under such circumstances must do to gain true historical knowledge, and by what means we can arrive at the most accurate conception possible of the great events of that primitive age.

In Deuteronomy proper (chap. i.–xxxii. 41), considering both its origin and its age, we must not expect to find primary authorities for the history of Moses: it is therefore the more surprising that an attentive examination should reveal that the author has nevertheless used quite different documents from those which we now possess through the compiler last described;[1] and we find particularly frequent reference to such older sources for the history of Moses, in the historical survey that opens the discourses, chap. i–iii.

Some instances have come down to us, which show us most convincingly how completely the entire territory of the primeval history was regarded after the Deuteronomic age merely as an open field where every prophet and teacher sought the manifold germs of his doctrine, and by the freedom of his adaptation readily found them. The Deuteronomist, with obvious reference to the immediate wants of his own age, recommends that the Idumeans, but not the Amorites and Moabites, should have easy access to the Israelitish community. Searching the history of the community under Moses for arguments for this, he found indeed that Moab had granted Israel a free transit, and he also says so, ii. 29. But the mere fact that he found nothing in the ancient records about a peculiarly friendly feeling of Moab to Israel in Moses' time, became in his mind an argument against it (xxiii. 4 sq.). But Ezekiel (xx. 4–26) even proves an im-

[1] Such passages as Deut. xxv. 17 sq. prove that he was also acquainted with other narratives: and allusions such as xvii. 16, xxviii. 68, comp. xviii. 2, that he knew other legislative documents, besides those adopted by him (see i. p. 125). And these passages appear derived from fuller and earlier rather than from later sources: thus the story about Amalek, whence xxv. 17 sq. is taken, clearly stood formerly in Ex. xvii. 8 sqq. in the place of the present greatly abridged narrative.

portant proposition by a long course of argument from the Pentateuch, conducted with such freedom, that one does not know which to admire most—his license in the use of the sacred history, or the noble thought which he is expounding; he takes a series of such passages as Ex. vi. and xvi, Numb. xiv. 23, and xviii. 15 sqq.,[1] as the foundation of a proof that the laws and ordinances of God under Moses, had grown harder by three grades of severity, the more the people had, in like progression, rebelled against what were at first most simple and easy laws.

4. Now it certainly appears on careful examination, that Moses is seldom expressly mentioned in the common life of the people during the centuries immediately before and after David, inasmuch as it was not usual then, as it was later, to speak of Mosaic religion and Mosaic law. In David's time the northern town Abel recalls only the ancient faithful men of Israel as the founders of life-maxims still in repute.[2] The first passage of the prophets in which Moses, though not named, is alluded to as the 'Prophet' of ancient times, and is associated with Jacob, is in Hosea;[3] the first where he is named in conjunction with Aaron and Miriam, is in Micah.[4] There, however, the remembrance of these three personages, as is seen from the immediately following mention of Balaam (ver. 5) in agreement with the present narrative in Numbers xxii–xxiv, is revived rather in a learned fashion from books. That subsequently, from the seventh and sixth centuries onwards, the ancient leader rises as it were from his grave with greater glory in the eyes of the whole people, and that his name is then mentioned with increasing frequency, and comes at last to be used as a watch-word, is just a consequence of the great change which came over the mind of Israel and of the above-described progress of the later conceptions of his person, and of the remodelling of the ancient historical works in that sense. But any one in our day who should conclude from this, that perhaps Moses never existed, or never achieved anything great, would only prove himself both thoughtless and ignorant, and his opinion would not be bold, but presumptuous and wrong. For if, as results from the preceding examination of the original authorities, the historical existence of Moses is rendered indubitable by other trustworthy signs, then the circumstance that for a

[1] But the words of Ezekiel xx. 23 show that he read the passage Lev. xxvi. 3 sqq. at a later place, but otherwise had the work of the Fifth Narrator before him in exactly the same form as we have it now.

[2] 2 Sam. xx. 19.

[3] Hos. xii. 13 sq.

[4] Micah vi. 4. See *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 29 sq.

few centuries he was seldom mentioned in common life, warrants no other inference than that the bulk of the nation lived in a very simple manner, troubling themselves very little about antiquity, enjoying almost unconsciously the blessings whose foundations were laid in earlier times, and making little inquiry about the authors of them. And every consideration shows that we cannot form any other notion of those ages. So long as a nation has not been forcibly reminded by great convulsions of its remote antiquity and of the historical foundation of its blessings, it will only vividly retain in memory and discourse the heroes of the nearer past, and gradually forget, at least in common life and daily speech, those of remoter and receding ages. The names of such heroes of the primeval ages of a people pass through vicissitudes: the heroes of the ancient Hindu religion also are described with little detail in the Vedas, whereas some of them are revived in the Epic poems,—but who would thence conclude that a Viçvâmitra and Gautama never lived?[1] Besides which, as a general truth, in every true religion the name of the founder must disappear in presence of his doctrine. The philosopher founds a school on his own name through some peculiar views and opinions. The theologian, in the same way, creates a sect by means of a few peculiar and often onesided propositions; thus it is much to be regretted that Luther himself did not take sufficient precaution against the use of the name Lutheran. But in every true religion there is one special fundamental thought, which, being higher than all its recipients without exception, is also above its own promulgator; and before such a thought the person and name of the founder, in so far as they are human, disappear. Only the Jesuits of the Romish, as well as of the Protestant Church, name themselves after Jesus; and only the Pharisees called themselves emphatically Disciples of Moses.[2] It is the very essence of Moses' great work, the religion of Jahveh, to enjoin that all the blessings of life and all thoughts should rather be referred to Jahveh himself than to man; and it would be utterly contrary to its spirit that a prophet should attempt to speak in Moses' name, or the congregation address

[1] In the same way we are surprised to miss the name of Solomon in most of the writings of the next few centuries after him, and his fame is obviously revived only in much later times; but on a nearer view this can be readily explained, and great care must be taken not to draw from it erroneous conclusions. Besides, where the entire mass of materials in our hands is so scanty, much must be due to chance.

[2] Even the religion which Christians call Mohammedanism is not strictly speaking thus named and regarded by its adherents; the legal name at least of its followers being not Mohammedans but 'The Devoted' or 'The Faithful.' Something similar might be shown of Buddhism.

itself to him. The meaning of that religion, and the meaning of Moses also, is, that before Jahveh even the greatest leader should again be on a level with all other members of the community. Now in the life of a community based on such a principle, so long as it steadily advanced on the track thus opened to it, the name of its founder would become indifferent to it. The great change in the external position of the nation directly after the death of Moses, and the prevalent disorder of the period of the Judges, doubtless contributed to obliterate the memory of Moses. As a compensation, we know certainly that the narrators of events subsequent to the Mosaic age, whenever there was necessity for speaking of Moses, did so with historic accuracy.[1]

If in the case of every great historical phenomenon it is only by a vivid retrospect over the whole period and its results that the scattered fragments of remembrance can be arranged in a new series, this necessity for a free survey is far greater in the case of the hero of a very remote antiquity, who must live more indelibly in the great results of his efforts and his victories than in the fleeting remembrance of the specialities of his life. Among the Hebrews there must certainly have been in obscure antiquity a wonderfully elevated period, a focus of most surprising power, resolution, and activity. The entire people of late ages look back with wonder to its elevation, its well remembered fame, and its sharply defined requirements; the earliest national songs in Canaan resound with the praise of Sinai, as the venerated origin of all the historical glory of Jahveh and his people;[2] to distant Sinai Elijah flies for refuge in the utmost desperation of his soul, as to the primeval hearth and the last retreat of the holy fire in Israel, there to watch for the voice of Jahveh and for light;[3] and, above all, all the special arrangements and the very existence of the community, with its spiritual truths and high objects of endeavour, point most distinctly to a period which had the power and courage to produce such results, and to establish them firmly during many centuries. In fact, it is scarcely possible for us to realise the eminence of a period fruitful in such results, which gave to the nation all its fame and splendour, and determined its entire tendency and aim for many centuries—nay, for the whole of its ancient period. Be it granted that the leader of that age and originator of that most pregnant development, from the very fact that he obtruded himself so little, but gave the glory

[1] From passages like Judges iv. 11, xviii. 30 (according to the correct reading).

[2] Judges v. 4 sq.

[3] 1 Kings xix. 8 sqq.

to his God, gradually disappeared from the recollection of posterity behind his great work, and for long was distinctly known to but few: yet that he was possessed of a soul of extraordinary greatness, and that he worked, and worked with wonderful power and success, remains perfectly clear, unless we choose to ascribe to chance whatever is most spiritual in the world, and so to plunge ourselves into blindness. The true problem before us is, first of all to recognise as accurately as our materials render possible the inner life and movement of that great spiritual activity, and thus to understand the commencement of an age so rich in results for future centuries; nor, until this is done, can the special facts and events, so far as recorded, be rightly estimated or truthfully depicted. And it lies in the very essence of the thing that precisely those spiritual impulses and efforts, inasmuch as they last far beyond Moses, and determine the course of the history in its details, can be most fully and certainly recognised here.

II. Beginning of the Rising of Israel in Egypt.

According to the present narrative, the great change in the history of Israel in Egypt proceeds wholly from the birth, growth, and active efforts of Moses, the Man of God. This view of the origin of that era, however, is evidently only a consequence of such a general conception of the history of that great epoch as could not fail to spring up in the consecrated centre of the ancient community. For, as that community knew that it was only through the strong arm of a Divine deliverance that it had sprung up and was still supported, so the memory of the separate events of its history transformed itself in an ever fuller and purer degree into a history of the real Divine redemption — a history which is at once the most striking and mighty instance of such redemption, the true model of every similar though less grand and extensive deliverance, and the hopeful assurance of every future one. In presence of the one exalted thought, that they were the 'People of God,' which formed the basis of all the recollections of the liberated community, the lower, earthy portions of the remembrance have gradually disappeared and given to it a larger space. And if ever the whole mass of the single experiences of a great history can at last be concentrated in one essential fundamental thought, and this, enclosing within itself a purely spiritual truth, is adequate to inspire a whole nation with a higher life and the courage of a nobler existence, then must

we acknowledge that an example of this did occur on a large scale in that primeval age; in fact, the purer that thought became as time went by, the better was it for the community in all respects, since the purest thoughts are the mightiest and the most indelible. Moreover, according to a fundamental principle of this ancient community, every real Divine deliverance can be attained only by the instrumentality of a true prophet. Therefore from this point of view the entrance of Moses on this earthly scene formed a commencement to the whole history, before which all other recollections gradually faded away.

If the early beginnings of this new era form altogether the obscurest portion of its history, this is yet more especially true of the dawn of the rising in Egypt itself. According to the present narrative in Exodus it might be supposed that the prophetic power of Moses, on his return from Asia, had first raised the nation, sighing under Egyptian oppression, to a spiritual elevation; and possibly in a very short time, although nothing definite is said on that point. But even general considerations may lead us to conclude that important portions of the history have been less completely preserved. For so remarkable a spiritual phenomenon as Moses must always be only the climax of a long enduring powerful movement, and constitutes the highest oscillation in a series of efforts constantly increasing in intensity, and then exhausting themselves. We see this afterwards very distinctly in the case of those heroes, Samuel and David, who represent the highest point of the second great epoch of the Israelitish history; and if even in the New Testament the Baptist precedes the historical manifestation of the Messiah, how much more must we look on Moses as only the crowning point of a long enduring movement which originated before his energetic arrival on the scene!

And in fact, when we look with stricter attention into the Bible narratives, we meet with many indications which may verify this. We will not infer too much from the flight of Moses into Asia on account of the murder of an Egyptian,[1] although according to the narrative itself Moses can scarcely have been at that time at the Court of Pharaoh as a favourite

[1] An example, showing how superstitiously, and how contrary to its original meaning, the Mosaic history was understood in later times than those of the Old Testament, is seen in the assumption of later teachers (e.g. even in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23), that Moses killed the Egyptian by a word only; which they thought might be inferred from Is. xi. 4, comp. Rev. xix. 15, 21; as if Moses at that early time had been a Prophet at all! But we mark an unmistakable transition towards this idea, even in Acts vii. 25. What a radical change in the mode of viewing the history of Moses was effected, to judge even from this one example only, between the earlier and the later times of Israel!

of his daughter, the description being rather that of a man of importance living among his own people. Nor will we further insist that Moses, returning to Egypt, must at least have returned thither at a suitable time, when he could hope to act not wholly without result. But if, according to an extant account, unhappily sadly isolated,[1] at the very moment that Moses was preparing to return from Asia, Aaron went to meet him as far even as Sinai, and they both together then penetrated into Egypt: then this necessarily presupposes a movement in Egypt, corresponding to that in Asia which must have preceded it. During the absence of Moses, therefore, his elder brother Aaron had evidently not been quite inactive in regard to the work for the sake of which he afterwards went to meet him in Asia. And when we subsequently see these two noble brothers, after their meeting at Sinai, continue to work out their great scheme in common, although not constantly agreeing in opinion, and sometimes even opposed to each other, we feel as if the truth everywhere met us, that the great rising of Israel sprang from the meeting of two great movements in Egypt and in Asia, the leaders of which were respectively Aaron and Moses.

Further, when we look at Levi, the tribe of Moses and Aaron, it will become evident that it was not until the time of Moses and subsequently that it was elevated to be the sacerdotal tribe; but even in Egypt it must have raised itself around its great clansman Aaron to noble thoughts and deeds, and have become habituated to his leadership. For we see it from the time of the Exodus constantly forming a close circle round Aaron, and when necessary protecting the purer religion proclaimed by Moses and Aaron against all the other tribes. Now as Levi was possessed by a wholly different spirit during the Patriarchal age (i. p. 379), and the tribe of Joseph was the dominant one in Egypt at first; and as Aaron and Moses by no means belonged to the ruling family of Levi (i. p. 364), and the tribe therefore did not rally around them merely as hereditary leaders; it becomes clear that a great change must have taken place in Levi towards the close of the Egyptian period. The new rising of Israel in Egypt certainly issued principally from the tribe of Levi and from Aaron, and in Egypt that tribe commenced those noble struggles which it afterwards continued under Moses, and perseveringly carried on to a victorious issue.

Finally, the ancient Egyptian recollections handed down through Manetho, point with the utmost distinctness to such

[1] Ex. iv. 27–29, from the Earliest Narrator; while the Fifth Narrator only applies this in his usual way, ver. 14.

a conjunction of two great movements, an earlier one in Egypt and another in Asia. Of this we shall have to speak again further on.

It is a more difficult matter to determine what form that rising took on its spiritual side; and whether that phase of it was strictly confined to the Israelites from the very beginning, or possessed further ramifications among the Egyptians. The only view we can adopt is, that this gradual rising sprang from no mere revolt against Egyptian oppression, but was chiefly kindled and fanned to a flame by a high thought and a newborn spiritual truth. But that this thought was not that peculiar to Moses, which we shall hereafter describe, we must assume just as assuredly as we do that it had a certain connection with it; nor can we ascribe to this early period the introduction of the use of the name Jahveh as the brief symbol of the religion founded by Moses, as it came to be used after his time. But what is presupposed by Moses' peculiar thought, even with respect to the Patriarchal age, and forms one of its deep foundations, is the truth of the unity and spiritual nature of the true God. Now, in opposition to the then degraded state of Egyptian idolatry (see p. 8 sq.), this truth must have been established by so profound a necessity, we may say, that we cannot hesitate to find in it the mightiest lever and the surest basis of all that rising. This was the precise point where this movement could connect itself with the really national past in the history of Israel. For though we now possess but little detailed information respecting the religion of the Patriarchs (i. p. 317 sq.), we are yet sufficiently acquainted with its essence and its relation to the development of this later age. The Patriarchs acknowledged but one God, and to him as invisible and supernal they offered sacrifices upon altars without images and without temples,[1] under the open sky; so simply and so justly did they even thus early think of their God.[2] Still, to them he was but as their own household God, and they placed him beside the gods of other families, tribes, and nations. As heads of a great tribe or ruling family, they insisted that sacrifices should be made to this invisible heavenly God only; they were not behindhand in apprehending the purer thought of a supreme God encompassing

[1] That the Patriarchs built altars only, is a constant tradition; indeed even under the Jahveistic religion these were originally deemed adequate: see *Alterthümer*, p. 123 sqq. When thus designedly left without image and temple, they certainly had a meaning of their own, as opposed to the more elaborated systems of worship.

[2] According to a very ancient phrase, indeed (i. p. 319, comp. 346 *note*), this is true primarily only of the *God of the father of Israel*, i. e. of Jacob; but there is no reason to think that the case of Abraham and Isaac was different.

all, which was already cherished by the most enlightened men of Canaan: and they were undoubtedly superior to these in the energy and faithfulness wherewith they adopted this truth to guide their own aims and deeds.[1] But in separate houses under their sway, especially among the women and slaves, they could not prevent the *Teraphim*, i.e. images of the Deity, from keeping their place and being regarded as the innermost shrine and fixed centre of each household; and in fact these Teraphim kept their place in private houses from those early days until long after Moses.[2] Undoubtedly, therefore, the unity and spirituality of God to which they clung was in many respects unstable and faint, as but the first germ of the entire truth; yet it is truly wonderful, how firm an impress the perception of the unity of God in that early age left even on their language. For it was an antique usage, more especially in this Semitic tribe, to designate God, as also every other superior, externally by a plural form, by which no more than the sense of a kind of dignity and reverence was simply expressed.[3] But the fact that in the usage of the language this Elohim was always treated strictly as an individual, and never considered or construed as a plural, unless when employed in speaking to heathens or of angels and spirits,[4] is a remarkable evidence how long anterior to Moses the conception of the unity of God was rooted in the national consciousness (see i. p. 319 sq.). For while we can still clearly trace the gradual progress in the use of the name Jahveh, which was first exalted so high by Moses, this usage of the name Elohim had at his time obviously been long immutably fixed. And even though no more than the germ of the truth of the unity and spirituality of God was inherited from ancient time, yet it is clear how easily the same truth, when it now sprang up in Egypt in a far more defined and developed form, could the more readily establish itself in Israel, because it rested upon a foundation previously laid.

[1] This is the way in which we must regard Abraham's relation to Melchizedek in Gen. xiv.

[2] See *Alterthümer*, p. 256 sqq. where this is stated in more general terms. The small work of Laz. Bendavid, a Kantian philosopher, '*Ueber die Religion der Hebräer vor Mose*,' Berlin, 1812, treats of this difficult subject very inadequately.

[3] The plural in *Elohim* undoubtedly forces us to assume that the idea of Polytheism had had an actual historical existence, because otherwise the word would have been an impossibility; but in its actual usage this plural is to be understood as stated above, and bears no analogy to the stiff and awkward 'plural of majesty' in modern languages.

[4] See *Lehrbuch*, § 318 a; even where only *one* visible spirit is spoken of, rather in a heathen fashion, Elohim is construed like a real plural, 1 Sam. xxviii. 13. According to the latest historical discoveries we may compare with it the mode in which, in the *Shahnameh*, a pl. يزدان for *God* has been formed from the Zendic *jazata*, as if the former boundless number of divine beings had been merged in this unity.

Now, did Egyptians second Israel's struggles for such higher truths, even if sympathising in the search and inquiry only —in the same way as Melchizedek supported Abraham? We regret that we are not yet able to answer this question satisfactorily. It is not in itself improbable that a more spiritual religion should have endeavoured to penetrate into Egypt, a country which had been long highly civilised;[1] the recollections respecting Moses in the Old Testament imply a certain connection as well as opposition between the wisdom of the Egyptians and that of the Israelites, and the Egyptian traditions sufficiently indicate that about that time a religious war did actually burst out. But with our present means we cannot follow this out into detail: at all events the power then retaining rule in Egypt only aimed at the subjugation of the Israelites, and pursued that object with the greater zeal the less they understood the new spirit which animated the people. And in accordance with this we certainly cannot doubt that before the return of Moses from Sinai the Israelites in Egypt had risen up energetically against the dangers which threatened their nationality and their religion, and were in the midst of a movement which the arrival of Moses, as their deliverer, only brought to a climax; the right understanding of which is important for the immediately following history of Moses himself.

For even if we knew more than we do of the history of Moses' youth, we yet could not undertake to follow into its historical beginnings a spirit like that of Moses—a spirit that governs by its own original power, independent of all external events, that shows us things divine, and more or less completely fulfils its allotted task. We of a later age can only admire and reverence a spirit whose original grandeur and power all the

[1] If the observation of Lepsius (*Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*. Berl. 1849, p. 18 sq.; *Ueb. d. ersten Aegyptischen Götterkreis* in the *Abhand.* of the Berlin Academy, 1851, p. 196 sqq.; and see also Brugsch's *Hist. d'Égypte*, i. p. 114, 118 sq., 124 sqq., 166, 175) and others is further confirmed, a religious reformation, such as could only be the result of violent religious contests, must have been introduced into Egypt by royal command, just towards the close of the 18th dynasty, a period belonging to the present history. At the very beginning of that dynasty Amôsis abolished human sacrifices, at all events at Heliopolis, as is distinctly reported in Porphyry, *de Abstinentia*, ii. 55, and Eusebius, *Theoph.* ii. 56 sq., and *Præp. Ev.* iv. 16, on the authority of Manetho. These sacrifices are actually never represented upon the public monuments, and were therefore probably always thenceforth forbidden by royal edict (Herod. ii. 45), although in certain cases still continued, according to Diodorus, i. 88, and Plutarch, *on Isis and Osiris*, lxxiii. Unreliable later ideas, such as that of Lucian (*on the Syrian Goddess*, iii.), that in old times even the Egyptians had temples without images, have no claim on our attention; but it is nevertheless remarkable that Heliopolis, which bordered closely on Goshen (p. 13), and was, according to all tradition, the dwelling-place of Moses, is described by Strabo, xvii. 1. 29, as a sort of regular sacerdotal and university city for northern Egypt.

vicissitudes of fortune serve only more firmly and definitely to develop and complete: we can only seek encouragement and instruction from him, only draw nearer to him as equals to an equal: but explain him, derive him from previous antecedents, we cannot, for we here stand in presence of the mystery of all creation and of all spiritual power. But we can and indeed must clearly apprehend the temporal conditions, under which alone it was possible even for him to carry out and to attain what he did attain: for even the noblest mind in its early manifestation is only like a germ which cannot unfold its inner power except under certain conditions.

And undoubtedly the first condition is, that such a spirit should appear at a time and place where a great problem of the human soul is striving after a solution, and the ground of life is duly prepared for new seed from heaven. Many things are requisite to make such a juncture, and rare must such times and places generally be; for centuries may elapse in which an already received truth can only strike deeper root, and during which it may be impossible to prepare the soil for a fresh one; and the new truth itself can only make its appearance when it is a deeply felt necessity, in opposition to a fully developed antagonistic principle. In our times, indeed, such intellectual conflicts, in a certain range of height and resemblance, spread with ease over many countries; but we know that this was not the case in remote antiquity. But when Moses appeared, as we have shown at p. 3 sqq. and i. 386 sqq., such a height of intellectual life had already been attained in Egypt, that its antagonistic principles could impinge upon each other most sharply and fully; and thus early did the people of Israel encounter the necessity of either succumbing as slaves to Egyptian idolatry and sovereignty, with the sacrifice of its own peculiar spiritual blessings, or else of encountering Egypt in open stern antagonism, and thus advancing to something newer and better. In no other known country, at so early an age, did a contest for the highest truths of religion reach such a height that some decisive crisis could not fail to arise; and it is precisely in such grand historical crises that the true greatness of a soul like that of Moses manifests itself.

But then such a spirit must at the same time find corresponding instruments capable of entering into his wishes, and, what is still more necessary, of acting in accordance with them. In later ages indeed, when from various causes the old exclusive nationalities were being gradually broken up and obliterated, Christianity, though proceeding from Israel, could at once turn

to all nations, and did not require to associate itself indissolubly with one. But during those early ages, in which mankind were separated into numerous small and sharply defined nations, nothing spiritual could flourish except in closest union with some definite nationality. But if a people is to receive a new universal life-truth, and thus to renovate its existence in fresh forms, it must certainly possess some elasticity and health of mind as well as of body: for a people may sink so low, either by pressure from without or by their own perversity and corruption, as to become really incapable of any radical improvement, even when needed to the uttermost, and brought close to them by the insight and counsel of some great spirit among them. We have seen in modern times, what has become of the Italians, Spaniards, and Poles, as also of the Persians and the Turks; everywhere history presents to us the same warnings, and Germany must take heed lest at some future day she pay a higher penalty than she has yet done for neglecting to listen to its voice. Now had Israel been deeply depressed during the greater part of the four hundred and thirty years passed in Egypt, as without careful inquiry we might be tempted to suppose,[1] Moses could hardly have found a people capable of real enthusiasm, perseverance, and improvement; for after too long oppression only individual minds at best retain much vigour, certainly not the nation as a whole. But since, according to page 11 sqq., we have trustworthy evidence to the contrary, the severe oppression, at least, can scarcely have lasted more than fifty or a hundred years, and thus a tolerably vigorous and uncorrupted nation was able to respond to the call of its great deliverer.

III. Beginning of the History of Moses.

If Moses was met by such a people engaged in so decisive a crisis and in such an aspiring movement, and he himself possessed greatness of soul equal to every dangerous temptation in the hour of strife as well as in that of success, he was able to achieve the very highest that was possible at that epoch, and no earthly power could frustrate the eternal destiny of a spirit which had a wonderful divine work to do on earth. The story of his birth and youth in the present book is based

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 9. 1, really thinks that the Israelites bore their sufferings in Egypt during the space of 400 years. The similar expression of the Fifth Narrator, occurring Gen. xv. 13, in a poetical discourse, is at all events used in a more general sense.

on this high aspect of his whole earthly career. The child Moses, the son of Amram the Levite, on his entrance into the world, runs the risk of perishing in the waves of the Nile, through the command of the Egyptian king, and is nevertheless saved: this story is one of the simplest and most beautiful of the many by which antiquity expressed its feeling of the truth, that no power can prevent the uprising of so great a hero.[1] The world, as if dimly foreseeing that he would destroy its work, strove, from the very beginning to annihilate him, but by his preservation in infancy the child, the predestined instrument of higher designs, gives an earnest of his all-subduing energy; and we are thus aroused to eager attention respecting the further development of such a life. It is not possible for us to follow further back the track of this story; for though as to its meaning and origin it dates from early times, in its present form it is derived only from the Third Narrator.[2]

That Moses was brought up in Egyptian learning and knowledge,[3] but yet, when driven to an act of patriotic indignation, obliged to flee to the peninsula of Sinai, and to take refuge with Midian (or, according to Hellenistic pronunciation, Madian),[4] the ruling nation there, and that he formed a friend-

[1] Compare for instance the story of the childhood of Perseus in Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 4. 1, and that in Moses Choren. i. 5 (6), and the Tamul in Benfh. Schmid's *Zerstreute Blätter* (1843), No. 2. We must however never forget, how early and how powerfully the grand example of this story about Moses may have influenced other similar ones, e. g. those respecting the youth of Zálish and Abraham in Tabari's *Annals*, i. p. 124, 128, Dubeux. A Vedic story more remotely similar is given in the *Journ. As.* 1859, ii. p. 416.

[2] The entire passage, Ex. i. 15–ii. 22, is derived, in its present form at least, from the Third Narrator. We are led to this conclusion not only by the style, and by the agreement in the description of a shepherd's life here, ver. 15–21, iii. 1, with the similar one in Gen. xxix, but also by the following special reason. If the Book of Origins had desired to mention here the parents of Moses, it would neither have named them so indefinitely as is the case in Ex. ii. 1, nor have put off the entire account of the family of Moses and Aaron to a later and less suitable place, Ex. vi. 11–25. Moreover, the mother of Moses here, ii. 1, bears the general designation of Bath-Levi; whereas the Book of Origins preserves the proper name of this the only daughter of the Patriarch Levi known to tradition, in Ex. vi. 20 (where the דֹּדָה or father's sister, against the law in Lev. xviii. 12–14, xx. 19 sq., is still allowed to marry her nephew), Num. xxvi. 59. The statement respecting the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, Num. xxvi. 58 from וְקֹהַת to ver. 61, is indeed introduced at an unsuitable place, but according to all appearance has been only transferred thither from another part of the Book of Origins by some early reader.

[3] Ex. ii. 10; Acts vii. 22. In the Pentateuch this is everywhere taken for granted as self-evident: at a later time Philo, in his *Life of Moses*, i. 5, gives a description of it, very detailed indeed, but only filled up by the loose and free kind of description with which he also restores the histories of Abraham and Joseph to suit his own peculiar ideas. But we cannot fail to observe that, especially the Egyptian Jews from the age of the Ptolemies traced with especial interest the contact between Israel and Moses and the ancient Egyptians, and formed many new theories on the subject.

[4] From the passages Ex. ii. 15, iii. 1, xviii. 1, L. de la Borde in his *Commentaire Géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres* (Paris, 1841 fol.) endeavoured to prove that the ancient city of Midian was situated on the peninsula of Sinai itself,

ship with a prince of that people Hobab (or Jethro), and married his daughter, is also in its present form[1] reported only by the Third Narrator. But the narrative is without doubt based on genuine history. The chain of high granite mountains towering up at the south of this peninsula under the name of Sinai or (as it is called elsewhere) Horeb,[2] was certainly, like Ararat or the Himalaya, esteemed sacred by the surrounding nations from the earliest times, and not one summit merely but the entire range.[3] When Moses, therefore, led the redeemed people to that region, and resided long with them there, as in a safe, homelike and hallowed spot, he did so because he was already familiar with it as a sanctuary, and knew he might reasonably expect a similar shelter there for the entire nation.

The Egyptians, indeed, had once endeavoured, long before Moses, to maintain possession of the whole peninsula as one of their frontier lands, and had obtained rich metallic treasure from some of the western mountains of this Sinaitic chain; so that even now we still discover there the most speaking evidences of their great art and love of agriculture:[4] but at the time of Moses they had clearly lost all dominion there. On the contrary, every discernible trace leads to the conclusion that the Amalekites, the original inhabitants, were at that time contending for the mastery of the entire peninsula, in

on its eastern coast, where we now find Dahab. But this supposition is utterly baseless, as we shall see when treating of the age in which the Midianites play the most important part in the history of Moses.

[1] Ex. ii. 11–22.

[2] The two names Sinai and Horeb are not interchanged as designating different points of the same mountain range, as has been assumed in modern times without any reason. But the name Sinai is clearly the earlier one, used also by Deborah in Judges v. 5; the use of the name Horeb cannot be proved before the age of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, comp. Ex. iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6; but then becomes very general, as is shown by Deuteronomy and the passages 1 Kings viii. 9 (see i. p. 76), xix. 8; Mal. iii. 22 [iv. 4]; Psalm cvi. 19. This is not contradicted by the fact that very late writers reintroduced the name Sinai from mere literary acquaintance with the old books. Through what means Horeb became the prevalent name after the ninth century, is indeed now unknown to us; possibly after the days of Elijah pilgrimages were oftener made to Sinai, and the new name was found there; comp. the accurate itinerary in Deut. i. 2.

[3] Comp. Ex. xix. 3 and the ancient name 'Mount of God,' Ex. iv. 27, iii. 1; Num. x. 33. The unbroken continuity of the whole range even in this respect, is still expressed in its modern Arabic name, *Jebel el Tûr* (or *Tôr*); for this name Tûr, which since the prevalence of the Aramaic has been given also to Mount Gerizim, Tabor (as by Kemâl-eddîn in Freytag's *Chrest.* p. 112, 2 sq.), and the Mount of Olives, though properly signifying *mountain* generally, is nevertheless specially applied to a sacred mountain, and was in the early Middle Ages transferred to this whole range. That the earlier Arabs pronounced it *Tûr*, not *Tôr*, appears from the rhyme in Sur. 52. 1.

[4] In the Wâdi Maghâra and Sarbût (or Sarâbît) el Khadîm; see Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten*, p. 336 sqq., and the *Ausland* for 1851, p. 288 sqq., and the illustrations in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 45 sq. The book of Aristeas (appended to Josephus, *Opera*, ii. p. 114 sq.) also exalts the metallic wealth of the peninsula.

the north chiefly with the Canaanites, and in the south especially with the Midianites, who were more civilised through commerce and the arts; but that in some spots they were much intermixed with one or other of these nations. It could not be doubtful with which of these contending parties Moses would most closely ally himself, considering the ancient relationship which existed between the Israelites and the Midianites. For the connection between Moses and the Priest-Prince of Midian certainly did not consist only in his marriage with one of the latter's seven daughters, as might at first appear,[1] but had a more weighty significance. An ancient document[2] states that this father-in-law of Moses was really a Kenite, which signifies (according to i. p. 251) that he belonged to that large and very ancient nomadic tribe of north-western Arabia which bore the name of Amalek; so that, as he is generally spoken of as a Midianite, we can only infer that the Midianites, although reckoned among Abraham's descendants,[3] were at that time intimately blended with the Amalekites, and had obtained rule over certain portions of the peninsula. Though these Kenites were nomads, yet every trace of their history shows that even after the time of Moses they continued friendly to the Israelites, intermixed more and more with them, and, even when numbers of them had rejoined their old tribe of Amalek, were readily spared by the Israelites in battle, 'because they had formerly showed kindness to *all* the children of Israel as they came up out of

[1] From the mere words of Ex. ii. 15–22.

[2] Judges i. 16: comp. iv. 11, where קֵינִי appears to be given to Hobab as his actual name; yet the LXX. have Ἰοθόρ, which is an abbreviation of Jethro, and is also found in the Hebrew text, Ex. iv. 18, close to יִתְרוֹ; but punctuated יֶתֶר. The words מִבְּנֵי חֹבָב Judges iv. 11 indicate a subdivision of the foregoing קֵינִי, and therefore shows that the descendants of Hobab were properly only a part, though probably even later the ruling part, of the Kenites. See also respecting him, p. 25 sq. In the Koran and among the Moslim generally he is named *Shu'aib*, and is brought into frequent connection with the Madianites as their prophet and the most excellent man among them, Sur. xxvi. 176–189, vii. 83–100, xi. 85–98, xxix. 35 sq., xv. 78 sq.; Tabari's *Annal.* i. p. 277, Dub. But the details there given, many though they be, appear all to spring from a combination of Ex. ii. sqq. with Gen. xxxvii. 28, and the name Shu'aib itself to be either only a modification of Hobab, or confounded with it. Also the name of the place يثرأن (Edrisii *Africa*, ed. Hartmann, p. 452) is probably, as in many similar cases, only derived from the Bible; see however the various reading in Jaubert's edition, vol. i. p. 329; and what the Islâm narrators tell of Shu'aib (as in Jelâl-eddîn's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 288 sq. Rein.) is of no service in clearing up the historical facts. In the Middle Ages Jethro's (Shu'aib's) grave was shown at the Tell Hattin in Galilee (see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 131, 185, 259, 385; compare 447, 449; Kemâl-eddîn, l. c. p. 120, 4 from below, and in other writers); but this is only connected with the general idea, which assigned the graves of most of the heroes of extreme antiquity to the Galilean hills, as far northwards as to Damascus, based upon apocryphal books such as that of Enoch.

[3] According to Gen. xxv. 2.

Egypt.'[1] If all these evidences lead us to draw the general inference that at the time of Moses there existed an alliance advantageous to both parties, between the Hebrews and the Kenite-Midianite nation, then predominant in the territory south of Sinai, then we are able fully to understand the significance of what the earliest Narrator[2] relates, that Jethro advanced to meet his son-in-law returning homeward as the leader of Israel out of Egypt, full indeed of joyful amazement at the wonderful deeds and deliverances of Jahveh, but in the province of wordly wisdom also ready with good counsels, which Moses willingly accepted. Then, too, we perceive how correctly the Book of Origins[3] relates that Moses, when on the point of advancing further from Sinai, entreated Hobab, who knew the desert tracks, to go with him, promising him an equal share in all advantages, but could not without some solicitation obtain his consent. The league between the two nations was indisputably voluntary, binding to mutual aid and securing equal advantages; wherefore tradition always mentions that Jethro passed freely to and fro with Moses.[4] But that the enmity which in the latest days of Moses[5] existed between the Hebrews and the Midianites, did not of necessity extend to the Kenites, is self-evident from what is said above. That such an alliance was ultimately more advantageous to the two nations than to the two leaders, and that the connection of the two leaders by marriage was of minor importance, is elsewhere clearly indicated:[6] yet all historical traces lead to the supposition that Moses on his first flight out of Egypt entered at once into close connection with this Priest-Prince of Midian. And when we see that Moses in his flight directed his steps precisely to that spot, that according to an ancient very isolated record[7] Aaron afterwards went out of Egypt to meet him there, and that the entire nation[8] desired to make a pilgrimage to Sinai as to a well-known sacred spot, it becomes probable that a still earlier connection subsisted between the two nations, perhaps dating from the time of the rule of the Hyksôs (see i. p. 393 sqq.). Even though the Israelites had formerly separated themselves from the rest of the Hyksôs, and attached themselves to the Egyptians, yet now, under so great a change of circumstances, and after an interval of centuries, the respective feeling of all the nations united by the name

[1] 1 Sam. xv. 6.
[2] Ex. xviii.
[3] Num. x. 29–32.
[4] Ex. xviii. 27; Num. x. 30.
[5] According to Num. xxv. and xxxi.
[6] 1 Sam. xv. 6.
[7] Ex. iv. 27.
[8] According to Ex. iii. 12 sqq.

of Abraham,[1] might rather incline to mutual friendship and assistance, as will be further and more clearly shown in the course of this history.

We must, however, draw one inference here. The Kenites who allied themselves with Israel, retained for many centuries, even in Canaan, their ancient national customs, dwelling in tents, and roving about in search of desirable abodes (they were afterwards scattered both north and south of Canaan), and exhibiting the swift alternations between peace and war, and all the cunning and dissimulation, which characterise the peoples of the desert.[2] But that in joining the Israelitish community they adopted the religion of Jahveh is a matter of course. With this people, then, Moses had become intimately acquainted before his return to Egypt, and we are told that he went to Egypt accompanied by the blessing of Jethro. Now if we compare those Egyptian narratives (to be subsequently brought forward) which record a league of nations in Asia, who brought assistance to the strangers dwelling in Egypt, it seems as if a trace of a similar reminiscence were still preserved in the Biblical tradition of the flight of Moses into Asia and his union with the Kenites. For the other nations conjoined to Israel by relationship and customs, who may at that time have united themselves with the body of the twelve tribes, might well be soon so entirely blended with them, that in after-ages it was only the Kenites who from retaining their former nomadic habits were recognised as strangers who had joined Israel at the time of Moses. This would also account for the large number of 603,550 fighting men, of which Israel consisted in the time of Moses, according to ancient enumerations; for that number would be too great for the land of Goshen, but may subsequently have been actually collected together at Sinai.

The ancient authorities have not recorded the age of Moses when he first fled from Egypt; and the learned writers[3] of a much later age, who make him 40 years old at that time, as if the first period of his life must have exactly corresponded in length with the other two, he being 80 years old at the time of the Exodus,[4] and 120 at his death,[5] do this on their own responsibility, and cannot enforce our agreement with them.

[1] That the Midianites, who were then the ominant tribe of Sinai, were among these, follows from Gen. xxv. 2.

[2] See especially Judges iv. 11–22, v. 24–27; 1 Sam. xv. 6 sqq.

[3] See Acts vii. 23, 30.

[4] Ex. vii. 7.

[5] Deut. xxxiv. 7.

IV. Moses as a Prophet of the true God and as a Man.

1. That Moses was a Prophet at the time when, overcome by a righteous but too vehement indignation, he slew the Egyptian and had to fly from Egypt, is not conceivable in any strict sense. Ancient tradition itself deems him a Prophet only from the moment of his solitude at Sinai, when he was suddenly and irresistibly transported by an overpowering fire of Divine revelation.[1]

But the high importance of Moses in the history of the world lies most of all in the fact that he became a Prophet, and from that moment acted as a Prophet for his whole remaining life. This idea invariably pervades every recollection of him and every narrative respecting him, and thus Hosea,[2] without naming him, briefly designated him as a 'Prophet' by whom God in ancient days brought Israel out of Egypt and preserved it. He was indeed leader, lawgiver, and worker of miracles to his people, but all these additional attributes fade before the primary one, that he was a Prophet; only as a Prophet was he leader, lawgiver, and worker of miracles, and all his greatness belongs to him as a Prophet alone.[3]

We must therefore here recognise one of the most wonderful primal faculties of the soul, which potentially, indeed, is diffused through the whole human race, but in especial strength, truth and persistence is revealed in the history of Israel only; and in no other Prophet has produced results so important to the history of the world as in Moses. This is scarcely the place to describe in detail that power in itself, or in relation to the other primitive faculties of the soul;[4] here we must rather restrict ourselves to its historical significance.

There is no notion more preposterous than that prophecy always took the same form among the ancient Israelites. On the contrary, a closer examination shows that it underwent the most striking vicissitudes among this ancient people. Simultaneously with each of the three great epochs in the history of Israel until Christ, the form of prophecy as one of the chief forces in the whole life and efforts of that people underwent the most momentous changes. Prophecy at first appears commanding

[1] Ex. iii. 1 sqq.

[2] Hos. xii. 14 [13]; comp. Deut. xviii. 15.

[3] Even so early a writer as Philo, for example, has too nearly ignored this in his three books on the *Life of Moses*, although of course the prophetical power of Moses was never wholly forgotten.

[4] I still, in all essential points, abide by what I stated in 1840, at the commencement of the first vol. of the *Propheten des Alten Bundes*.

and ordering, declaring in the sternest form the Divine designs and will, and restricting itself to this severely prescriptive annunciation. The prophet is then not only the spokesman and the interpreter of his God, but at the same time his vicegerent and general upon earth: and the domain of prophecy being the widest possible, and its power either a shadow or supremacy, it embraced at once legislation, politics, and government. It is true we find it thus exhibited most strikingly in Moses; but still we find it like this in every great prophet down to Elijah and Elisha, and even to Joel. How much it changed however, and laid aside this early stern form, will be shown hereafter.

But however great such modifications may be, some power must exist in prophecy as its permanent element, which determines its peculiar life, and only grants it varying expression, as the external objects change with which it comes in contact. This inner power is the impulse of religion to reveal her own truth; hence in its every stage and vicissitude, and consequently in this its earliest and most rigid form, prophecy cannot be understood without a knowledge of the nature of religion.

But as no religion is possible without a God, the nature of religion, as a powerful spiritual force which can even impel man to reveal its own truth, ultimately depends solely on the special conception he forms of the God who fills his soul. This conception may be infinitely various. Equally various must be the form of the God who impels the spirit of the Prophet; and the nature and efficacy of the Prophet also is thereby affected and appears in an incalculable number of gradations. Only when there is already a living notion of the true God, can the Prophet become the preacher of true religion. But because in the midst of the embarrassments and hindrances of the time the Prophet can only preach religious truths as he has long felt them himself, only he can become a great and true Prophet whose whole life, from the first moment of his consciousness of prophetic impulses, has been faithfully and purely upheld by those truths. Now here we can clearly see how surely Moses was from the first predestined, as it were, to be the first Prophet of the true God to a whole nation. The elementary notions of true religion, which (according to i. p. 317 sqq.) had been powerfully roused in his nation ever since the age of the Patriarchs, might in his day be wonderfully purified and extended through violent struggles with their opposites, by one who led the whole people. We shall soon see in what a transfigured nobleness they were

proclaimed by him: as also in what sublime certainty and clearness they lived in his own soul for a long succession of years.[1] Thus in Moses were present all the necessary conditions to make him the greatest Prophet of high antiquity,—one who, while in his prophetic quality resembling any or all the other prophets of very ancient times, stood alone as the first Prophet of the true God to a whole nation, the founder of a new race of prophets—the first race capable of fully glorifying their function in higher and ever higher degrees, and of accomplishing all that they were originally called and destined to do.

2. If religion consists in thinking and acting under the direct assurance of God, that is of his existence, his eternal truth, and the duties due to him—a thinking and acting that must deeply humble weak mortal man before the Divine presence, but also again raise him up, and fill him with all true enduring strength—a thinking which when sincere always passes over at once into corresponding action; then clearly every truth of religion, to the man who actually lives therein, must appear as the imperative word of God, and in dark uncertain passages of life each one of her counsels and decisions must seem the indubitable counsel and decision of God himself. The great eternal Ego, before which the petty human ego wholly disappears, but with whom it must reestablish itself, if it is not to be totally lost, that infinite Ego makes itself heard in each individual, thereby filling him and urging him onward; thus alone does the individual receive the true object of all his mediate thought and action (that is, of all thought and action directed upon this world) — light, and joy, and that freedom which contains within itself its necessary restrictions, and is therefore true moderation and lawfulness. As religion, however, may influence individuals with very different degrees of light and strength, and as the entire range of the very varied capabilities of the human soul blend with her differently in each individual; accordingly, a soul into which religion has already penetrated deeply may combine therewith the faculty of communicating her utterances to others with the same clearness with which they live within himself. And when through the mortal instrument the Divine Ego[2] thus speaks to others clearly and distinctly, and seeks to influence them, then there

[1] The chief proofs of this are contained in the words in Num. xii. 3; Deut. xxxiv. 7; Num. xvi. 15, 16; Ex. xxxii. sq., xi. 3.

[2] I need hardly remark to the intelligent reader that I use the expression *Ego* wholly without reference to any modern system of philosophy (for the terminology as well as the subject-matter of all such are indifferent to our present study), but because the subject itself, and the historical authorities demand it.

stands before us the spokesman and interpreter of the Divine mysteries—the Prophet, that word being taken in its earliest and most general signification.

Accordingly, if prophecy is an impossibility without the basis of religion, where it manifests itself in the individual with its full creative power, it must rest upon this foundation and no other. Hence it was necessary for Moses, before his prophetic work began, to be so imbued with the power of religion that from that moment he became a new man. He was not a prophet at first; but he was first so thrilled by the power and truth of religion, that thenceforward he lived and worked in and through that alone, whether he became a prophet or not, and whether by eloquent speech he became an ordinary prophet or not. And not in the midst of great public labours, in battle, in victory, or in a moment of utmost peril, was he first penetrated by this truth. It first seized on him in the calm and stillness of life, and then followed action in accordance with it. As therefore the spirit of every true independent Prophet begins with beholding the Divine light and being absorbed into the mind and will of God,[1] so Moses, according to the profound truth of the narrative in Exodus iii, in the midst of life's repose suddenly beholds a mighty fire of God, and being thereby born anew, is urged on by Divine power to a fresh course of action. No condition of life is too lowly, no spot too humble, when the pure bright, transforming fire desires to manifest itself at the right moment to the true Divine instrument. The bush in the desolate waste suddenly becomes to the simple shepherd a burning shrine, out of whose brightness the angel of God speaks to him.[2]

But again, religion is concerned not merely with beholding the Divine, but also with the nature of what is beheld. Everything was so prepared on the soil of Egypt, then thrilled with the most startling antagonisms of nationality and religion, that a distinct opposition to the fully-developed Egyptian corruptions of itself rendered an advance to a higher, nay to an eternally true religion possible. On every soil thus prepared the most surprising truths germinate with ease, their very opposites conspiring to force them upwards; and in the Egyptian nation just at that time (see p. 39 sqq.) there may have been a powerful movement extending far beyond Moses and his people for

[1] Isaiah vi.; Jer. i.; Ezek. i.–iii.

[2] Similarly, any great fire appearing suddenly and marvellously was in antiquity very generally regarded as a divine sign (see e.g. Appian's *Syr.* ch. lvi.) but here we have to do with something higher than the low and vain things which were often the objects of Heathen desire.

the foundation of a better religion as the basis of a higher life. But how few are able amid storms and passions really to perceive the truths invisibly germinating on such a soil, to discern them by the Divine light, and to carry them out with a divine confidence! That the eye of Moses discerned them, that it therefore suffered itself to be opened by the Divine Spirit to discern them, constitutes the immeasurable significance of his life. That there is no redemption from Egyptian bondage but in free obedience to the clearly perceived will of the Heavenly Lord; no deliverance from idolatry and the whole superstition of Egypt but by the service of the purely spiritual God: these truths, and such as these, must have come before the eye of Moses in all the power of a Divine illumination while as yet they had never been recognised with equal certainty by any one. And when we reflect with what overpowering force every truth, as it first starts up with distinct brightness, penetrates and renovates the entire man, we are able to understand how Moses could no longer remain with his father-in-law as a peaceful shepherd, when, as the Fifth Narrator says, he had seen the glorious bright fire shoot forth from the bush at Sinai, and heard the Divine voice issue from its midst.

Finally, religion is for man an absolutely authoritative and decisive power, because in all his acts he aims—whether mistakenly or not—either at obeying a law above him, or at gaining an attainable blessing. There is something which ultimately binds and constrains a man in his decisions and acts—something, therefore, which he fears, whether it be the right object of fear or not. If this is so, then the revelation of religion to others, i.e. prophecy, must possess an absolute authority, as a power to which all who draw near submit, with the sacrifice of their repugnance, when it really possesses weight and influence. But to acquire clear perceptions in religion is one of the most indispensable and consequently one of the earliest requirements of the human soul. Therefore prophecy naturally busies itself in every people at the earliest period, in founding a religion to be generally acknowledged, and in establishing large and enduring communities around its sacred fire. And so, when an earlier civilisation has been destroyed, new communities and states then form themselves around the reawakened prophetic power, as we saw only in 1848 in Africa with Abdelkâdir, and even later in Asia under Shamil and his predecessors.[1] According to every indication we must imagine

[1] From the interior of Africa at the present day, some lesser examples are given by Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, p. 193, 210 sq.

the Israel of that age to have been, on the one hand, in such a state of antique simplicity and purity of life that it readily submitted itself to the voice of prophecy, while, on the other, it was driven by extraordinary distress to consign itself to a firmer guidance and a closer union. Thus it was that Moses as a great Prophet could at that time become also the all-uniting and controlling leader of the people; and—what later on was impossible even to a great Prophet—he was able to be by the mere power of the Divine word for a long period the universally acknowledged leader and the mighty ruler, nay even the new lawgiver, of his people. If he, in an age which yet needed the establishment of a fixed social order and a generally accepted religion, and which was therefore, as it were, called on to trust such a Prophet in everything, was himself impelled by the wonderful truths just mentioned, and, strong in their strength, led a people penetrated by the power and obedient to the light of the same truths; then he became of necessity a Prophet with whom none before or after could compare. For in fact, the highly civilised Egyptians still possessed Prophets;[1] but at that time, since other powers—the sacerdotal and the regal—had acquired the real authority, they had long declined in importance, although they still occupied the first place in external dignity and rank; and Moses was distinguished from them, as from all heathen prophets, by the truths of pure religion which were exclusively his. From the later Prophets in Israel, however, he was distinguished by being the founder of that community in which, only through him and his institutions, they obtained the sphere of their activity. In his history, therefore, we see a unique example of a people, who throughout many decads, in a decisive crisis of their history, unswervingly submitted themselves to the sway of those higher truths which a Prophet first revealed, and to the bright light of which he had inured his eyes. This free guidance of a noble spirit, and this free obedience of a willing people, cannot appear too marvellous in our eyes. And if the prophetic energy rose in Moses to so amazing a height that his entire life and every action served as guide and motive to a willingly obedient people, we can understand how the Fifth Narrator could say[2] that Moses, though wanting in that faculty of ready speech which is the instrument of ordinary prophets, so that he was obliged

[1] As we now know not only from the reports of the Hebrews and other foreigners, but also from the old Egyptian writings themselves.

[2] Ex. iv. 10–16; but the Book of Origins had already briefly alluded to this, so that it must have had some foundation in tradition: Ex. vi. 12 sq., vii. 1 sq.

to have recourse to Aaron as his own prophet, i.e. spokesman, was not on account of this defect deemed in the sight of God unworthy of his high vocation. In fact this conception is only one among many by which the Old Testament seeks to express the superiority of this greatest of the Prophets above all others.

3. In thus recognising in Moses the greatest and most original of prophets, but still a prophet only, we pronounce that in him the last and highest revelation of the divine in man was not manifested; for the Prophet is the energetic proclaimer of a higher life, creates the impulse towards that life, and sternly requires conformity to it; but he does not present the actuality of that life in its blessed repose and perfection. Therefore he is not that which the Old Testament itself ultimately requires as its completion, and with which it concludes —the Messiah. But though this cannot be denied, the real greatness of Moses and of his work cannot be too clearly and distinctly realised by us. We therefore dwell upon it somewhat longer here at the beginning of his life, particularly as in recent times it has often been misunderstood.

There is nothing so characteristic of the community of Israel throughout all the centuries of its existence, and of the noble striving of its people, as the courageous direction of thought and act to the purely divine, the exclusive reliance on the true spiritual God and the blessings of life given by him. In this consisted the life and growth, as well as the glory and pride, of the people in Canaan. This was the aspiration which especially distinguished them from all other nations of antiquity: and even though this fundamental basis of the true community was at times neglected or violated by the people, contrary to their own mission, yet all the pure and noble spirits in the nation always returned to it again, recognising it with growing constancy and conviction as the greatest necessity of the life of the individual as well as of the whole community, and with ever increasing power and success leading others to hold faithfully to it. When did that national aspiration, thus peculiarly directed and defined, take its rise? When did that extraordinary courage, sincerity, and elevation of soul spring up, not merely weakly and transitorily, but as the indestructible possession of the entire community? Did the great Prophets of the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries create it all? Each word of theirs, and their very existence and ministry, testify that in their day that higher stage of spiritual elevation had been long reached in Israel, and was always assumed by them as the product of a

distant antique age. None can dispute this who have any true understanding of the utterances of a Hosea or an Amos, or of the history of an Elijah. Or did the times of Samuel and David with all their glory first kindle the holy fire of this aspiration? But (passing over for the present all that is to be subsequently explained) the strange difficulty and delay in the establishment of a monarchy—the true mission and the slowly matured fruit of that age—proves that a religion had been long in existence which, contrary to that of other nations, made reverence for the invisible Lord and King, and obedience to him alone, its greatest commandment. We shall be least of all inclined to attribute the origination of such an aspiration to the perplexed period of the Judges. Besides, among other indications, the song of Deborah, Judges v, points most clearly to an earlier glorious time of the formation of the people of Jahveh. Thus by this method also we are brought back to the Mosaic period as the origin and completion of all the noble aspiration and peculiar tendency of this community; and if we could only ascribe the second commandment, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any idol,' with certainty to Moses, that word declaring to all men, in opposition to all the other religions of the age, the pure spirituality of God and the necessity of a purely spiritual worship of him, would of itself prove that the entire spiritual course of later generations must have taken its rise and received its indelible bias from Moses and his age. We do not assert that the whole circle of truths connected with or rising from this foundation was as fully recognised or as certainly made his own by Moses as by later prophets, especially after Amos and Hosea. That could not be, from the mere fact that many of the errors with which they had to contend must have been entirely unknown in his day. Still less do we assert that in actual life Moses always acted unfalteringly in accordance with these truths, or gave a perfect example in following them out to their uttermost results; for the first recognition and foundation of a truth stretching to infinity is necessarily separated by a long interval from its perfectly corresponding expression in life; and Moses was not Christ, either in intrinsic possibility or according to the declarations and representations of the Pentateuch. The whole history shows that we have only to ascribe to him the pure healthy germ of all truth respecting a spiritual God, and the first powerful inexhaustible impulse given by the establishment of the community to the enduring preservation and fruitful development of that germ. But in fact, in spiritual matters, everything depends upon laying an indestruc-

tible right foundation; and every one who knows this and reflects on the nature of that basis of spiritual truth of which we here speak, will not hesitate to conclude that the man who took the lead with such a commencement must, in intrinsic power and greatness of soul, have been one of the first among the few whom posterity ever reverences as originators of truths perpetually self-renovating, and as guides to a better life.

Even the most original and capacious mind, indeed, requires for its development and efficiency a favourable moment that rouses and calls forth its energies. But when we inquire what kind of influences seconded Moses, we find our information to be remarkably defective on that point. Powerful impulses from without must have stirred him; for a view of life and a direction of thought so spiritual and so sharply defined as had their first expression through him, presuppose not only a vehement conflict between fundamentally different tendencies, but many previous stages of early culture, not of the lowest order. Now Egypt, in the midst of whose learning Moses was brought up, had been for many centuries, as is testified by its monuments, at a high stage of civilisation, particularly in the arts and dexterities of practical life; and when we desire to bring before us a more living picture of the great deliverer of his people, we are prone to think of him as described by the Third and Fourth Narrators,[1] vying with the most learned men and skilful enchanters of Egypt. But Moses' characteristics do not consist in such knowledge and such arts, which there gradually degenerated into priestly artifices. On the contrary, the insight and power peculiar to him, as well as the direction towards the spiritual and the invisible, implanted by him in the community, form the direct antithesis to the well-known principles and acts of the Egyptian priests and nobles. Now, although among the Egyptians themselves, various views were then arising on higher religion (p. 39 sq.), yet nothing really better became prevalent among them. That the deliverance and reconstitution of Israel sprang from Titanic struggles between the Egyptians and the Hebrews, is the glorious recollection of the entire nation at every period of its existence. That this strife was inseparably associated with a sharp conflict between two essentially different religions follows from the way in which the traditions invariably describe Jahveh as in strife with the Egyptian gods.[2] And it is still more distinctly proved

[1] Ex. vii. 11, 22, viii. 14 [18].

[2] Just as many Hindu traditions of combats between Vishnu and Çiva, Daitjas or Asuras and Suras, have sprung from stories of violent religious combats between the different parties. How ancient this conception is in the Old Testament, is seen in the words, Ex. xv. 11; Num. xxxiii. 4.

by the new commandment, given with such extreme emphasis, not to worship any image whatever; for that prohibition is of itself a plain declaration of war against the Egyptian religion, which, to a greater degree than any other in that remote antiquity, connected itself with pictorial and plastic representation, and brought home each one of its deities to the senses of the people by means of innumerable visible forms of every kind and in every place, and satisfied itself with paying homage to these.

Hence the Egyptian culture must have ultimately rather repelled than attracted Moses; its influence on him was rather negative than positive. What from the nature of the case must have acted powerfully on him, and, as an important narrative teaches,[1] did stir him deeply, was the sight and the personal experience of the suffering of his people. It is easy to understand how the knowledge of and sympathy with the great and wide-spread suffering of his own people would act upon a mind so powerful and healthy by nature. The extremest resolves of the indignant spirit would appear capable of realisation, and the deepest powers of life be roused into an astonishing energy. An oppressed people has not alone the advantage of right on its side, it possesses also the greater probability that its better energies, which were trodden down by the oppression, may suddenly burst forth more irresistibly from their secret hold; and a man who, like Moses, has early received the culture of the dominant nation, when he returns to his people with strong affection may, if he feels himself elevated and delivered from delusion by a truth not too much beyond the reach of his people, with so much the more address and good fortune, and so much the greater justice, attempt to deliver them, and rise against their oppressors. That at the time of Moses there was still in Israel a living memory of the glory of the Patriarchs, and of their religion, so simple and sublime in comparison with the superstition of the Egyptians, is both certain from what has been said above respecting the earliest period of Hebrew power, and expressly presupposed in many passages.[2] If the remembrance of the earlier simpler religion and of the ancient greatness of the Hebrews, was confronted in the mind of Moses with the degeneracy of their present oppressors and the manifold superstitions they loved to favour; and if, above all, he was himself inwardly strengthened and made free by the higher truth; can it then surprise us that a spirit like his, born again to a better life, not only, in direct antagonism to those pernicious errors, kept firm hold on the old traditional truth, but

[1] Ex. ii. 11–14.

[2] As Ex. vi. 3, iii. 15.

also, now that the Egyptian errors were developed so far, and maintained so tenaciously, brought forth an unexpected treasure of great new truths? Such exceptional periods of bitter oppression and strife are the most calculated to elicit the sparks of fresh noble truths and to set the heart of a whole nation on fire with them; and it is amazing what a group of the richest and most abiding truths now sprang up, as at a touch, from the quivering ground.

In Moses, therefore, the mighty originator and leader of this entire new national movement, the appreciation of the grand comprehensive thought just described, and the courage it inspired, must first have become firm as a rock. He himself must first have been regenerated, redeemed, and marvellously strengthened by it. Without this assumption total darkness obscures this history; but its necessity and its truth are vouched for by the entire subsequent course of events. That thought, with the elevation of the pure spirit which it generates, is too grand and unparalleled to have at first attained its full power anywhere else than in the energetic concentration and compact strength of soul of a single individual, since the same grand and original thought does not spring up with equally irresistible power and clearness in many minds at the same time; and every indication reveals that this one person was no other than Moses himself. And this is what we must here of necessity take for granted, in order to understand even the earliest development of the following history.

C. THE STRUGGLE IN EGYPT, AND THE EXODUS OF ISRAEL.

I. The Struggle in Egypt.

When we enter into the details of the commencement of this higher history of Moses, and inquire how it was that the future hero never forgot the distress of the people when he was in a foreign land; how the resolution to return to Egypt as their deliverer ripened in him; how he succeeded in raising his people, depressed by the burden of slavery and still more by their own apathy, in inspiring them with the courage to strive earnestly for deliverance, in uniting them in one grand design, and in extorting from Pharaoh the permission of a free departure; we must then indeed confess that it is impossible for us to discover and describe the full connection and special course of all these manifold events. The present state of the Biblical records makes it impossible distinctly to trace the plan of these first fine threads of the subsequent great historical event. Nor

shall we much wonder at this deficiency if we reflect that it is only as a successful and completed achievement that the great work enters into the memory of the great world, or into the light of history. What we are still able to recover and bring forward is as follows:—

It is evidently acknowledged in all the different representations now before us, that it was an actual religious war that raged with great bitterness and pertinacity between the Israelites and the ruler of Egypt; and as the independent Egyptian traditions, which will be treated of hereafter, accord with this, we may regard it as one of the best attested certainties of the history of that epoch. If the Egyptians desired to incorporate the Israelites entirely into their own community, so that they should form an integral portion of the Egyptian nationality, though one possessed of fewer privileges, and weighted with heavier burdens, they were under the necessity of also forcing upon them the Egyptian religion and reverence for the Egyptian priesthood. But even Israel's accustomed animal sacrifices, especially those of rams and bulls, were an abomination which the Egyptians, on account of the zoolatry which had long prevailed among them, would by no means suffer upon their territory.[1] If this oppression could not be removed by any means, the Israelites were obliged to think of emigration. We read that at first Moses and Aaron demanded from Pharaoh only permission for the people to celebrate a festival to their God, upon land which was not Egyptian, and therefore that they might retire 'three days' distance' into the desert of the peninsula of Sinai, and there sacrifice to their God in the midst of friendly tribes.[2] Should this most reasonable request be refused, or be so granted as to raise just doubts respecting the sincerity of the permission, then there could no longer be any crime in the complete emigration of a people oppressed in its conscience and its most sacred feelings. And it thus de-

[1] This is the meaning of the words, Ex. viii. 22. comp. x. 25 sq., written indeed only by the Fourth Narrator, but yet certainly derived from a reliable ancient tradition. We know indeed but little of the real nature of Egyptian sacrifices; what Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, v. p. 340 sqq.) has collected is left quite in the rough, and far more mistaken are the ideas of Henry in his very unsatisfactory book, *L'Égypte Pharaonique*, Paris, 1846, i. p. 243 sqq. But the excessive tenderness towards animals evinced in their deification is the very negation of their use in sacrifice; and that the latter, in so far as it existed among the Egyptians, was very peculiar, may be seen from Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, xxxi.; Tac. *Hist.* v. 4. And undoubtedly the marked contrast in the offerings corresponded with that between the two religions.

[2] 'Three days' distance,' according to p. 24, may be taken as a form of speech and not a literal estimate; but three days' journey are about sufficient to reach the commencement of the Sinaitic range from the Red Sea; and in this instance three days are actually mentioned, Num. xxxiii. 8; Ex. xv. 22.

pended upon Israel as well as upon Pharaoh what part each would take respecting this most reasonable religious requirement: whether the nation would pertinaciously insist on it, whether the king would obstinately refuse, or, at best, hypocritically grant it. This view of the contest is the one that appears most distinctly in the most circumstantial accounts;[1] and its foundation is certainly very ancient.

Few traces are found just here of the Earliest Narrator. We perceive, however, from some detached phrases derived from him,[2] that, like the subsequent narrators, he supposed the Exodus to have been brought about by Pharaoh's at last consenting to it.[3]

Of the Book of Origins more has been here preserved; and judging by the fragments derived from it,[4] it must have treated this portion of the history with greater fulness. According to the passages now preserved, it would enter somewhat abruptly upon the history of the deliverance, if we assume that Ex. vi. 2–vii. 7 immediately followed Ex. ii. 25 without any intervening gap; and in fact the author, as if supplying an omission, when he describes the special relation between Aaron and Moses as brothers, sons of the same mother, furnishes the necessary information respecting the genealogy of the two brothers.[5] But that there is a gap now, is proved by certain words in the passage,[6] according to which Moses had previously pleaded much but unsuccessfully with his people (which is related in its proper place, but not now in the words of the Book of Origins), and then at length, when reduced to despair, received from God the revelation of final deliverance, and the command to negotiate with Pharaoh. Peculiar to this narrator, and connected with his close coordination of Moses and Aaron, is the beautiful description how Moses, on receiving the first Divine call to act against Pharaoh, felt himself a man of uncircumcised tongue, and on that account received Aaron from God as his spokesman, just as God himself takes a prophet as spokesman[7] (or mouth) for the revelation of his secret will. The Fifth Narrator, imitating this in his accustomed way, introduces it beforehand

[1] Those of the Fourth Narrator (see principally Ex. viii. 21 sq., x. 25 sq.) and of the Fifth. The Book of Origins, on the contrary, always represents Moses as demanding permission to leave Egypt immediately and freely.

[2] Ex. xiii. 17, comp. in Book of Origins vi. 11, and elsewhere.

[3] It is important to observe this, lest we might be tempted to regard the Exodus as a secret flight like that of the horde of Torgautic Tatars, who in 1771 crossed secretly from Russia into China, 300,000 strong.

[4] Ex. vi. 2–vii. 7, xi. 4–8, and xii. sq.; indeed nearly the whole of the last two chapters.

[5] Ex. vi. 12–vii. 1.

[6] Ex. vi. 9, 12, and especially xiv. 11 sq.

[7] Ex. vi. 12 sq., vii. 1 sq.

in a different connection.[1] The fragments also show that this book must have narrated that Pharaoh was hardened[2] and did not let the people go free at Moses' urgent entreaty, till after he had experienced many signs and judgments from Jahveh. But we now find only one of such judgments, the last and the heaviest, described in his own words—the destruction of all the first-born in Egypt from the heir to the throne downwards. This account appears to have been retained by the Fifth Narrator, chiefly because it was interwoven with the recital of the laws of the Passover and the First-born in Israel; and the Last Narrator usually repeats in a fuller form the legislative portions of the Book of Origins. How much this book told of the other signs and judgments, we cannot now accurately determine; but that its descriptions sometimes diverged from other accounts is evident from a passage[3] which shows that it must have represented 'the judgments' as executed on the Egyptian gods also, and have described them more at large. The exact description of the state of the crops at the time of the hail[4] seems also to belong to a narrator who, like the author of the Book of Origins, generally gives very minute time-statements; for if, as this work says, the destruction of the first-born took place on the night of the passover, the hail is very suitably placed about a month earlier, when it could destroy the harvest of flax and barley, but not the later wheat and spelt. But the explanation of that tradition concerning the first-born can only be given later in connection with the explanation of all such laws; here it may suffice to observe that this tradition can only have assumed this definite shape from the ideas associated with the passover.

A few passages at all events may be clearly traced to the Third Narrator. First, the story that God summoned Moses to return to Egypt, because his persecutors there were dead,[5] must be derived from him; this corresponds to the description of the flight of Moses.[6] Secondly, it is probable that we

[1] Ex. iv. 10–16.

[2] The proper expression for hardening is הקשה Ex. vii. 3, xiii. 15, in place of which the Fourth and Fifth Narrators constantly use derivatives of the roots חזק and כבד iv. 21, ix. 12, x. 20, 27, xi. 10, xiv. 4, 8, 17; comp. vii. 13, 22, viii. 15 [19], ix. 35. The expression שְׁפָטִים *judgments* is also peculiar to the Book of Origins: Ex. vi. 6, vii. 4, xii. 12, Num. xxxiii. 4. Of the dismissal, or permission to depart, given to the Israelites, the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators employ the strong expression גרשׁ *to drive away*, a word in frequent use in their writings: Gen. iii. 24, iv. 14, xxi. 10; Ex. ii. 17, vi. 1, x. 11, xi. 1, xii. 39 (xxxiii. 2, and xxxiv. 11, imitated from xxiii. 29–31); Num. xxii. 7, 11; from which verb the Book of Origins has only גְּרוּשָׁה in the technical sense *a divorced wife*.

[3] Num. xxxiii. 4.

[4] Ex. ix. 31 sq.

[5] Ex. iv. 19.

[6] Ex. ii. 1–22.

owe to him the detailed account of the increasing sufferings of the people during the first efforts of Moses and Aaron, and also of their indignation against Moses,[1] a description which in point of style is decidedly earlier than the Fourth Narrator, and neither fits into the context of the Book of Origins, nor altogether harmonises with the manner of the Earliest Narrator. Other passages belonging to this writer will afterwards be brought under our notice.

The negotiations with Pharaoh, as now described, are in the main derived from the Fourth Narrator; and as is elsewhere the case with him, it is not the materials themselves which are new, but merely their artistic arrangement and employment. This can be shown pretty completely so far as the main points are concerned. That staff of God which, according to this Narrator as well as the Fifth,[2] played so great a part, which Moses as commanded by Jahveh gives to Aaron to stretch forth, or himself raises; and which subsequently, as a wonder-working staff, is inseparable from the great leader's hand:[3] what is it in reality but that same high priest's staff, whose origin is placed much later by the Book of Origins,[4] and which, these passages show, was considered at the time they were written as the ancient sign of the power and dignity of the house of Aaron, and must at that very time have been actually preserved in the sanctuary? for that latest conception[5] of it as the original shepherd's staff in the hand of Moses, is only a beautiful turn given to the tradition respecting its origin. Further, among the ten plagues by which Pharaoh is ultimately coerced into compliance, eight are nothing more than extraordinary calamities of such a kind as may occur in any country, but most frequently and easily in the swampy northern portion of Egypt (only that, in connection with this history, they are to be viewed in that terrible light in which the locusts are regarded by Joel[6]), and are arranged in an appropriate advance in severity: frogs out of the water, mosquitoes as if swarming from the dust, dogflies, murrain among the cattle, a kind of blains, hail, locusts, darkness.[7] To these is

[1] Ex. v. ‴

[2] Commencing at Ex. iv. 2–4, 20.

[3] Ex. xiv. 16, comp. 21; further xvii. 5, and 9, comp. 11. From all the available indications we infer that the Third Narrator wrote the passage vii. 8–12; especially because the serpent is there always named תַּנִּין, but in iv. 3, vii. 15, is called נָחָשׁ

[4] Num. xvii. 16–23, comp. xx. 9.

[5] Ex. iv. 2.

[6] The words Ex. x. 14 sound exactly as if the narrator had in mind the passage Joel ii. 2 sq.

[7] For this simple order, Philo, in the description of the Ten Plagues in his *Life of Moses* (i. 17–24), substitutes a more artificial one, which he may have drawn from the scholastic interpretations of his

prefixed as the first plague, the red or bloody Nile, a most oppressive one in Egypt, owing to the deficiency of other drinking water (this phenomenon, however, by itself is also noticed elsewhere);[1] as the tenth and last plague is added, the slaying of all the first-born, which, as remarked above, is derived from a wholly different source. It is self-evident that the round number ten is here selected with deliberate art.[2] The whole constitutes a very Egyptian picture, indeed more so than the separate details: in no nation was the observation and the fear of extraordinary atmospheric and other natural phenomena so early and carefully developed as in Egypt. The Egyptians are beaten by the true God, in and through their own faith—that is the fundamental thought of the whole.

The Fifth Narrator, who moulds all these materials together, prefaces this entire section, according to his wont, with a grand introduction of his own, in order at once to present the history of Moses, as the divinely appointed Redeemer of Israel and opponent of Pharaoh, with all the most appropriate sublime images and truths. Especially remarkable is the application he makes of a material borrowed from the Third Narrator. This narrator, namely, as far as we can now judge, was the first who had ventured to depict the contest between Moses and the Egyptian magicians before Pharaoh. We may well assume that he had selected precisely three examples of this contest:[3] the transformation

time:—1. Three are produced by Aaron from earth and water, viz. bloody water, frogs, mosquitoes (Auth. V. *lice*); 2. Three by Moses from air and fire, viz. hail, locusts, darkness; 3. The seventh is produced by both Moses and Aaron, viz. boils; 4. And the last three by the immediate hand of God, viz. flies, murrain among cattle, and the death of the first-born. This division into classes evidently reflects the scholasticism of Philo's age. Even before Philo, the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* (commencing xvi. 16) had written an eloquent description of these plagues; indeed, the later writers generally were fond of contemplating them with astonishment, and Rabbinical authors add to the description many of their characteristic conceits.

[1] Comp. Ex. iv. 9 and vii. 17; afterwards (vii. 19–24) the transformation is extended to all the water in the country. The Nile often changes its colour, and becomes green or red, and then the water, generally clear and salubrious, becomes offensive and unwholesome; see Abdollatif, edited by de Sacy, p. 333-346, and the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, t. xviii. p. 571 sq.; Ehrenberg in Poggendorf's *Annalen der Physik*, 1830, p. 477, and the Berlin Academy's *Monatsbericht* for 1849, p. 294 sqq.; 1850, p. 9 sqq., 169 sqq.; 1862, p. 202 sqq., and *Phys. Abh.* for 1847, p. 269 sqq.; also *Catal. codd. Syr. Mus. Brit.* p. 89 a. As these changes vary much in degree in different years, the extraordinary redness here described together with its evil consequences, is at all events imaginable; and the principle to be chiefly insisted upon here is, that we should not look upon any statement contained in it as a baseless invention. And even Manetho notices that under King Nephercheres, in the *second* dynasty, the Nile ran with honey-water for eleven days. But even now many similar phenomena are observed and noticed as curious, as a rain of fishes (*Ausland*, 1857, p. 164 sq.); and in Makrizi's *History of the Mameluke Sultans* many similar things are undoubtingly reported from Egypt in the Middle Ages.

[2] Mohammed incorrectly speaks of new wonders, Sur. xvii. 103 sq.

[3] In Ex. xii. 8–13, indeed, we now find

of the magic staff into a snake and back again;[1] the somewhat similar change of a sound hand into a leprous one, and *vice versâ*,[2] both doubtless nothing more than arts in which enchanters and soothsayers at that time were wont to vie with each other,—and indeed the narrative assumes that the Egyptian magicians were able to produce the same results, though in an inferior degree; and lastly, the above (p. 62) mentioned change of the water of the Nile into blood. A contest in such genuine Egyptian arts is in fact in its right place in the presence of Pharaoh; and, doubtless, all that was related originally was that Moses had excelled all the wise men of Egypt. But after the Fourth Narrator had gone further in this,[3] the Fifth represented those three magic arts as given to Moses directly from God himself, in order that he might first display them to the people of Israel, and thus awaken their confidence in his mission.[4]

Amidst the free use of such materials, this narrator, following his predecessor, strove to exhibit the model of the true Prophet at the very commencement of the history of the ministry of Moses: this constitutes the design of the whole.

only the first example by the Third Narrator; but this clearly stands too isolated there. Probably the latest author would not repeat the other two as related by that authority, because the Fourth Narrator had turned the third instance of this into the first of his ten prodigies.

[1] Ex. vii. 8–13; comp. iv. 2–4, vii. 15. It is important to notice, especially in this connection, that the age of the Fourth Narrator is just the time when prophecy, both in its purer and in its less pure forms, was peculiarly active. The modern works of Rosellini and Wilkinson on Ancient Egypt disclose from the public monuments no new facts respecting such Egyptian arts; but many passages in the Old Testament from the eighth or later centuries speak of the art of snake-charming, as Ps. lviii. 5 [4] sq., and that this was most and certainly earliest practised in Egypt, where some kinds of serpents were regarded as sacred, we know positively also from Ælian's *History of Animals*, xvii. 5; comp. xi. 16 sq. 32. See also Seetzen's *Reisen*, iii. p. 446, 468. Böttiger (*Kleine Schriften antiquarischen Inhalts*, 1837, vol. i. p. 101) refers not without reason to the serpent encircling the staff of Æsculapius. But the point of the Biblical story is not reached till the staff, and consequently also the serpent, of Aaron swallows those of the Egyptian magicians, Ex. vii. 12. This is only the clearest expression of what all these stories really teach—the higher truth and power of the religion of Jahveh as established in contest with others.

[2] Comp. Ex. iv. 6 sq. This sign has obvious reference to the priestly functions in case of leprosy, and to the belief that a distinguished priest of God had power both to inflict it as a punishment, and to cure it; and how truly Hebrew this sign is, we learn from an instance occurring in the Book of Origins, Num. xii. 10–15. Yet we must also remember that the Egyptians early possessed a high repute in the arts of healing and of magic, as is testified even in the *Odyssey*, iv. 227 sqq.; so that such a contest between Moses and the Egyptian sages seemed quite natural. Indeed Athôtis, the son of Menes himself, passed for the author of the earliest book upon anatomy; see *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1852, p. 1156 sq.; and according to Manetho the king Sosorthros in the third dynasty was regarded by the Egyptians as their Æsculapius. The proverbs referring to the white hand of Moses, which we find in later writers (e.g. Khondemir in d'Herbelot under *Manghch*) are all derived in the first instance from Ex. iv. 6 sq.

[3] He had transferred the occasion of contest to the ten plagues, Ex. vii. 22, viii. 3. 14 sq. [7, 18 sq.], ix. 11; after the third of which the Egyptian sages confess their defeat.

[4] Ex. iv. 1–9.

Every word and deed of a true Prophet is preceded by a Divine direction; he must first have cast his eyes on the pure bright light, he must be moved by the spirit's power at the right moment, when a real necessity arises in the divine-human province of a Prophet's activity; and he must start with a clear resolve, or (to speak from the Divine point of view) with a definite commission: all this was fulfilled in Moses,[1] while he tarried a solitary shepherd at Sinai. But the true Prophet does not blindly follow at once the inward monition; he must first calmly and thoughtfully survey the realities of his position and the measure of his own powers, drawing forward into the light every cause of hesitation, in order if possible to overcome it for ever. Thus Moses ponders upon his general unfitness,[2] the possible doubts of his own nation,[3] amounting probably to disbelief of his mission,[4] and the defect in speech with which he was afflicted.[5] But all such scruples only presented themselves to be overruled by higher considerations, so that in the end nothing remained but in spite of them to undertake the great work.[6] But even after the people were ready to follow him, his patience was tried afresh by the loud complaints of the overseers of the people when they were punished by Pharaoh; and here the author takes the opportunity to introduce that long passage from the Book of Origins.[7] From the first Moses demanded nothing more of Pharaoh than once to allow the people to celebrate a festival to their God at Sinai. The fact that the original demand was of such a purely religious and unobjectionable nature, and that this is all that is described as the Divine command to Pharaoh,[8] is a striking proof that the modest, glorious spirit of prophecy in its best age has penetrated this story. But Pharaoh, as if driven by the consequences of his former injustice against this people, and foreboding the worst, does not grant this reasonable request of a mere pilgrimage to Sinai, but rejects it scornfully and in terms of contempt to Jahveh.[9] Hence arises the protracted contest between him and Jahveh as the heads of the contending parties, and between their respective agents, the magicians, whose art avails only to a certain point, and the genuine

[1] According to Ex. iii. 1–10.
[2] Ex. iii. 11 sq.
[3] Ex. iii. 13–22.
[4] Ex. iv. 1–9.
[5] Ex. iv. 10–17.
[6] In describing here Moses' return to Egypt the author inserts from the Earliest Narrator a very slight mention of Jethro (iv. 18, comp. xviii), then (vv. 24–26) an account of the circumcision of Moses' son (see my *Alterthümer*, p. 105 sq.), and (ver. 27) the still more detached and curious account of Aaron's journey into the desert, comp. פגש vv. 24, 27, Gen. xxxii. 18 [17], xxxiii. 8 with פגע Ex. v. 3, 20.
[7] Ex. iv. 29–vii. 7.
[8] Ex. iii. 12, 18, iv. 23, v. 1–8, vii. 16 sqq.
[9] Ex. v. 2.

prophet and leader—a contest in which the might of wrong relying on its supposed supports and some apparent successes, becomes at first more and more obstinate; and then, when the necessary consequences of such conduct turn against it in ever increasing chastisements, remains undecided in the moment of decision, and lets every little delay and every little relic of delusive hope blind it anew to maintain the imaginary good to which it clings, but thereby only loses step by step all its force and dignity; and at length, when the tenth, last, and heaviest plague inexorably approaches, is after all forced to yield—an eternal great type of the vain resistance to right and truth. Thus he, who at first would not allow even the adult men, and then not the herds necessary for the sacrifice, to go, is at last obliged to beg their blessing at their sacrifices, and to give them victims from his own property.[1]

Everything in this story is on a coherent and sublime plan, is grand and instructive, excites and satisfies the mind. It is like a divine drama, exhibited on earth in the midst of real history; to be regarded in this light and to be treasured accordingly. Not that we hereby assert, that this story does not on the whole exhibit the essence of the event as it actually happened. For the sequel of the narrative shows that Pharaoh did not voluntarily allow the people to go; and we cannot form too exalted an idea of Moses. But we do insist that the story as it now is cannot have been drawn up before the era of the great Prophets.[2]

The story of the despoiling the Egyptians of their gold and silver vessels and clothes,[3] which, with the similar tradition of the origin of the Feast of unleavened bread,[4] seems to have had its ultimate source in the book of the Earliest Narrator, is not now so closely interwoven with the whole. The Fifth Narrator, it must be admitted, connects this despoiling as closely as he possibly could with the plan of the whole transaction which he had adopted. At the very beginning of the Divine equipment of Moses, it was prophesied to him that Jahveh would procure the people so much favour with the Egyptians that they would receive voluntary loans of vessels and clothes, which they

[1] If the words Ex. xii. 32, 'and bless me also,' are not intended to indicate the gift of such animals for sacrifice (which certainly ought to have been more clearly expressed), we must suppose on account of x. 25 sq., that here also the Fourth Narrator's story has not come down to us entire.

[2] The spirit of this story is therefore preserved in the greatest purity by those who think and teach that like faults may still at any time entail like judgments, as when simple-minded historians in later ages tell of similar events occurring in their time; as Vahram in the *Armenian Chronicle*, translated by Neumann, p. 39.

[3] Ex. iii. 21 sq., xi. 2 sq., xii. 35 sq.

[4] Ex. xii. 34, 39.

should carry away. And so it happened: the Egyptians lent the departing people precious vessels and clothes, because (as we are once[1] expressly told) Moses was held in great honour by the Egyptian people as well as by Pharaoh's servants; and as, from the sequel of the story, Israel could not return to Egypt after Pharaoh's treachery and the incidents on the Red Sea, and therefore was not bound to return the borrowed goods, the people kept them and despoiled the Egyptians of them. That this abstraction is no theft in the eyes of the narrator, and that nothing but Pharaoh's subsequent treachery rendered the return of the goods impossible, is a matter of course. And as in this turn of affairs to the advantage of Israel there may be a kind of Divine recompense—in so far as, seen from the end, it appears a piece of high retributive justice, far above human inequalities, that those who had long been oppressed in Egypt should now be forced to borrow the necessary vessels from the Egyptians, and be obliged by Pharaoh's subsequent treachery to retain them, and thus be indemnified for long oppression—the Fifth Narrator might imagine this end as necessarily foretold by Jahveh at the very beginning, and therefore treat the subject as we now see it.[2] Yet the whole affair contains something so special, and is so loosely connected with the remaining occurrences of the story, that it must have originally had a weightier meaning. Why are only vessels and clothes mentioned? are these in themselves so very important? We learn nothing else of any such apparently trivial things in those times; why then just of these? We are brought nearer to the original significance by the fact that these vessels and clothes[3] were undeniably intended for use in the sacrificial festival which Israel was about to celebrate. This places us at once on a higher level, and we feel that it must so much the less have been an ordinary theft. Israel deprived the Egyptians of the true religion, took from them the proper apparatus of sacrifice, and with them the true sacred rites and victims themselves: this must manifestly be the original meaning of this tradition. In every such great crisis of the histories and religions of two peoples, the main point is, which of the contending parties will wrest the good to himself, which suffer it to be wrested from him. For some higher and greater good develops itself in the very struggle, and one of the antagonists ultimately lets the prize be snatched from him. As victor,

[1] Ex. xi. 3.

[2] In this sense the later poet of Ps. cv. 37 and the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* x. 17, allude to this passage of history.

[3] According to Ex. iii. 12, and other similar passages.

Israel had then reason to boast of having acquired the right sacrifice from the Egyptians. This resembles the story of Rachel's purloining Laban's household gods (i. p. 355 sq.), or the Greek myth of the theft of the Golden Fleece.[1] Without doubt, then, this is based on some primeval significative story, which the last narrator first brought into its present connection. And when we remember that the sharpness and cunning, or even in a certain sense the justice, of theft was actually admired and praised, and by no nation so early and so generally as by the Egyptians,[2] we cannot fail to recognise in this passage of the great Egyptian-Hebrew tradition a true Egyptian colouring and high antiquity. We have only to regret that the whole story is not preserved entire.

In like manner some minute reminiscences of the beginning of the Exodus itself have been preserved from the oldest documents. We are now prepared (from p. 58 sq.) to think that Moses, after Pharaoh had obstinately refused, or only hypocritically granted, the request for free exercise of their religion, was perfectly justified in meditating a complete emigration of the people. In that case he must have known beforehand the country to which he intended to lead it: and all indications tend to show that from the first he thought only of Canaan, and set the people's hearts on that land only. It was his fixed prophetic habitude to direct Israel to 'the land which Jahveh will give thee;'[3] and it was the firm belief that this would assuredly come to pass at length, which nerved and sustained him and through him Israel. This is one of the grand prophetical declarations which impelled and supported all that long period. He might therefore have intended to lead the people to Canaan at once by the shortest road; and that he really did intend this, is to be deduced from the earliest reminiscences which have been preserved. The expedition set out from the town Raamses.[4] This town was indeed regarded (according to p. 11) as the chief city of the land of Goshen; but another reason for its being chosen as the place of rendezvous and departure, evidently was that it lay more to the east than the above (p. 13) men-

[1] See Josephus, Ant. xviii. 9. 5, for an instance occurring in the first century of the Christian era and in the same region, and similar though sometimes obscure heathen stories in Theoph. *ad Autolyc.* ii. 52, p. 246, Wolf; Müller's *Orchomenos*, p. 385; C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* tom. iii. p. 388 sq.; and note also how in the *Shahnameh* Alexander steals from Darius his cup, by which, according to Gen. xliv. 2 sq., more than a common cup is meant.

[2] According to Herod. ii. 121; Diod. *Hist.* i. 80; Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* xi. 18.

[3] This follows from the undoubtedly genuine Mosaic words, Ex. xx. 12, comp. Deut. v. 16.

[4] Num. xxxiii. 3 sqq., out of which ancient record the Book of Origins has already mentioned these first marches by anticipation, Ex. xii. 37, xiii. 20, comp. above, p. 21.

tioned Pithom. According to the Earliest Narrator, however, 'God led the people when they set forth in complete battle array,[1] not by the nearest way, that to the north-east (through the land of the Philistines), to Canaan, but by the south-east, over the desert near the Red Sea; because he feared that the people, terrified or defeated by the powerful enemies which it would inevitably meet, might turn back to Egypt.' This very simple view undoubtedly contains the right key to the understanding of the first marches of the people under Moses. That the nations which they would unavoidably meet on the nearest north-eastern route were no Hyksôs—that is, allies of Israel of ancient date, or at any rate peoples of cognate race—we may gather from other indications also (see i. p. 242 sqq.). To lead the people in the first movement of its hurried departure, and in its very unprepared state, immediately against such nations, should they strenuously oppose the transit, would have been the last mode of escape that a prudent leader would choose. Nevertheless, we now perceive from the exact indications of the several encampments, as well as from the embarrassment of the immediately succeeding history, that that north-eastern route (probably to the north of Lake Timsah or the Crocodile Lake) was really the one at first adopted, as if Moses himself had not at first thoroughly appreciated the great danger that threatened from that quarter. The people advanced two stations on this route, and there stood on the frontier of the land, at the border of the desert that separates Egypt from Palestine, the land of the Philistines.[2] Now at that spot he must have resolved to

[1] חֲמֻשִׁים 'in fives,' Ex. xiii. 17 sq., i.e. divided into centre, right and left wing, van and rear: the simplest arrangement of an army marching in order of battle; see the description of Saladin's army in Freytag's *Chrest. Arab.* 1834, p. 120, l. 2, and on خميس Earl Munster's *Fihrist.* p. 59; and so the army and camp of Israel were arranged in later times also. That the Israelites departed unarmed is a groundless assumption of Philo, *Life of Moses*, i. 31 (*Eus. Præp. Ev.* viii. 6, 8); Josephus, *Antiquities*, ii. 15. 3, 4, 16. 6, and other later writers.

[2] According to Num. xxxiii. 5 sq.; Ex. xiii. 20, comp. xiv. 2, 3, 9, they journeyed 'from Raamses to Succoth, and from thence to Etham at the edge of the desert.' Modern inquirers have hitherto discovered neither Succoth nor Etham, and if sought in a southern direction straight towards the Red Sea (as is the case even in Robinson's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 54 sq.), it is not likely that they will ever be found; for the unusual expression שׁוּב 'to turn back,' Num. xxxiii. 7, Ex. xiv. 2, so strongly emphasised by the writer in his brief remarks, would then have no meaning. But the entire Arabian desert bordering on Egyptian territory, and extending southwards beyond the point of the Red Sea, is known by the name of Etham, Num. xxxiii. 8. The commonly received opinion of modern writers, that the Israelites took the high road which leads from Heliopolis to the south-east, with which the modern route starting from Kâhira (Cairo) is nearly identical, scarcely deserves refutation, although mentioned by Josephus, *Antiquities*, ii. 15. 1. And Tischendorf's opinion also (*de Israelitarum per Mare Rubrum transitu*, Lips. 1847), that they started from Heliopolis and went to the north-east, rests upon the assumption of the identity of Raamses with Heliopolis; an opinion found only in Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii. 7. 6) and still

strike off into the other route, and first to collect his forces at the sanctuary of Sinai, with his near friend the prince of Midian. Beyond doubt hostile bands threatened from the north-east, if he did not change his route. Thus he led the host halfway back (probably first south-west between the Crocodile Lake and the Bitter Lakes) completely into Egyptian territory, then westward from the Bitter Lakes, in an almost desolate tract, due south, down to the place where he would fall in with that south-eastern route; and encamped there at Pi-hahiroth, a small place which doubtless lay on the western coast of the Red Sea, above Suez.[1] We are not told how many days were lost in this change of plan and in the return hither; but if Pharaoh was informed of it and then sent an army against Israel, several days must have elapsed, which is indeed intrinsically the most probable. At any rate the natural result of the above-described cross-marches would be to lead Pharaoh to the belief that the people were 'lost in the land,' that 'the desert (the north-eastern one towards Palestine) had shut them in'—i.e. had taken them prisoners and made them a prey.[2] And as his readiness to consent to the Exodus had never been great, it is easy to understand how he would take advantage of this perplexity of the leader of Israel and still carry off the victory by a sudden *coup de main*. In this case his plan could not be doubtful: he had to pursue Moses from the north-west on the

later writers; but originally not held even by the LXX., as is evident by page 11 sq. (the variation of *Codex* vii. ε καὶ Ὦν for καὶ Ὦν makes no difference), and intrinsically utterly baseless. If we knew the exact position of Etham, we could pretty nearly determine from it that of Raamses, which is to be looked for at two short days' journey to the west of it. See *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, iv. p. 228–230.

[1] 'Pi-hahiroth over against Baal-Zephon (the city of Typhon, according to page 12), between Migdol and the sea,' Ex. xiv. 2, 9. See also Num. xxxiii. 7, where, as the encampment was not close to Migdol, we are forced to assume that after וַיִּחֲנוּ לִפְנֵי the words פִּי הַחִירוֹת בֵּין הַיָּם וּבֵין have fallen out, as also that in ver. 8 מִפְנֵי is to be read for מִפְּנֵי. It was clearly not a large or well-known place; as otherwise it would not have been so fully described. The opinion of Léon de la Borde in his *Commentaire géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres* (Paris, 1841), that the present castle 'Ajerûd or Ajrud, عجرود, called by Pococke and Shaw Agorute (see Hartmann's *Edrisii Africa*, p. 441) to the north-west of Suez, is to be identified with its site and name (in which case *pi* must be considered as the Egyptian article), is not without probability. On Migdol see above, p. 6; it was probably originally the advanced bulwark of Abari on the west, as the other Migdol was that of Pelusium on the north.

On the other hand, Linant in the *Mémoire sur le Canal projeté entre les deux Mers*, and Fresnel following him in the *Journ. Asiat.* 1848, i. p. 276 sq., find Pi-hahiroth in a place much further northwards, on the Lake Timsâch and the old bed of the Gulf of Heroöpolis; and this more northerly site would so well accord with the explanations given, p. 11 sq. 68, that I myself formerly looked for it there; and we might then find in ha-Hiroth the *Hero* of Heroöpolis, and in פִּי הַחִירוֹת the *mouth* of the canal. But the turning back, mentioned p. 68, must have been a very decided change of direction: and the narrative speaks very distinctly of the *Great Red Sea*.

[2] Ex. xiv. 3.

route leading to the Red Sea, in order if possible to overwhelm him before he could attempt to cross the Sea; because Moses had lost all power of moving to the north, the sea seemed to cut off all flight to the east, and an escape to the south was in itself out of the question. When he, driven by revenge in the execution of this resolve, blindly attacked the flying people and there effected his own destruction, quite as unexpectedly as they their escape to Asia, the whole external history of Moses and his time suddenly reaches its culminating point; and incidents which by themselves, out of the nexus of their antecedents and consequences, and apart from the spiritual agencies working in secret, would have had no extraordinary significance, constitute by their connection with the rest a most momentous event, which determined the course of history for many ages.

II. The Passage of the Red Sea.

For I do not hesitate to assert most emphatically, that it is solely in consequence of the immediately preceding and then continuing excitation of noblest efforts and extraordinary spiritual energies that the event by which the history of Moses rapidly attains its culmination—the destruction of the Egyptian host in the Red Sea and the preservation of Israel—has acquired its unparalleled importance; but that otherwise, like a hundred other events resembling it externally, it would have passed away almost traceless in human history, and its very memory have been readily lost. The highest efforts and sublimest energies of the spirit struggling for deliverance must have immediately preceded it, not merely on the part of Moses, but also on that of the nation gathering around him and courageously following his voice, when it called them to freedom. This is implied in the nature of the case; and what existing narratives relate respecting it can only be regarded as a slight reminiscence of the days which witnessed the rise of a most powerful spiritual movement. It is equally certain that this joyful confidence in the approaching decision at the Red Sea, once aroused, must have remained unweakened; for that, even in this moment of pressing danger, the great leader at least did not lose clear insight and self-possession, but, unappalled either by the advancing Egyptians or by the faintheartedness and murmurings of the people, led over the host with indomitable courage, this cannot appear a less achievement than anything which the Man of God had already attempted and

gained. The powers and impulses of all great movements generally eventually concentrate themselves in one decisive moment, in which the noble endeavour, if not finally untrue to itself, obtains the true victory, and winning the reward of its long struggle, issues into the open light of the world. What would have availed all earlier efforts, however noble, of the Greek or the Roman spirit, without Marathon or without the Samnite Wars? Nay (to take the very highest example), what would have availed even the death and resurrection of our Lord, unless they had been preceded in secret by the highest that was possible up to death itself? When, therefore, in that early age at the Red Sea, where the fruit of all previous noble efforts was about to be destroyed at one blow, Israel was saved at the right moment, and the stormy rage of the Egyptians suddenly quenched in the swelling waves of the sea; then, in the connection in which this single event then stood to all that preceded it, this was not merely a momentary deliverance from peril of life, not merely the reward of all the toils and struggles of the previous glorious effort, but the glorification of that thought which had hitherto secretly prompted and directed this effort, and thus an acknowledgment of the invisible spiritual God whom Moses had proclaimed as the right saviour and invincible defender of those that trust in him. Reliance on the true help soon grows from poor and weak beginnings, and is ready to spring up on all sides; but how often is even a sanguine confidence nipped by depressing external influences; and, again, how rapidly can it grow and spread if a favourable breeze draws the planted germs to the light at the right moment! In this view, the external success of that time is nothing but this favourable breeze; but because it found the noblest and fruitfullest germs already planted, it was able to fill the great mass of the people with buoyant confidence in those spiritual truths, which, being in themselves hard to grasp, cannot sink deep into the human mind apart from strong personal experience, and which at all times appear to be long waiting for such great crises, when they may diffuse themselves the more rapidly and exercise the more permanent influence. What constitutes the grandeur of this history, so rapidly attained, is that now the entire people, as by external power and visible proofs, discern the true spiritual God as their actual lord and redeemer, and thus an unbounded joyous spirit is aroused to know still more of his truths and his laws, to desire his sole guidance, and to dare the uttermost under such leadership. Gleams of sunlight such as these are

rare in the history of the world, still rarer in that of single nations, and with regard to that event we are sadly deficient in the completeness of the remembrances. But the day of Marathon, and that of Salamis, cannot have shone so brightly upon the earth nor kindled upon it such a light as this day, which might truly be named the baptismal day of the true Community.

If we weigh also the unique method of this deliverance, how it was gained, not like an ordinary victory, by arms and bloodshed, but by an event completely unlooked for, springing out of concealed causes, we shall estimate more truly the impression which it must have produced upon the redeemed. For if a bloody victory can only excite mixed feelings, and often only stimulates and feeds the human pride of the victor, this victory, prepared as by invisible arms, must have drawn the minds of the redeemed with increased force to the purely heavenly, serving as a still further attestation of the power of that invisible spiritual redeemer whom Moses announced, and thus preparing the easiest entrance for all the new truths of Moses. That the true deliverance and happiness is not to be gained through ourselves alone, by personal rushing and tearing, but is to be found in perfect resignation to a higher invisible power, ever acting at the right moment for the good of the individual, combined with all possible unwearied personal exertion—this is the lesson taught by the mode of deliverance under discussion, and by this the prevailing aims of the nation were naturally determined. It is striking to notice how perfectly this first grand national success accords with the new fundamental ideas of the community. We cannot, however, now determine how far these events may have worked upon the mind of Moses himself, and affected the character of the Sinaitic legislation.

And in fact it is especially this view of the event, which sank deep into the popular mind, and has tinged the descriptions of it still preserved to us. It is easy to understand, that in after-times the nation, gratefully recalling this dispensation, saw in it only their own deliverance, which filled them with elating joy. Still they never lost the feeling that the victory was solely due to invisible powers. That not horses or chariots, not war or tumult, gives the true victory, but Jahveh alone and the strength which comes from him—was the sublime and unchanging conviction of the very first age after Moses. We here see it flowing fresh from its source; for the ancient festal song celebrating the event[1] strongly urges that it was

[1] Ex. xv. 1–18.

the mere will of Jahveh that destroyed the horse and the rider, the chariot, and the chosen warrior in the chariot. In presence of this sublime memory and the feeling of its truth, everything lower and earthly gradually faded away. While the later Israelites never forgot that the great baptismal act of their Congregation took place at the northern angle of the Red Sea, the memory of the exact spot of the passage was gradually lost, so that in the extant stories it is impossible to find any adequate determination of the locality.[1]

Moreover, even as to the abstract and eternal significance of the great event to the religion of Israel, we can trace a growth in the ideas entertained of it. All that was felt, in reflecting on that most critical moment of their whole history, to be miraculous and divine, was first expressed most naturally, beautifully, and indelibly in song; and in the earliest extant description[2] of this event, which retains the old poetical character, the stress is laid, not so much on the dry passage of the Israelites as upon the destruction of the Egyptians. A violent wind from above drove back the waters so powerfully that they were pressed together in heaps, and held up as by a dyke; but while the vindictive Egyptians in wild eagerness rush in pursuit

[1] So much has been written in modern times on the locality and the possibility of the passage, that I have no desire to add to it. The existence of two fords near Suez (Seetzen's *Reisen*, iii. p. 122 sq. 130 sq.) makes the exact place somewhat doubtful. In my opinion it occurred, if the Red Sea then had its present limits, north of Suez, where the gulf is very narrow, and can be easily crossed at low tide. We know that just here sudden inundations of the ford, produced by extraordinary flood-tides, are pretty frequent; see Diodorus, *Hist.* iii. 40; le Père in the *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, tom. ii. p. 470, and Robinson's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 56–59. Very similar occurrences are described, for instance, in Tabari's *Arabic Annals*, vol. i. p. 196, 198, 200, 206, and Clarke's *Travels*, 1810, vol. i. p. 325; earlier writers have already referred to Livy xxvi. 45 sq.; even Josephus (*Antiquities*, ii. 16. 5) refers to the event of Alexander's life described by Arrian, i. 26; and see Strabo xiv. 3. The idea of a passage effected further to the south of Suez, opposite the modern 'Ayun Mûsa (or *Moses' Springs*), which was shared even in 1850 by K. von Raumer, rests entirely upon the assumption noticed p. 68 of the identity of Raamses and Heliopolis, and consequently falls with it. The opinion of John Wilson (*The Land of the Bible*) and Olin (*Travels in the Holy Land*), that it took place to the south, at the Wâdi Tawârik or Jebel 'Atakah, is as baseless as that of the latter and of Lord Lindsay (*Letters on the Holy Land*, i. p. 261), that Etham (see p. 68) is the modern Wâdi Ahtha to the south of 'Ayun Mûsa. Some modern scholars have, on the contrary, imagined the passage as having been effected to the north of the present limit of the Red Sea, as if it could then have somehow extended further northwards; so Dubois Aymé in the *Description de l'Égypte*, and Miss Fanny Corbaux (see the lengthy discussions on this point in the *Edinburgh New Philos. Journal*, 1848, Jan. April, and *Athenæum*, 1850, March and April; 1851, Dec., pp. 1313 and 1348). According to S. Sharpe (in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, pp. 25 sqq., 171) Raamses is Heliopolis, Succoth the Scenæ Veteranorum (in Antonini *Itinerarium*, p. 163, 169, Wess.) to the north of it, Etham or Buthan (Βουθάν as the LXX. read in Num. xxxiii. 6 sq.), the Pithom mentioned p. 13, and Pi-Hahiroth Heroöpolis, and the passage into Asia near the position assigned by Dubois-Aymé; but all this is nullified by the false position assigned to Etham. See also *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 228–30, vi. 144, viii. 140, ix. 230 sq., xi. 187 sq., 205.

[2] Ex. xv. 8–10.

through the ford, which they deem secure, an opposite wind, like another mysterious breath of the angered God of heaven, suffices to make the waves flow again, to the destruction of the pursuers: this is the nucleus of the oldest recollection preserved in the bosom of the community. Another ancient conception by the Earliest Narrator seems to be that the angel who on other occasions always preceded the host of Israel, on this placed himself behind this host, before the camp of the Egyptians, filling them with consternation, 'and fettered their chariot-wheel, and lamed it with inability to move,' so that the chariots could not escape from the floods.[1] But the Third Narrator, from whom especially the closing words ver. 19, 20 are derived, explains this angel by the pillar of fire and cloud, as if this pillar in the night had passed between the two hosts so as to separate them from each other, darkening the Egyptians and giving light to the Israelites,[2] but towards morning, after the Israelites had passed over on dry ground, had by a sudden turning of its fire driven the terrified Egyptians into the waves. The Fourth Narrator, according to his wont, ascribes everything chiefly to the staff of Moses, which divided the sea and afterwards brought the waves back again. By this is produced a vivid picture, but one which historically explains nothing. Also from the Book of Origins some valuable fragments have been preserved by the Latest Narrator,[3] from

[1] The sentence about the angel, ver. 19, appears to be derived from the Earliest Narrator: also many of the words in ver. 24 sq.; and probably also ver. 30. (Observe how the later writer explains this at the end of ver. 13.) The accurate description of the arming of the Egyptians in ver. 6 sq. is probably retained from the Book of Origins, as well as verses 10–15; it is distinguished from the other accounts both by the mention of the שָׁלִשִׁים *chariot warriors* (as in the ancient song, ch. xv.), and by the consequent omission of the פָּרָשִׁים *horsemen*. The word רֹכְבִים xv.1 is not synonymous with this; for, so far as our knowledge of ancient Egypt extends, we find that especially in the early times the Egyptians, like the Homeric heroes, employed no regular cavalry, but only small two-wheeled chariots. These are seen on all the monuments, whereas the horsemen represented are invariably enemies of the Egyptians; see Rosellini's *Monumenti civili*, t. iii. p. 240 sqq.; and Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 288 sqq.; and the word רֹכֵב Ex. xv. 1, may well denote a warrior fighting from the רֶכֶב (chariot). The discrimination of the various authors, of which these writers had not the remotest idea, is therefore here of especial importance. It is easy to understand that in the times after Solomon all this would be much changed, and the Fourth Narrator might therefore present it from a different point of view.

[2] For וְהַחְשֵׁךְ ver. 20, it seems that we must read וְהָחֵישׁ *it made darkness and again* (on the side of the Israelites) *enlightened them*, to avoid more violent emendations. The Deuteronomist adopts the same idea, Josh. xxiv. 7. In the ancient words of ver. 25 וַיָּסַר must stand for וַיֶּאְסֹר (LXX. ἔδησε) and נָהַג must like נָגַל denote *to weaken, to lame*, of which the Kal occurs in Ecclesiastes ii. 3 with ב in the sense *to be wearied*.

[3] The casual mention of these Egyptian times in 1 Sam. iv. 8 (see also Judges xi. 16) would be found to contain another peculiar conception concerning them, namely, that the Egyptians had only in the desert suffered all these plagues, if this very idea were not too absurd to be adopted, in which case we may probably

which, however, we gain no further information on the mode of the transit. But when we consider that from this profoundest trial and danger on the Red Sea Israel really issued a new regenerated nation, now for the first time under its great Prophet understanding its true higher destiny and divine glory, we can well comprehend how appositely this passage through the sea-water was in later days compared with Baptism.[1]

As the night of the departure from Egypt ever afterwards appeared to the nation as hallowed by the commencement of its higher life and divine redemption, and every event which immediately preceded it in Egypt seemed an exalted prelude to this beginning of an endless series of consequences; so also the thoughts of later generations revelled in the wonders of that second sacred night, when the Egyptians perished in the sea; and the later the date, and the more oppressed the people, the higher rose the enthusiasm of their descriptions. Even after the Pentateuch had come to be generally regarded as a sacred book, these very passages soon became the subject both of new enraptured songs and of picturesque descriptions,[2] in which a lively imagination added much embellishment from mere conjecture. No historical work of this kind has indeed been preserved; but we can recognise with tolerable accuracy its existence and method, from the short descriptive strokes thrown off in a higher flight of thought, which appear in the Book of Wisdom,[3] and in other later works. An instance of this later revivification is the statement that Israel, after the passage of the Red Sea, despoiled of their arms the numerous Egyptian corpses cast upon the shore, and thus first became an armed nation;[4] an idea which sprang from the comparatively modern error already mentioned (p. 68).

Whatever may have been the exact course of this event, whose historical certainty is well established;[5] its momentous results, the nearer as well as the more remote, were sure to be experienced, and are even to us most distinctly visible. To the above-mentioned results affecting the nation itself, which first broke forth in the joyful feeling of deliverance from the Egyptian yoke, and then in a more permanent form in the enduring

read וּבְמִדְבָּר בְּאַרְצוֹ; for the LXX. have καὶ before במדבר.

[1] 1 Cor. x. 1 sqq., where this comparison is quite true and living.

[2] As Ps. cxiv.

[3] See especially *Wisdom* x. 19, sq., xvi. 16 sqq., xvii. 3 sqq., xviii. 9 sqq.

[4] See *Wisdom* x. 20, compared with Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 16. 6; for even Josephus cannot have merely invented this himself. In Ex. xiv. 20 we find only the very first hint of the idea which is here fully worked out. On the other hand the description in the Book of Enoch, lxxxix. 24 sqq. (Dillmann), follows the Pentateuch pretty closely.

[5] The most similar instance of an earthquake under the sea is found in Strabo, xvi. 2. 26, Athen. *Deipn.* viii. 8.

consciousness of redemption through Jahveh alone, was now added the external result, that the tie which had until then bound the people under Moses to the Egpytian rule, now, when they were already beyond the Egyptian frontier, could not but appear to them loosened through the public breach of faith of the Egyptians themselves.

III. The Struggle and Exodus of Israel from the Egyptian point of view.

For before we take into consideration the further results of these decisive events, we must here notice the very different treatment of them adopted by the Egyptians themselves. After Josephus in his Antiquities had passed over in silence all the Egyptian accounts, and adhered closely to the traditions of the Old Testament and other kindred views,[1] he afterwards, in his work against Apion, found himself obliged to present the former with tolerable detail, and we therefore owe to him the most important information, which we now possess respecting them.[2]

1. Now Manetho, the same writer from whom Josephus quoted the accounts of the Hyksôs discussed at i. p. 387 sqq., gave in another passage of his work the following narrative.[3] After 518 years, as Josephus thinks, had elapsed since the expulsion of the Hyksôs under King Tethmosis (or Tummosis), a king named Amenophis was seized with the desire of beholding the gods,[4] a blessedness which he knew had been attained by Horos, one of his ancestors; he communicated this somewhat daring wish to a son of Paapis, called like himself Amenophis, who on account of his great wisdom and insight into futurity was considered to partake of the divine nature. This Amenophis revealed to him that the fulfilment of his wish was possible, if he would purify the whole country from lepers

[1] He alludes only once, and briefly, on occasion of the laws respecting leprosy, to the discrepancies of the tradition, *Ant.* iii. 11. 4.

[2] That Josephus knew far more of the Egyptian stories than he thought it desirable to chronicle, he says himself, *Against Apion*, i. 27.

[3] Jos. *Against Apion*, i. 26 sq.

[4] This must have been regarded as the highest blessedness, and as therefore having actually been granted to virtuous kings of former days; whereas the desire of a living king to obtain this privilege must have been regarded as a tempting of fate. The fact that Egyptian priests and gods were imagined as consenting to the gratification of such curiosity, shows clearly the great distance that separated the Mosaic from the Egyptian religion, Ex. xxxiii. 18–23. Similar conceptions are found also among the Buddhists; see Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme*, i. p. 383, 387. But that this desire to behold the gods was especially characteristic of the Egyptians, is clear from a similar story reported by Herodotus, ii. 42. We may infer, therefore, from the very commencement of this story of Manetho's, that it was really an old Egyptian tradition, and we see with how little reason Josephus tried to throw doubt upon the entire story, from the nature of this very introduction.

and other unclean persons. The king willingly agreed to this, and collected all who had any bodily defect, to the number of 80,000, and sent them to the quarries east of the Nile, to join other Egyptians who had already been condemned to labour there.[1] But among them were some educated priests who were lepers;[2] and the king's sage prophetic counsellor, as if he had not foreseen this, was now overcome by fear of the divine wrath against himself and the king, if they were seen at forced labour; and he even foresaw that the lepers would gain certain allies, who would reign over Egypt for thirteen years. Not venturing, however, to reveal this himself to the king, he wrote it down that the king might read it, and then killed himself. This threw the king into no slight consternation. After a considerable period of hard labour in the quarries, they begged the king to assign them as a place of refuge the city of Avaris (mentioned i. p. 390 sqq.), formerly inhabited by the Hyksôs, but now lying in ruins. This he did; but no sooner had they taken possession of it, and thus obtained a defensible position, available in case of revolt, than they set up Osarsiph, one of the priests of Heliopolis, and swore obedience to him. He then first gave them a law, neither to worship the gods, nor to abstain from any of the animals most venerated in Egypt, but to slay and eat them all; and to hold communication with none but their confederates. After giving them these and many other laws entirely opposed to Egyptian usages, he ordered them to restore the walls of the city with all despatch, and hold themselves in readiness for war with King Amenophis. He himself took into his secret counsel some of the other priests and fellow-lepers, and sent them to Jerusalem, as ambassadors to the Shepherds expelled by Tethmosis; he explained to them the situation of himself and the other outlaws, and urged them to take the field as one man against Egypt. He declared himself ready to lead them at once to Avaris, the abode of their ancestors, and to give them everything needful for the troops; and further, if necessary, to fight for them and bring the land under their dominion. They, enchanted with the proposal and full of courage, rose in a body numbering about 200,000, and arrived shortly after at Avaris. Now King Amenophis, as soon as he learned the circumstances of their approach, was not a little alarmed, remembering the prophecy

[1] In this case ὅπου would be better than ὅπως; if we wished to retain the latter, we must for οἱ ἐγκεχωρισμένοι read εἶεν κεχωρισμένοι 'that they might labour and be separated from the other Egyptians;' but this is more violent, and gives after all only a lame sentence.

[2] Diodorus, xxxiv. 1, says more definitely ἀλφοὶ ἢ λέπραι. See my *Alterthümer*, p. 179 sqq.

of Amenophis son of Paapis. He first assembled the Egyptians in order to take counsel with their chief men,[1] the principal result of which was, that he ordered the sacred animals worshipped in the temples to be brought to him, and commanded the priests throughout the land to hide the images of the gods with the utmost possible security. Then, after confiding to the care of his friend[2] his son Sethos, a child of five years old, called also Ramesses, after Rampses, the king's father, he moved forward against the enemy, with the rest of the Egyptian force, numbering about 300,000 of the best fighting men, yet did not risk a battle. Believing that in so doing he would be fighting against the gods,[3] he retired to Memphis; nay more, he took Apis and the rest of the sacred animals which had been collected there, and betook himself, together with the whole of the Egyptian forces of both land and sea, to Ethiopia. The king of that country, being friendly to him, gave him a good reception and supplied the whole of his forces with everything the country afforded necessary to their subsistence; he even gave up to him cities and villages sufficient for the predestined thirteen years of his loss of power, and placed the Ethiopian army at the Egyptian frontier to protect him and his. Those from Jerusalem, having thus become masters of the country, together with the outlaws, behaved so contemptuously to the Egyptians that their rule appeared to all who beheld such horrors the worst they had ever seen; for not only did they burn cities and villages, knowing no bounds either in robbing the temples, in insulting the images of the gods, or in murdering the horsemen,[4] but they even made a constant practice of using whatever parts of the sacred animals were suitable for roasting and eating, and compelled priests and prophets to slay them and cut them up, and cast out naked such as resisted. Now the leader Osarsiph, who instituted among them this constitution and laws, belonged to a family of Heliopolis, and derived his name from Osiris, the god honoured in that city. But on going over to this set of people he is said to have changed his name, and taken the designation of Moses. But King Amenophis afterwards returned from Ethiopia, says Manetho further, with a great

[1] How curious to find a sort of deliberative assembly in those early times!

[2] From the sequel of the narrative we must conclude that the king of Ethiopia is here meant. Manetho may have mentioned him before.

[3] Compare μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε, Acts v. 39.

[4] That they slew the horsemen, and therefore undoubtedly the horses too, is a circumstance only mentioned as an afterthought by Josephus, i. 28, from Manetho, but is a point bearing very closely on the organisation of the Israelites under Moses.

army, as did also his son Rampses with a considerable force, and these two, on engaging the shepherds and the diseased people, conquered them, killed many of them, and pursued them as far as the Syrian (i.e. Palestinian) boundary, through a sandy and waterless region.[1]

This narrative, here accurately translated[2] from the extant sources, has indeed a true Egyptian colouring, and may certainly, as Josephus has remarked, be derived rather from popular tradition than from any public monuments of history, as it explains the misfortune of King Amenophis by means of the peculiarities of the Egyptian religion. But granting this radically Egyptian point of view, it obviously has an internal consistency, and preserves clear indications of a tolerably reliable historical tradition. And far though it may deviate from the narratives in the Old Testament, owing to its strictly Egyptian colouring, a near inspection discloses some points of contact between the two, which direct us to the original unity of the events. In the first place we have not before us an enemy devastating Egypt with wild caprice and without higher motive, as did the Hyksôs at an earlier period;[3] these enemies, although for the most part also belonging to the shepherd-nations, subjected themselves to a ruler, who accustomed them to a new religion and manners utterly at variance with the Egyptian, especially to contempt for the Egyptian gods and avoidance of all communication excepting with their confederates; both of which are especial marks of Mosaism. On the other hand the Egyptian king also fights not so much for his country and his people as for the maintenance of the ancient religion of the land in its symbols and images; on both sides, therefore, it is essentially a religious war, such as we see elsewhere carried on between the Israelites and the Canaanites. How different soever this representation be from that in the Old Testament respecting the contest between Moses and Pharaoh, still it is clear from both sources that a religious war was

[1] This last remark is not added till i. 29, from Manetho.

[2] It is sad to see how inaccurately even the Greek records are often translated. Thus ὀπτάνια, formed exactly like an adjective of necessity in Sanskrit, must signify the roasting parts of an animal. The slaying and eating of *all* the sacred animals had already been mentioned, p. 77, on which occasion no notice was taken of the special exceptions that might possibly be made on account of their laws of food. It is therefore incorrect to understand here by ὀπτάνια those among the animals themselves that were suitable for roasting.

[3] Prichard, in his pictures of Egyptian Mythology translated into German with a preface by Schlegel (who employs some very unjust expressions on the Hebrews), Bonn, 1837, p. 430, considers this story of Manetho's respecting Moses, as only a *copy* of his former one on the Hyksôs; but this is clearly incorrect, inasmuch as there are only very few and unimportant points of resemblance between them.

then kindled, the difference in the description of which by Egyptians and Hebrews is owing to their different religions. And this contest was not produced, as in the case of Islam at a later age, by the irruption of a foreign nation; on the contrary, the new religion was formed on Egyptian soil, in direct contact with the religion of the country, exactly as upon other grounds we are forced to believe that the Jahveh-religion did spring up —in direct opposition to the Egyptian, and therefore primarily in very severe competition with it.

That a portion of the followers of the Jahveh-religion, brought together at that time by Osarsiph (or Moses), consisted of Egyptian subjects, suffering from leprosy and other diseases hateful to the gods, is merely the one-sided Egyptian conception of the historical fact, and only expresses the deep abhorrence with which those who remained attached to the dominant religion of Egypt pursued the followers of one so strongly opposed to their own. But as every conception of so special a character must have an historical cause, so this certainly must have a basis of truth, which we ought not to have any hesitation in acknowledging. For, suppose the Jahveh-religion had first struck deep root among the despised and rejected of the earth, this would be only a fitting prelude to the great spectacle which appeared at the time of its completion, when the religion of the Crucified, to the world a stumbling-block and foolishness, was nevertheless alone made perfect in all truth. The birth of every religion which at all approached the truth has ever been effected in such lowliness and contempt before the world; most of all, then, that religion which formed the basis of the eternally true one.[1] In fact the Old Testament expresses the same historical experience, only in a different and decidedly more true and beautiful way, when it dwells so feelingly upon the deep national distress which preceded the deliverance. And indeed a tendency to leprosy and other similar diseases, especially indigenous in Egypt,[2] may certainly have been only a consequence of the severe and protracted sufferings of the people and the forced labour to which they were subjected. That, particularly during the earlier ages, such diseases were frequent among the people and attracted general attention, is undeniably proved by the minute regulations respecting leprosy contained in the Book of Origins; and a further indi-

[1] Passages such as Lev. xix. 34, Ex. xv. 26, in the early literature, and Is. lvii. 15 in the later, express this feeling most clearly.

[2] See *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, tom. xiii. p. 159 sqq. The Israelites themselves therefore (Deut. vii. 15, xxviii. 60) ascribed to Egypt the most malignant forms of leprosy. But the oldest and most painful memories of former sufferings from leprosy in Egypt are contained in such expressions as Ex. xv. 26 sqq.

cation of the same fact is afforded by the history, when it tells us that even Miriam, the sister of Moses,[1] and Job, were not spared the most hateful forms of this evil. Thus, only the notion that *all* were victims of such diseases, and therefore banished to the north-eastern districts of Egypt, and there compelled to forced labour, is the prejudiced Egyptian view, which began to prevail from the close of this very series of events. Yet even this popular prejudiced Egyptian conception cannot conceal the powerful influence emanating from this despised horde. For when it tells that priests were unexpectedly found among these outlaws, and that the soothsayer Amenophis foresaw thirteen years of national misery, because priests had been so handled, what does this indicate but the sentiment of a secret terror at the mighty unknown spirit emanating from Moses, and the feeling of insecurity and weakness which must for a time have taken possession of the ancient national religion, until the supremacy of this was finally established by mere force of arms? If, therefore, we look to outward success and worldly glory, the effects of the deeds of Moses in Egypt were certainly far greater than we should have concluded from the representations of the Old Testament, since in these the attention is so constantly directed to the spiritual, that the worldly history fades in its presence. Thus we here make the experience, which is often repeated in the course of this history, that the Old Testament, so far from exaggerating the external conquests of the people of Israel in ancient times, does not even come up to the reality, because the religion of the Old Testament itself attaches no importance to them.

Further, the distinction made between the followers of the Jahveh-religion dwelling in Egypt, and those who arrived there from the land of the Hyksôs, also accords with certain reminiscences preserved in the Old Testament. That Moses became the instrument of the liberation of his people only after he had returned from Asia into Egypt, that Aaron went to meet him upon this march, and that then the two always acted in concert against Pharaoh: these fragments of Hebrew recollections of that eventful period point similarly to the combined action of two powers, one already established in Egypt, and the other coming from Asia with the same object, against the adherents of the Egyptian religion. That the Egyptian tradition named Jerusalem as the spot from whence the shepherds came to Avaris, may be an historical confusion, capable of easy explana-

[1] Num. xii.

tion,[1] with the later capital of Palestine; although we have no sufficient knowledge of the earliest history of that city.[2] But there is great significance in the fact attested also by some of the accounts in the Old Testament,[3] that the Israelites left Egypt accompanied by a subordinate multitude of a different race. It appears, then, that after all even Egyptians, chiefly no doubt of the lower ranks, had attached themselves to them. Now this is barely conceivable, except as the result of a powerful struggle between the new Jahveh-religion and the Egyptian, in which the former had attracted to itself many native Egyptians, so that the whole was less a war of nations than of religions. And even the fact that in the Egyptian as well as in the Hebrew narrative the young first-born son of the ruling king plays a part, though a very different one in each, furnishes also a distant trace of similarity in the tradition.

That the Egyptian tradition had not so much to tell of the life and fate of Moses as the Hebrew, lies in the very nature of the subject. It is undoubtedly incorrect in stating that the name Moses was not assumed until afterwards;[4] as this name is not Hebrew at all, but in ancient Egypt is frequently found in compound proper names of men, wherefore it must certainly have been early given to the boy brought up among the Egyptians. But that Moses when grown up was received into the priesthood at Heliopolis,[5] and that as priest he received the

[1] As the forced labour in the quarries mentioned by Manetho may have been confounded with other similar labour (see p. 14 sq.). We find a similar exchange of names in later Hebrew poets, who speak of Zoan (Gr. Tanis) as the chief city of Egypt in the Mosaic age, Psalm lxxviii. 12, 43; although, as far as we know, it was the prophets of the eighth century who first regarded the city in this light, in connection with events of their own time. But, according to Manetho and all other witnesses, both the eighteenth and the nineteenth Dynasties had their seat at Diospolis, i.e. Thebes.

[2] The *Salem* which has been read in hieroglyphics cannot be Jerusalem, as Brugsch, *Hist. d'Ég.* i. p. 145, thinks; see i. p. 307.

[3] Ex. xii. 38; Num. xi. 4; both these passages, it is important to notice, are derived from the oldest work on the primeval history, and hence it is that they appear to stand so isolated.

[4] The orthography Μωϋσῆς, adopted by Josephus, is undoubtedly only borrowed from the LXX., since it rests upon an Egyptian derivation of the name, corresponding to the Hebrew explanation given in Ex. ii. 10; though the writer of Ex. ii. 10, in giving his Hebrew derivation, was certainly not thinking of the Egyptian one given by Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 7, 6. Philo also, in the *Life of Moses*, i. 4, derives the name from the Egyptian μῶς water, but regarding it as an uncompounded word, always spells it Μωσῆς; yet he elsewhere, i. p. 597, explains it, like the writer of Ex. ii. 10, by λῆμμα, 'the act of taking,' as if it were derived from the Hebrew. The original Egyptian meaning was explained at i. p. 391; but it is proved by the whole story in Ex. ii. 1–9 that this meaning was soon forgotten by the Hebrews, who then began to imagine an original *Hebrew* meaning of the name.

[5] See above, p. 39. The old Hebrew tradition, as we now have it, knows nothing of any close connection on the part of Moses with Heliopolis; but that city was famous in Egypt, as an ancient and important seat of sacerdotal learning. It is very curious that, in that case, Moses came forth from the oldest known university in the world.

name Osarsiph, and was known by this to the Egyptians, all this may be derived from genuine historical reminiscences.

Thus on many important points the two narratives either agree, or else mutually complete each other; and when we reflect how differently these events must have been viewed from the very first by the two nations, and how the story would then during long centuries be further peculiarly developed by each separately, we shall scarcely expect a greater agreement between the two.[1] It is true Josephus attempts to set aside the entire Egyptian narrative as pure invention, and even gives himself the trouble to refute it at length;[2] but his numerous reasons for rejecting it are so capriciously and erroneously selected, that it will not repay us to enter further into them. Only two of his reasons deserve some consideration. He asserts that Manetho took this story, not from the public records, the source of the earlier one respecting the Hyksôs, but from untrustworthy reports and traditions; but we know too little of the writings of Manetho and his authorities, to do justice to this objection; perhaps the narrative was only omitted from the public records because the result of the history was unfortunate and inglorious for the king, as we may assume from the Hebrew accounts. In the second place, Josephus considers this king Amenophis to be intercalated and uncertain, and supposes this to be the reason why Manetho did not venture to determine the length of his reign, which he was careful to do in other cases. But since Manetho first allows 393 years to elapse after the expulsion of the Hyksôs under Tethmosis,[3] and then ascribes to king Sethos 59, and to his son Rampses 66 years, and only after these reigns places the accession of this Amenophis, it is obvious, although he does not here give the years of the reign (which indeed was not necessary), that by this often-recurring royal name he here intended the third king of the nineteenth Dynasty, who by Eusebius and Georgius Syncellus is called Amenephthes, and Amenophis only in the Armenian translation of Eusebius. And according to the extracts from Manetho in Georgius Syncellus[4] he had actually a son Ramesses as his

[1] Even in the words of the Koran, Sur. xxvi. 57–59, we hear a faint echo of memory of the thirteen years' subjection of the Egyptians and the victory of Israel before leaving the country. Knobel (on Ex. xii. 37), groundlessly, and in spite of all the reasons given above to show that Manetho is really speaking of Israel, assumes a confusion between Israelites and Philistines.

[2] *Against Apion*, i. 28–31, comp. 16.

[3] These 393 years are, according to Josephus, evidently intended to represent the duration of the eighteenth Dynasty, to which Eusebius ascribes only 348, and Syncellus 263. The separate kings of this house are enumerated by Josephus, i. 15, with the length of their reigns; but evidently very incorrectly, as the numbers do not agree together.

[4] *Chronogr.* i. p. 134, of the Bonn edition.

successor, and would therefore in so far accord. But then he would be more than a hundred years too late, and confuse the entire chronology (i. p. 403 sqq.); as will be further explained in treating of the period of the Judges. Since then Manetho derived this narrative chiefly from second-rate sources, we may suppose a confusion to have been already existing in the Egyptian version, between this Amenophis and the one who closed the eighteenth Dynasty,[1] caused by the fact that the father of the latter was also a king Ramesses,[2] and that his son was named sometimes Rampses and sometimes Sethos. If we may look upon this Amenophis, whose disaster on the Red Sea[3] probably caused the fall of his entire house, as the one originally intended, then the difficulty in the chronology disappears, and the last doubt falls away from a story which Fl. Josephus clearly rejected merely from false shame at the dishonourable origin which it ascribed to his nation, and owing to his own want of critical acumen.

2. This narrative of Manetho, undoubtedly the earliest historian who described these events so carefully in the Greek language, is very important for us, inasmuch as it presents the Egyptian version of the history quite purely, and without any comparison or admixture with the Hebrew accounts in the Old Testament. For as the translation of the Seventy was more and

[1] Like the mistake which has evidently been committed in the identification of Armais with the Greek Danaus; see Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, i. 15, as compared with Eusebius and Syncellus. The order in which Manetho has put the succession of the Egyptian dynasties and rulers has been again often disputed in recent times, but defended again on good grounds very lately even by Mariette, in the *Revue Arch.* Sep. 1864.

[2] Called by Eusebius Ammeses, obviously by an error of writing.

[3] Or we may assume, independently of the occurrence at the Red Sea, that the eighteenth Dynasty was regarded as already closed by the thirteen years of foreign rule, and that the Sethos who founded the nineteenth was really a son or other relative of this Amenophis: both dynasties were of Thebes or Diospolis. But Artapanus, Eusebius, and Georgius Syncellus are induced to place the Exodus under Achencherses, or Chencheres, i.e. more than a century before this Amenophis, only because in 1 Kings vi. 1 they read 592 years instead of 480. Others, following more general calculations, placed the Exodus still earlier, under Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth Dynasty, or in the time of the Argive Inachus, confounding Israel with the ancient Hyksôs. That this was done long before Fl. Josephus, by Polemon (about 200 B.C.), Ptolemæus-Mendesius, and others, follows from Justin Martyr's *Exhort.* chap. ix, x; Tatian's *Or. ad Græcos*, ch. xxxvi. sqq. ed. Otto; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, and Eus. *Præp. Ev.* x. 10-12; see Tertull. *Apolog.* ch. xix, but is to us no proof of the fact. Moreover it appears most clearly from Theophilus, *ad Autol.* iii. 19 sq., that the Fathers of the Church before Eusebius were ready to follow Josephus in everything. Rosellini (*Monumenti storici*, i. p. 291-300) places the Exodus under one of the last kings of the eighteenth Dynasty, Ramesses (III.) called Maiamun; but the only reason of any weight that he urges for this, namely that the city Raamses, built by the Israelites (see above, p. 11 sq.), must have been named from this king, falls through according to our view, since the king from whom this city was named, may very well be an earlier one than he under whom the Exodus took place. Rosellini has throughout neglected the second narrative of Manetho.

more read during the last few centuries before Christ, and the Jews in Egypt and elsewhere became the object of greater curiosity and conjecture, so these two classes of authorities were more and more blended together by the Greek writers. This resulted in still greater distortions of the history, since they remained satisfied with a mere superficial comparison and mingling of the two, without entering upon any deeper inquiry. The ever-increasing hatred felt towards the Jews also bore its part in this distortion of the history.

Chæremon related[1] that Isis appeared in dreams to King Amenophis, and blamed him that her sanctuary had been demolished in the war (apparently it is the ancient war with the Hyksôs which is meant). The scribe Phritiphantes then declared that if he would purge Egypt of all persons who had pollutions upon them, he would be relieved from this trouble. Amenophis therefore sought out and expelled 250,000 persons thus afflicted. Now these had as leaders two scribes, namely Moses, called in Egyptian Tisithen, and Joseph, whose Egyptian name was Peteseph. They then came to Pelusium,[2] and found there 380,000 men spared by Amenophis, who was not willing to transplant them into Egypt, and made a league of friendship with these in order to take the field against Egypt. But Amenophis, without awaiting their approach, immediately fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife with child behind him. She concealed herself in certain caverns, and there brought forth a son who was called Messene.[3] The latter, when grown to man's estate, drove the Jews, who were about 200,000, out of Egypt, into Syria, and then fetched his father Amenophis back out of

[1] Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 32 sq. Chæremon himself is indeed much later than Manetho, and is first quoted by Strabo (if he be the same of whom Strabo speaks, xvii. 1. 29, as living shortly before the Christian era); but he was probably a native Egyptian of Alexandria, who occupied himself much with the study of Egyptian Antiquities; see respecting him some passages in Fabricii *B. scripp. Gr.* t. iii. p. 546, ed. Harles, or in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 495 sq.

[2] Here then we find Pelusium identified with Abaris (i. p. 390 sqq.), but we can regard this only as a mistake of Chæremon's, substituting a well known for a less known city; in which indeed Josephus himself follows him, *Against Apion*, i. 29. The original words of Manetho, quoted by Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, i. 14, do not point even remotely to the identity of Abaris and Pelusium; and the position of the Sethroitic Nomos (i. p. 390 note; which is mentioned by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 9, and by Athanasius at the close of his 19th Festal Oration, p. 47. ed. Cureton) is known, so far as its capital is concerned, only from Ptol. *Geog.* iv. 5, since Champollion (*L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. p. 80 sqq.) has by no means proved the identity of Psariom and Sethron; but as, according to Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, i. 14, it lay not on the Pelusiac, but rather to the east of the Bubastic, branch of the Nile, we may suppose it to lie to the south of the most eastern (the Pelusiac) province. Perhaps the name السدير, by which Saadia in his translation always renders the land of Goshen, is a relic of the ancient name of the Sethroitic Nomos.

[3] Undoubtedly an error for *Ramesses*, which name is found not only in Manetho, but in Chæremon himself at the commencement of his narrative.

Ethiopia. In despite of variations in detail, this shorter narrative agrees in essentials so obviously with the older one of Manetho, that even the variations between the two only serve to confirm their ultimate historical identity. Only the insertion of the name of Joseph is certainly due to the Septuagint. And we cannot now see whence Chæremon derived the Egyptian names of Moses and Joseph, which differ so entirely from the other accounts. When therefore Fl. Josephus endeavours to throw entire discredit upon this narrative, he only incurs the further consequences of his general want of skill in the consideration of antiquity.

A third writer, Lysimachus, otherwise unknown, but certainly still later than Chæremon, related as follows:[1]—'Under the Egyptian king Bocchoris,[2] the people of the Jews, being leprous and scabby, and subject to other similar distempers, fled to the temples and obtained food there by begging. And as the numbers that were fallen under these diseases were very great, there arose a scarcity. And Bocchoris, seeking an oracle from the god Ammon, received for answer that the temples must be purified from impure and impious men, and these be then driven from them into the desert, and the leprous and scabby must be drowned, as if the sun could not endure that they should live; and then, after the purification of the temples, the earth would again bring forth her fruits. Accordingly Bocchoris summoned priests of all kinds, and commanded them to seek out the impure people and hand them over to the soldiers to be driven into the desert, but to cast the lepers into the sea with sheets of lead fastened to them. When these were thus drowned, all the others were driven helpless into the desert, where they assembled together and took counsel what they should do. On the approach of night they kindled fires and lamps and kept watch,[3] fasting the whole night through and

[1] *Against Apion*, i. 34 sq.; comp. ii. 2. 14. According to an enumeration of Greek writers on the History of the Jews by Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the *Topogr. Christ.*, contained in Montfaucon's *Collectio nova Patrum et Scripp. Gr.* ii. p. 311, they would probably succeed each other in the following chronological order: Manetho, Chæremon, Apollonius Molon, Lysimachus, Apion. Chæremon, however, from what has been said above, would be somewhat younger than Molon. On the age of Lysimachus, C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 334, gives nothing certain.

[2] This king alone forms the twenty-fourth Dynasty, and cannot therefore be placed earlier than the ninth century; wherefore writers like Apion (at least to judge from Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, ii. 2; but see the opposite account in Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* x. 11) actually put Moses no earlier than the building of Carthage. But Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, ii. 2, places Bocchoris 1600 B.C., one cannot tell how, if he relies on his usual authorities; but Diod. Sic. i. 45, 65 (79, 94) knows of a much earlier king Bocchoris, not to speak of Vexores, a name of somewhat similar sound in *Justin. Hist.* ii. 3.

[3] This is clearly taken from the Biblical narrative of the pillar of cloud and fire.

calling upon the gods to save them. The next day a certain Moyses advised them all to march boldly forward by one road until they arrived at an inhabited country; adding the recommendation that they should have no kind feelings towards any one, but always advise for the worst rather than the best, and overturn all the temples and altars of the gods they should meet with. As the rest agreed to these proposals, they travelled through the desert putting them in execution, and after many difficulties arrived at an inhabited country, where, after ill-treating the natives and plundering and burning their temples, they founded in Judea a city, whose name, originally Hierosyla (temple-robbery), was afterwards, to obviate reproach, modified into Hierosolyma.' It would not be easy to find a stronger example of unprincipled treatment of history and hatred towards the Jews, and we see what under the rapid pen of some Greek writers came of the mixture of Egyptian and Hebrew traditions; and if Fl. Josephus had rejected nothing but trash like this, we might indeed praise him.

What strange representations resulted in those days from heathen hatred and from the misunderstanding of antiquity we may see in the story then current, that a troop of asses had appeared to Moses as guides in the desert, and that the image of an ass was therefore set up in the temple of his people, and regarded as sacred.[1] Two sources may be suggested for this tradition. On the one hand, the Israelites were distinguished by nothing so much during those ages as by their brave infantry, and their contempt for cavalry and war-chariots, wherein they were in direct opposition to the Egyptians; so that their nobles generally rode asses rather than horses. Even this might have suggested to the Egyptians and others the idea that the ass was held particularly sacred by them. On the other hand, quite irrespective of this, the ass was from early times hated by the Egyptians as a Typhonic beast.[2] As therefore they had formerly hated the Hyksôs as a Typhonic people (i. p. 394 note), so after the days of Moses they began to throw ridicule upon the Typhonic ass as the leader of Israel. Such gibes may have prevailed from early times between the two nations, until in these later centuries special causes concurred to give them greater poignancy, and in connection with Biblical narratives,

[1] The isolated stories given by Tac. *Hist.* v. 3 sq., Plut. *on Is. and Os.* xxxi. end (see also *Symp. Frag.* v. 2 sq.), Diodorus Sic. xxxiv. *ecl.* 1, and Jos. *Against Apion*, ii. 7, elucidate each other, and must supply to us the place of the original account now lost.

[2] According to Plut. *on Is. and Os.* xxx. sq., Aelian. *Hist. Anim.* x. 28.

and with the memory of the Cherubim in the Temple, finally produced this extraordinary notion.

3. In early times, from the third and second centuries before Christ, the ancient history of the Bible was also made use of in the Hellenistic world by poets of various degrees of merit, in a multitude of works, in which they strove to emulate the admired creations of the ancient Greeks. One of the earliest results of this Hellenising taste is probably the drama of the 'Exodus, 'Εξαγωγή,' by Hezekiel, an Alexandrine Jew, from which long extracts have been preserved.[1] Here the history of the Exodus is given quite simply as found in the Pentateuch without any addition from Egyptian traditions, and made the subject of a Euripidean tragedy; and since the Hebrew story itself, under the hands of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, had been worked up to the height of genuine dramatic representation, the later poet found a convenient field for further elaboration. Others endeavoured to supplement the Biblical histories by comparison with Egyptian or even Greek traditions; and thus by unscrupulously melting down these radically different materials little understood on either side, and then covering them with the products of their own imagination *ad libitum*, they formed new stories belonging to that unfortunate hybrid class now termed romances. Of this kind is the history of Moses up to his flight into Asia, as given by Fl. Josephus.[2] Here the Egyptian princess who brings him up is called Thermuthis, and there is an Ethiopian princess Tharbis, who falls in love with him as he leads the Egyptian army to the expulsion of the Ethiopians from Egypt, and then besieges them in their own capital. These names may be really derived from ancient Egyptian works on the history of the Seventeenth or Eighteenth Dynasty,[3] but the stories attached to them are so obviously fictitious that I do not feel called upon even to give an abstract of

[1] In Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23, Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 28 sq. See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1831, page 614, 615.

[2] Fl. Jos. *Antiquities*, ii. 9–11, compared with i. 6. 2, where he certainly alluded to it.

[3] Thermuthis is at all events a native Egyptian name, being also borne by an Egyptian goddess. Lesueur thinks he has discovered the name of the princess, *Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte*, p. 183. The Ethiopian princess is, however, probably introduced into the history of the youth of Moses only in consequence of the isolated report in Num. xii. 1, of his having taken an Ethiopian wife; and an utterly different picture of the life of Moses in Ethiopia at thirteen years of age is given in the *Life of Moses*, edited by Gilb. Gaulmyn, p. 17–22, according to which the Ethiopian king, whose wife Moses took, was called Nekan. The passages cited by Wiseman in the *Horæ Syriacæ*, i. p. 263 sqq., from ancient Syriac commentaries on Exodus, essentially contain only a supplement to the narrative of Josephus, with the kings' names introduced from Manetho or other later chronicles. It is worthy of note that a history of the Kings of Egypt by one Methodolus, or rather Methodius, otherwise unknown to us, is here referred to.

them. Fl. Josephus does not mention his authority for this romance, but he doubtless took it from some then popular work of a Hellenising Jew, for though he may sometimes draw upon his imagination for the details of a story, he nowhere himself invents so lengthy a one. It is very significant that while he adopts such sugary stories contrary to the sense of the Bible, he is afraid to adduce from the Bible itself the homicide committed by Moses, as the cause of his flight from Egypt. In the same or a similar romance, in which the contest between Moses and the Egyptian Magicians before Pharaoh was probably amplified, the ancient names Jannes and Jambres seem first to have been revived for two of the magicians.[1] From a similar source was probably derived also the vivid description of the controversy respecting the gold and silver vessels mentioned on p. 65, fragments of which have been preserved in later writings.[2]

The strangest mixture of all necessarily arose when a heathen historian desired to unite with the Biblical accounts all the stories accessible to him, even from such sources as these. We have a somewhat circumstantial example of this in Artapanus,[3] who identifies Moses with the Greek Musaeus, the teacher of Orpheus, and ascribes to him the invention of writing and philosophy and many other arts besides. In his narrative the Egyptian king Palmanothes (whose name is disfigured, like most that occur here) treated the Jews with severity, and forced them to build the city and temple of Kessa (a corruption

[1] Besides 2 Tim. iii. 8, Gospel of Nicod. v. and other Christian and Jewish writers (see Fabricii *Cod. Apocr. N. T.* i. p. 249 sq.), they are now found only in a short extract from the work of the Pythagorean Numenius, in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 8. But they must evidently have been mentioned in some book that enjoyed great popularity in those days. Numenius names them from their office ἱερογραμματεῖς, which agrees well with the name ἄμβρης, given in *Horapollo*, i. 38, to their sacred book. Both names therefore probably only denoted Scribes in general, such as are called by the Fourth Narrator חַרְטֻמִּים. Most likely two such were chosen, as being the fitting number to confront Moses and Aaron. From the same ultimate source probably flows what is preserved in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 2, on magic as practised by Moses and his contemporaries; where only the readings of the proper names (except Moses) are greatly corrupted, as the comparison of the manuscripts proves. According to one reading the name Jannes occurs there.

[2] In Tertullian, *Against Marcion*, ii. 20. Distortion of the history of Moses from mere party-hatred, such as was formed in the later ages of antiquity, continued into the Christian era: thus, one person having endeavoured to show that Moses was the ἄλφα (and Christ the ω), another replied that he must have been so called because his body was covered with ἀλφοῖς (i.e. white leprous spots, see p. 77). This is told by Photius (ed. 190, 279; p. 151, 529 Bekk.), from Helladius Besantinus.

[3] In Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 27. Artapanus himself wrote a book on the history of the Jews, from which some extracts are given also by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23. The work of Artapanus had before this been used by Alexander Polyhistor; and it need not therefore greatly surprise us that this Polyhistor, living in the age of Sulla, derived the Pentateuch from a Hebrew woman Môsô, who was obviously intended to be identified with the Latin Musa: see Suid. under Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μιλήσιος.

of Ramessa or Geshen, Goshen? p. 6), as well as Heliopolis; his daughter Merrhis,[1] affianced to a king Chenefre (for Egypt then had several distinct kingdoms) but childless, adopted Moses; and so he fought as an Egyptian general against the Ethiopians; and so forth. Unfortunately even Tacitus was led astray by these miserable but popular writers on antiquity: he quotes many different opinions respecting the origin of the Jewish nation,[2] but the one which most commends itself to him is the pitiable narrative of Lysimachus, which he retails to us, brought down to a somewhat later date than Fl. Josephus did in the passage already cited. One opinion is briefly mentioned by him as held by many writers of his time, which is obscure and unknown to us from any other source: that the Jews were a race of Ethiopians, who under king Cepheus had been driven by animosity and fear to emigrate. We know, however, that the kingdom of this Cepheus, father of the Andromeda delivered by Perseus, was placed at Joppa the seaport of Jerusalem, the entire south coast of Palestine in its greatest extent towards the east and south-east being understood to belong to it;[3] and his kingdom was termed Ethiopia in the very earliest sense of that name among the Greeks. If now we reflect that he is called a son of Belus, and also is brought into a close connection with Egypt, and also that in that very district about Joppa, even as late as Samuel's time, an Amorite kingdom still existed, which was undoubtedly the remains of one far larger, it appears not improbable that in him was retained a recollection of an ancient kingdom founded by the Hyksôs on their return from Egypt. In this case the attempt to connect the origin of the Mosaic nation with his history was not quite arbitrary, especially as many stories were undoubtedly current among the ancients respecting the wanderings of the house of Cepheus.

As Armais, one of the last kings of the eighteenth Egyptian

[1] This name is probably intended to be the same as Amerses or Miphres, the fourth ruler of the eighteenth Dynasty of Georgius Syncellus (*Chronogr.* p. 113) and Eusebius (*Chronogr.* i. p. 214 of the Armenian translation at Venice); the third ruler is Amenephthes, which seems to be here turned into Palmanothes.

[2] *Hist.* v. 2 sq. A fragment from Demetrius, in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 29, shows how carefully the chronology of the ancient families belonging to these stories was investigated at an early date. What Justin (*Hist.* xxxvi. 2) says about Moses is of similar import, and would be very remarkable if the author had not followed his usual custom and cut it too short. Something similar is given by Diodorus Siculus (xxxiv. t. ii. p. 524, ed. Wessel.) and Dio Cassius (*Hist.* xxxvii. 17–19).

[3] The ancients, however, put Cepheus sometimes at Joppa, sometimes in Chaldea, and sometimes in Lybia or Ethiopia (see Steph. Byz. under Ἰοπή, Λιβύη and Χαλδαῖος, with the remarks of the commentators; the passages quoted by Heyne on Apollodorus, ii. 1. 4, 4. 3, and by Raoul-Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Insc.* vol. xvii. 2, p. 191 sq.): yet all these various views and representations may be easily reconciled. According to Her. vii. 61, the Greeks originally called the Persians Cephonians.

Dynasty, was combined with the Greek Danaus and an Egyptian migration to the Peloponnesus,[1] it was natural to seek a connection between this migration and that of the Israelites, which was but little removed from it in point of time; and in fact both are derived from the same source by a writer who seized the peculiar genius of Israel with uncommon depth and clearness, Hecatæus of Abdera, who probably lived not later than the commencement of the Macedonian age,[2] and very ingeniously

[1] Fl. Jos. *Against Apion*, i. 15; see Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, tom. ii. p. 1 sq.

[2] This passage, occurring according to Photius in the lost fortieth Book of Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. p. 542 sq. ed. Wessel.), deserves to be given entire, and is as follows: 'Once when a plague had broken out in Egypt, the multitude referred the origin of the disease to the gods. For since many and various races had settled in the country and adopted various customs with respect to sacred offices and sacrifices, the hereditary services of the Egyptian gods were unfortunately getting neglected, and the natives therefore feared they would never rid themselves of the evil unless they expelled the foreigners. The expulsion of these foreigners, then, being immediately effected, the most distinguished and powerful of them, as some say, held together and threw themselves upon Hellas and other places, having eminent leaders, among whom Danaus and Cadmus were esteemed the chief. The great majority however betook themselves to the country now called Judea, situated not far from Egypt, and in those days quite deserted; and the leader of this emigration was one Moses, a man greatly distinguished by prudence and valour. After taking possession of the land, he built, besides other cities, that which is now the most celebrated, called Jerusalem, and he also founded the sanctuary which is now most honoured by them, and enjoined the reverence and sanctification due to the Divine, and defined by law the political constitution; and he also divided the people into twelve tribes, because that is considered the most perfect number, and corresponds with that of the months of the year. But he never set up an image of any god, because he believed that the Deity has no human form, but that the heaven which surrounds the earth is alone God and Lord of the Universe. Also the sacrifices and the principles of living established by him were different from those of other nations: for, having himself suffered banishment, he introduced misanthropic habits and a hatred of strangers. And selecting certain men, the most acceptable and capable of presiding over the united people, he ordained these to be priests, who should occupy themselves with the sanctuary, the worship and the sacrifices to their God; and he also appointed them to be supreme judges, and committed to them the guardianship of laws and morals; wherefore also there was never to be a king over the Jews, but the presidency of the people was to be given to that priest who was most eminent for prudence and virtue. He is called the High Priest, and regarded as the medium of the Divine commands [compare מלאך Eccles. v. 5]; he, they say, in their religious as well as in their ordinary meetings, proclaims what is commanded, and on this subject the Jews are so obedient that they immediately prostrate themselves and pay religious homage to the interpreting high priest. The laws, moreover, have the following subscription at the end: "Moses says this is given by God to the Jews." The lawgiver also took great interest in military affairs, and obliged the younger men to practise exercises of strength and courage and the endurance of hardship in general. He also undertook campaigns into the territory of neighbouring nations, gained and divided by lot land, assigning equal lots to the common people, but larger ones to the priests, in order that, receiving greater revenues, they might give constant and undivided attention to the worship of their God. And it was not permitted to the common people to sell their lots, lest any from ambition should buy up these lots, and then drive out the indigent and thus reduce the population. He obliged the citizens to provide for the education of their children; and as children are there supported at little expense, the race of the Jews has always been numerous. Respecting marriages and burials he also introduced laws widely differing from those of other nations. But on the influx of foreigners, which occurred under the later rulers, [especially] under the [third

connects the chief points of the Egyptian narratives with certain statements of the Old Testament and customs of the Israelite people. Whether there was really any intimate connection between these two emigrations from Egypt, the most celebrated known to the ancients, is a point which we must leave to the historians of Egypt to decide.

4. On reviewing all this, we must confess that even these Egyptian accounts, originally scanty and obscure in themselves, and then still further obscured by the carelessness of later Greek writers, afford us some welcome help towards a more perfect and certain recognition of the events of those distant times. Speaking generally, their chief utility for us is to justify a more confident belief in the true historical basis of those events, which in their results are among the most important in history. As in recent times the superficial contemplation of such distant periods has frequently led to an unfortunate historical scepticism, which has especially assailed this very Mosaic history, it is particularly fortunate that through independent foreign sources we can gain firm ground to stand on, where we see the unfolding of a history which must have been far grander in a secular sense than the unaided accounts of the Old Testament would lead us to suppose.

What are all such late Egyptian legends compared with the remains of the oldest memoirs of those great events which are preserved in the Old Testament! Short they may be, but even in their fewest words is still contained the clearest memory of all the full life of those times. Take for example the fragment described at p. 68 sq. Israel's nearest way from Egypt to Canaan was a north-eastern course. In that direction therefore, following Moses' divine instruction, they first turned their steps. But—whether it was that Moses learned that the inhabitants of the coast-lands were arming themselves for a forcible resistance, or that Pharaoh himself suddenly collected an army against Israel from the north-eastern corner of Egypt and its fortified places, and was already moving against him—Moses struck into a directly opposite course while there was yet time,

and] fourth [great Asiatic] empire of the Persians and of the Macedonians who succeeded them, many of these old Jewish legal arrangements were altered.' Photius then adds, still following Diodorus, that this passage is derived from Hecatæus of Miletus (or rather of Abdera, according to Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 4; since Hecatæus of Miletus lived long before the Macedonian Empire). If this passage had been used by Eichhorn (*Bibliothek.* t. v. p. 431 sqq.), in his treatise on the genuineness of the work of Hecatæus and his nationality, the general doubts there raised would probably never have been urged, since none but a heathen could write thus. Strabo clearly drew from this source (xvi. 2. 34–39, and see xvii. 2. 5), introducing, however, also conjectures of his own.

not shrinking from all the discomfort and danger attending the sudden wheeling round of an army in motion. He moved to the south-west, apparently losing his course entirely and not knowing where he was going. Thus victory appeared to the Egyptian all the easier; he saw Moses marching through the desert, aiming at the northern point of the Red Sea; and if, as seemed probable, Moses meant to go on his east further into the desert to the south, the Egyptian could easily fall upon him; and the desert, on which such roving tribes generally build their hopes, would itself have betrayed this misguided people. But, quite against the Egyptian's expectation, Moses turned to the west from the Red Sea; and here he seemed even more quickly and utterly lost, for the Egyptian had only to drive him further to the south on actual Egyptian ground. But that happened which the latter could least have anticipated: Moses suddenly wheeled round and led his people through the middle of the sea; and his antagonist, dashing after him in blind rage to secure so near a prize, found his own ruin in the attempt. In this passage of the history of the time, sketched here rather more clearly than on p. 68 sq., there is full life and transparent truth: so vivid a picture, not only of the great religious conflict, but also of the complications of national history, do these narrators set before our eyes.

If, in the great religious war in Egypt into which these Egyptian accounts, conjoined with those of the Old Testament,[1] afford us an insight, Israel had been the conqueror, what a different form would one of the great divisions of ancient history have then assumed! But it seems as if no religion could obtain the victory upon the same spot of earth where it first tried its wings. As Christianity was cast out by Judaism, and Islam driven from Mecca, so in that primeval age the religion of Jahveh must have been expelled from the land upon whose highly intellectual soil it could alone have arisen in so early an age. But, doubtless, like every other religion, at the time of its first origin it took a position too sharply contrasted with its historical opposite, and too rigid, exclusive, or even destructive, towards the Egyptian religion, in strife with which alone it could have arisen, for the latter at once and completely to give way before it. And yet it was thus cast out

[1] Which however are in the main not contradicted by the oldest Egyptian records, when once collected in adequate number and deciphered with sufficient accuracy; see p. 14, 39; De Rougé and others in the *Athén. Franç.* 1854, p. 531 sq., 1128; 1855, p. 56 sq.; *Revue Archéol.* 1855, p. 257-74; 1860, p. 72 sq.; *Journ. As.* 1856, p. 203 sqq.; 1858, p. 233 sqq.; though we must be on our guard against premature combinations such as have often been attempted.

from Egypt and thrown upon another earthly soil, only that it might be there matured and purified by the culture of many centuries, and at length returning, armed with new powers, might without external force easily subdue the very religion before which it had fled first into the desert, and then still further to the hills of Canaan.

It is time, however, that we should resume the thread of the history where we let it fall before, and accordingly return exclusively to those sources which, in their perception of the higher significance of the whole history, leave all foreign accounts far behind. It is time to study the progress made by Israel on the height to which it had now suddenly attained.

SECTION II.

DEVELOPMENT AND MATURITY OF THE THEOCRACY UNDER MOSES AND JOSHUA.

A. THE GIVING OF THE LAW AT SINAI AND THE COVENANT.

I. The Journey to Sinai.

1. Set free from the soil and rule of Egypt, and suddenly raised to an extraordinary elevation, the nation can now develop its power and follow its vocation in independence: the world stands open before them, and a wide future is in their hand. How will they advance in this newly opened career? how maintain the height to which they have soared? This is the great question at the outset of this history.

Whenever so completely new a career is opened, whether to an individual or to a nation, it must inevitably be immediately beset by fresh and great difficulties and dangers of every kind. Torn away from their Egyptian dwelling-place, the Israelites were now compelled to seek a new one. Without some degree of armed force a suitable and permanent one was not to be obtained; and in the desolate peninsula into which they were in the meantime driven, and where they had first to strengthen and arm themselves for the difficult conquest of Canaan, the chief enemies whom they encountered were the Amalekites (see p. 43 sq.). To these they considered themselves bound by the ancient enmity subsisting between the two nations to give no quarter; and from them, at least for a time, they wrested their settlements, both in the south and in the north.[1] Thus the nation in which the higher religion was destined to find its home came at the very outset into the tumult of a bloody war; and it was to be seen whether, and how, such a nation could acquire and hold those external advantages without which no nation can prosper; and therefore it was the more necessary that, in preparation for all such future dangers and conflicts, the higher life which had just begun to germinate should be kept pure and vigorous, and should as soon as possible be firmly grounded by means of external institutions. For this

[1] See i. p. 250 sq. On one early occasion, when Canaanites and Amalekites together fought against the Israelites, their united superiority was soon decided, Num. xiv. 25, 43, 45; and see xxi. 1.

reason the Israelites were directed to the sacred heights of Sinai; and here again we must in many respects admire the grandeur of their leader's spirit.

For it might be expected that the elevation of the national aims and efforts, attained through so mighty an impulse, would not at once disappear, but would continue for a time, and thus leave behind it some enduring fruit in their political relations and arrangements. And this view is confirmed by distinct evidence; for happily, just at this point, a comparatively long series of passages from the earliest historical work have been preserved, by aid of which we are enabled better to understand much that relates to this most remarkable portion of the Mosaic history. We perceive from the simple narrative respecting Mara (i.e. bitter water),[1] how careful the Oracle,[2] or prophetic teaching through Moses, is to remind the people on every opportunity, of the great truths that had been once announced. For this, indeed, there arise innumerable opportunities. If the people, through any scarcity in the desert, are tempted to discontent, the Oracle teaches true obedience; and teaches it not in vain, if only at the same time their human industry does not grow weary of striving. Thus Moses finds, just when wanted, a piece of wood which makes the bitter water sweet,[3] seemingly given to him by Jahveh. And this story, as circumstantial as it is instructive,[4] informs us how Moses, now the successful leader of his nation and prophet of Jahveh, is met by his father-in-law, full of joyful astonishment and of reverence for Jahveh, and bringing with him Moses' wife and children from the home that he had left; and how Moses willingly follows his friendly advice to lighten his heavy duty as Prophet and Judge, by the establishment of tribunals for smaller matters. Such clear reminiscences transport us with yet greater distinctness into the very life of that earliest stage of a new national development, in which the political arrangements of the Israelites were still so incomplete that Moses was able to adopt many details from the people of Midian, who had long been a self-organised and civilised nation.

[1] Ex. xv. 23-26, compare xxiii. 22.

[2] This must be the meaning of חֹק וּמִשְׁפָּט in ver. 25, for so it is explained directly after, in ver. 26; חק being used in the same ancient prophetical signification as in xviii. 16, and Psalm ii. 7; מִשְׁפָּט *a decision*, i.e. a prophetical decision, which in those days was equivalent to law.

[3] Instead of this simple narrative a most extraordinary representation is given by Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 1. 2; who probably only follows an idea prevalent in his time in certain circles—so little even at that period did the simplicity of the Bible satisfy certain minds. It is true that the later narratives in the Bible itself are not equally simple; but for this reason there is the more need that we should distinguish their sources, and not explain the simple by the more artificial.

[4] Ex. xviii.

2. But if Moses, finding the northern and directest route for the conquest of Canaan barred against him (p. 92 sq.), had only intended to lead the emancipated people by the shortest eastern way thither, he might have struck into the direction from the northern point of the western arm of the Red Sea, which he had reached in coming out of Egypt, straight forward to the northern point of its eastern arm. On the northern edge of the peninsula of Sinai a much-trodden way still leads directly eastwards to the ancient Elah (now 'Akaba), or, as the ancients said, from the gulf of Heroöpolis to that of Elah. This road was undoubtedly well trodden even in the time of Moses; and from Elah he could then have pushed on to the north, much as he afterwards actually did. Yet this route also he rejected. Both external national conditions and the internal state of Israel itself must have determined him for the present to bend more to the south, towards Sinai, where he found his old friends, by whose help he might hope, if he took a long period of rest at the holy mountains, to complete the urgently needed internal organisation and reformation of his people. Even this direction (as will be soon seen) was not free from danger; but it evidently appeared to him the safest and best under the circumstances.

Though we possess comparatively speaking many accounts from ancient sources respecting the general direction of the route from the Red Sea to Sinai (or Horeb, see p. 43 sq.),[1] yet, little more having been preserved than the bare names of the various encampments, and many of these names being now obscure, it is extremely difficult for us to form any clear idea of all the details of the march. Like all that region, now desolate, but mainly from the recent inroads of its Mohammedan conquerors, the peninsula of Sinai may at that time have been much better cultivated and more fruitful than it is at present; in fact we have reason to assume this as certain of the whole period of the history of Moses, since every historical indication yet discovered leads us to this view. If we judge by the present state of the peninsula with its extremely scattered inhabitants, it seems quite impossible that the Israelites, in any number at all approaching that mentioned on p. 45 sq., could find room and sustenance there for so many years. But in that early time all those Semitic countries were crowded with cheerful and industrious populations, whose first youthful energies were as

[1] As shown on p. 21 sq. it is evident that the most complete catalogue of the encampments as far as Sinai is that in Num. xxxiii. 8–15, whereas in Ex. xv. 22–xix. 2 only a few special ones are singled out and described.

yet little exhausted, and whose contentment and willing toil easily drew sufficient sustenance even from poor soils. Indeed, as we saw at p. 43 sq., long before Moses the Egyptians had eagerly striven for the possession of a land which a civilised nation of the present day would scarcely deem worth the trouble of taking possession. But even at that time there were sterile tracts in the peninsula where water was very scarce; and as the Israelites had difficulty in forcing a passage, and obtaining even a temporary abode there, they might often encamp at spots of little note, which in later ages received totally different names. Besides, it is not necessary to suppose all the places of encampment, the names of which are preserved in the Old Testament, to have been very spacious or convenient, since they may often have been described by the name of the spot occupied only by Moses and the Sanctuary, while the mass of the people were roving freely over a more extended region.

Obscure, however, as are now most of the names of the encampments, and doubtful as they alone would have left us as to the direction of the march, we meet with some indications which may guide us with somewhat greater security, and to which we must pay particular attention. The people now, on their southward march, had entered the great desert, which in the only continuous list of the encampments is called 'the desert of Etham,' from the Egyptian frontier-town mentioned above, p. 69 sqq.; but by the Earliest Narrator is termed 'the desert of Shur,' from the Semitic city which probably lay exactly opposite the former.[1] Moses, whose first great aim must have been to put the people out of danger from the Egyptians, carried them at once three days' journey without halting.[2] Here he obviously came upon the present usual route from Egypt to Sinai, which runs, not along the coast, but up some distance into the interior. This route continues all the way to Sinai at an equal distance from the sea, and only approaches it for a short space about the middle of its course, at the promontory now termed Abu Zalîme, though even this approach may be avoided by a by-way which branches off to the east. Beginning in like manner, Moses conducted the people to the sea at their third resting-place; that

[1] Thus the words Ex. xv. 22 show themselves to belong to the First Narrator, equally with those of the ancient catalogue in Num. xxxiii. 1–49, followed by the Book of Origins (see p. 21 sqq.). The exact position of Shur, the city, is not known, but it must have lain on the Asiatic or Semitic side, since its name was commonly extended by the Asiatics to the desert touching the northern point of the Red Sea, and occurs in all parts of the Old Testament.

[2] This is mentioned as an exceptional case, which makes it all the more interesting, in Num. xxxiii. 8; Ex. xv. 22.

is, doubtless, at this same promontory of Abu Zalîme, where a high range of hills, with the valley of Taiyibeh, stretches to the sea, and forms the boundary of another desert on the south. Of the two previous encampments, then, Mara may answer to the modern Wâdi 'Amâra,[1] and the next Elim, with its twelve springs and seventy palms, not to the present Wâdi Gharandel, but probably to the more southerly Wâdi Taiyibeh.[2] But the long delay at the two last-named encampments is striking. According to ancient tradition an entire month had elapsed from the flight out of Egypt before the march was resumed at Elim.[3] If this fact of itself points to certain doubts and difficulties which beset Moses in the midst of this march, when not yet able to approach Sinai on any side, the subsequent events present yet stronger evidence of them.

For it is scarcely possible to doubt that the 'Desert of Sin,' into which the Israelites turned after encamping near the sea, is the same that now, under the name of El-Qâ'a, stretches from that promontory close along the sea-coast up to the most southern point of the whole peninsula, and is bounded on the east by the lofty mountain range in the south of the region. It is clearly described as possessing this wide extent;[4] and its very name shows that in position and length it corresponded to the high range of Sinai which abuts on it, since the word Sinai[5] may quite well signify the mountains of the desert of Sin. The fact that Moses, instead of marching into the mountains by the usual route, through the extraordinarily fruitful Wâdi Feirân on the slope of the Serbâl, or by a more easterly road past Sarâbît-el-Châdim, which is now covered with Pharaonic ruins, was compelled to tarry in this sterile desert close to the sea, is an evident sign that he could not approach the mountains and the

[1] Since Burckhardt's travels the name Mara has usually been supposed to answer to the well Hawâra, which lies only a little further to the south; the sound would better correspond with 'Amâra. If the words in Ex. xv. 22, 'they went three days in the desert and found no water' are to be taken quite literally, the encampment after the passage of the Red Sea must have been near the place now called 'Ayûn Mûsâ, i.e. 'Wells of Moses' (see p. 73), where forty springs are found: see the *Ausland* for 1851, p. 279 sqq.; also Seetzen's *Reisen*, iii. p. 117, 121; Graul's *Reisen*, ii. p. 254.

[2] Because the desert of Sin abutted on it, Ex. xvi. 1. That the modern name Zelîme is only a modification of Elim, as has been conjectured in our time, would be difficult to prove if Abu-Zelîme, to whom the place is now dedicated, was really a Mohammedan saint; see also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ix. p. 124.

[3] Ex. xvi. 1; and the fact that they continued to remember the exact number of the twelve wells and seventy palms at Elim (Num. xxxiii. 9; Ex. xv. 27), and that these particular numbers were adopted, points to a longer sojourn there of the people with their twelve tribes and seventy elders.

[4] Ex. xvi. 1.

[5] Formed according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 164 c. In the same way the only city now existing on this coast, Tûr, is so named from Sinai itself, according to p. 43.

road which he might have to follow northwards from them, without the greatest circumspection. And the battle with the Amalekites at Rephidim close to Sinai,[1] without which even a peaceable abode on the peninsula and a provisional possession of Sinai were not to be obtained, leaves us no further doubt as to the nature of the difficulties which he had here to overcome. We can indeed never fully understand the direction of the march in this its second stage, till we know with certainty the exact position of the three places of encampment, Dophkah, Alush, and the waterless Rephidim, or even to which summit of the great southern granitic range the eye of Moses was first directed. The term Sinai or Horeb, indeed, so far as we can now see, was used to designate this entire range; but still that particular height near which the chief encampment of the Israelites was placed, and towards which their march was mainly directed, might have received from them the special name of Sinai. Now was this height that of Umm Shômar, which lies most to the south and towers above every other summit? or was it one of the somewhat lower barren summits to the north of it, in the region where an opinion that has held its ground since the Middle Ages places the Mount of the giving of the Law—possibly the not very elevated peak known during that period as the 'Mount of Moses,' which has on its northern declivity the Monastery of Sinai?[2] Or was it the lofty Serbâl to the westward, on whose northern slope commences the far extending Valley of Feiran, still exceedingly well-watered and fruitful?[3] It would be vain to

[1] Ex. xvii. 8–16; narrated indeed in detail by no earlier Narrator than the Fourth, but undoubtedly derived from ancient sources.

[2] Robinson and other scholars both modern and ancient (see *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Ges.* 1848, p. 320 sqq. 397) have tried to identify some other of these heights as the actual mount of the giving of the Law: guided, however, by mere conjecture, or at best by single words of the description in Ex. xix., from which we ought surely to beware of deducing too much, in a kind of desperate scrupulosity. The apparently ancient name of *el Tîhia*, however, borne by a mountain to the west of the modern Mount of Moses and St. Catherine, deserves notice, as strikingly resembling the ancient name Sinai.

[3] This view, suggested by Burckhardt in a hasty conjecture, Lepsius has endeavoured to establish on a firm foundation, in his *Briefe aus Egypten*, p. 345 sqq., 416 sqq.; and Bartlett in his *Forty Days in the Desert* (London 1848) generally agrees with him. The chief argument for it, independently of the awe-inspiring height of this summit, is the proximity of the fruitful and well-watered valley of Feirân, which may perhaps be the Biblical Paran: but the place occupied by the principal camp of the Israelites is, on the contrary, always styled the desert of Sinai. That Serbâl in ancient times was esteemed sacred, and much visited by pilgrims, is certain: but the numerous rock-inscriptions in the Wâdi Mukattab and elsewhere in the neighbourhood of Serbâl, which have been recently made more fully known to us, and been deciphered by Beer and Tuch, point rather to heathen than to Jewish pilgrims, though many remains of ancient churches and convents are found all over the region, and the earliest Christians obviously esteemed the whole range, rather than any single peak, sacred. And even in Ex. xxxii. 12, the country where Israel then encamped was generally known

expect that on this point any opinion which emerges only in Christian times could be decisive, however firm its hold on the popular mind, or however sedulously it might have been worked up in monkish legends. According to the ancient tradition the Israelites remained here only about a year, and we do not find that in the following centuries they laid any special stress on noting the particular elevation on which their chief camp stood during that one year. But if Moses was obliged to use great circumspection in approaching the mountains, as we have seen reason to suppose, and if he marched through the wide western desert near the sea, we can well imagine that he would attempt by a rapid evolution to push directly into the mountains from the south, and to gain possession of the road that led thence to the north. In this case we should consider the well now called Tabakat, south-east from Umm Shômar, just at the entrance to the mountains, to be the same with the above mentioned Dophkah or Daphakat.[1] The spot where the Law was given would then certainly be one of the arid summits north of Shômar; and the desert of Sinai, where after the victory over the Amalekites the Israelites established themselves without further molestation, would be that on the northern slope of the whole range, which is bounded on the north by the present Jébel el-Tîh, from whence the route northwards lay open both to the left and the right. When Moses and his people took up here their first undisturbed position, where laws and ordinances suited to their new situation could be more calmly developed and completed, they had reached the third month of the year that had commenced in the spring with their departure from Egypt; but the exact day of the month even the Book of Origins could not name.[2]

3. Thus then Moses returned, as the leader of a rescued nation, to the sacred repose of Sinai, where he had before lived long under entirely different circumstances; and justly therefore might the Fifth Narrator, in conformity with his grand scheme for the whole history, represent him when a shepherd on Mount Sinai, on occasion of his first Divine call, as receiving the miraculous promise that he should see all Israel gratefully

as 'the mountains.' See also Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*. The Rev. Chas. Forster still maintains his prejudices in his '*Sinai photographed*, or Contemporary *Records of Israel in the Wilderness*,' London, 1862. That the giving of the Law took place on the *right* or southern side of Sinai, was the opinion of Mohammed, Sur. xx. 82.

[1] The LXX. indeed read in Num. xxxiii. 12 Ῥαφακά, but probably only by a mistake.

[2] The time-data given in Ex. xvi. 1 and xix. 1 are certainly taken from the Book of Origins: but it is evident from the generality of expression in both passages that the author was far from venturing on a more definite statement.

bringing sacrifices to Jahveh upon that very mountain.[1] But higher still, even in the earliest record, rises the description of the arrival of the people at Sinai, and the events enacted there: in it, God himself there descends from heaven, converses with the people through Moses, or even by his own loud voice in the storm; and concludes a covenant with them. In no other passage does that ancient document appear to have employed such vivid colours as in this.[2] But in truth every indication shows that the residence at Sinai must really have been of so great importance that any description in ordinary language could not fail to appear inadequate. It is essential to recognise this importance fully, and it may be well to bring vividly before ourselves the fact that, as shown at p. 95, the precise time had arrived for more firmly laying the foundation of the higher life, and that no place could be more suitable for this than the sanctuary at Sinai. For though a height attained by a sudden bound may for the moment act like an enchantment, even as to its moral influence, on all the members of a nation, at least chaining down the passions in their own circle, and showing the possibility of a holy state maintained entirely by free volition, such as at other times can be realised in hope and aspiration only; yet no one is justified in taking for granted that in its moral aspect any such elevation can remain always undisturbed: on the contrary, if what is once gained is to be kept firm, human ordinances and laws must be constantly formed and maintained in vigour, which, springing from the higher national aspirations and corresponding at once to the knowledge and necessities of the period, shall determine the standard and rule for the future, and though it is always difficult for a nation to enter into new and more settled arrangements for their collective social life, yet when once conscious of a higher tone of feeling they exhibit most readily the open eye for what is better, and courage to submit to the restraints of a life of higher claims and more established order. Now national assemblies for counsel and the adoption of laws

[1] Ex. iii. 12.

[2] Ex. xix–xxiv. 11. The earliest account that is to be discovered describes the sublime moment very simply, but still with all the thunders of heaven. The Book of Covenants then found this a good opportunity for describing the preparations to be made for the celebration of such awful mysteries. Moreover, to this passage (ch. xix.) verse 9 must have been added by the Fifth Narrator, since it only repeats the sense of those preceding it, and perhaps verses 20–25 by the Fourth Narrator, since they speak of Moses as again going up and coming down without any adequate motive (for the people according to ver. 12, 13 are already sufficiently separated), whereas xx. 1 seems to attach itself better to xix. 19. There are also peculiar thoughts and expressions to be noticed, as עב הענן ver. 9, comp. ver. 16; הכהנים vv. 22, 24; compare, however, xxiv. 5, and others already mentioned. On the use of the name Sinai see above p. 42 sq.

were generally held by the ancients in the neighbourhood of sacred spots,[1] doubtless in order that the people might thus be penetrated as deeply and powerfully as possible by a vivid feeling of the Holy and the Eternal. How preeminently desirable was this in the case of a legislative work like that of Moses, which for the first time after the achievement of their freedom was to give shape to the nation's whole existence, and if possible secure for all future time the height which had been gained! On a review of all the circumstances, we cannot regard the account of the Mosaic legislation at Sinai which appears in the records of the earliest Hebrew antiquity, otherwise than as springing from genuine historical remembrance. Moses could hardly have sooner found a resting-place entirely suited for law-giving, when the holy mountain of Sinai, of all the localities within the peninsula, suggested itself most naturally as adapted to be the holy place of assembly; for that height had undoubtedly (see p. 43) been revered even before his time as the abode of an oracle and a dwelling of the gods. And since a legislative work that seeks to establish an entirely new constitution of the national life, which, although of a simplicity answering to those primitive times, shall yet be durable, is not to be achieved speedily: we have every reason to assume farther that the residence at Sinai must have lasted for a considerable time.

But to view this subject at once from the highest point, we must above all remember that in every act of advancing legislation the spiritual living God himself may be regarded as drawing nearer to the men who thus bind themselves to him. For in truth the elevation of the thoughts and aspirations of a people to new and better orderings of their life is a direct uprising towards him who desires to see realised in the freedom of man an order similar, though on a smaller scale, to that by which he regulates the universe. And when a nation thus solemnly pledges itself in true fear and trembling to the observance of such acknowledged better orderings, it also approaches nearer to that God who is active in them; and God—no longer the mere Creator of all men, but the God of twofold agency, felt as a living power by the human soul in knowledge, law, and duty—can thenceforth be nearer to such a society, and can guide them better, than else were possible. If thus, in every law which improves upon an earlier condition, the spiritual God in some sense approaches nearer, and seeks a dwelling among men for

[1] The Hebrews themselves continued in later times to hold such assemblies at Shechem and other places of ancient sanctity.

some truth, albeit a truth affecting only something small and special, how much more directly and effectively will he descend from heaven to earth in such a legislation as that of Moses at Sinai, which proceeded from the purest aspiration and noblest elevation of a youthful nation favoured by the enjoyment of a moment rare upon the earth. All this is its own evidence; and, if we survey human and divine things from the higher point of view, cannot be conceived otherwise. But when in addition we reflect that the Narrator knew by sure experience how true it all was, that he himself, with his countrymen, felt rest and happiness in the religion which had received its earliest foundation at Sinai, and since then had given proof of its blessed influence during a long period in Palestine, we can easily understand how he would conceive as external fact and represent under an historical form that inner and essential truth, and could say that at Sinai God himself came down and proclaimed his laws in his own words. And as he evidently found only the Ten Commandments of the two tables—the common basis of all government and law—recognised as the fundamental law of Moses, he represented the same as if God, in person and in the full visible glory of his Being (enveloped in awful storm-clouds, as alone the ancient religion could conceive it), had himself spoken these Ten Commandments in thunder before the assembled people; but had so terrified and awed them by his actual words, thus heard in all their fearful nearness and distinctness, that they besought Moses to receive alone and convey to them the further declarations of the truth.[1] This conception makes the best transition to the further declaration of the individual laws, as having been given directly to Moses alone, and by him, as the now authorised mediator, delivered to the people.[2] The motive power, indeed, of any truth to us depends upon our being so entirely penetrated and thrilled by it that its hold can never again be loosened. After such a powerful or even convulsive spiritual excitement in the inauguration, the truth may then live and unfold itself with perfect calmness. This has been emphatically the case with all the religions that have arisen within historic times. And therefore this general conception is admirable in itself, apart from the special historical ground which has given such preeminence to the Ten Commandments.

But, again, the Narrator is not satisfied with merely describing the descent and the awe-inspiring words of the Deity, as if these alone were adequate to found a real historical religion and a valid legislation. He recognises on the other hand the

[1] Ex. xix. and xx. 19-21. [2] Ex. xx. 22–xxiv. 3.

truth, that every obligatory law without exception, and therefore even the very highest imaginable, can only rest upon the free covenant of the two parties—even when the one is the Lord and Protector, and the other the Subject and Protected—and on their acceptance of reciprocal obligations. To him the sacred moment of the solemnity at Sinai does not appear as merely a thing of the past, but as the type of every similar great religious solemnity. In describing therefore, with exact detail, even the human part of the arrangements, he is at the same time presenting certain main outlines for every future one.[1]

a.) From the mutual working of all these ideas and objects, and their union into one whole, arises the simple and beautiful idea that God at first only announced to his people the possibility of his deliverance of them through obedience, if they were willing to enter upon the glorious future here promised to them:[2] for the first impulse towards possible improvement, although springing from above in longing and in hope, directly appeals to the freedom, the personal resolve, and the courage of man.

b.) After the people have freely declared their willingness to follow this Gospel on an unconstrained conviction of its goodness,[3] then he who as Ruler undertakes to carry out that high deliverance must severally announce the duties of his subjects by the fulfilment of which alone it is possible for him to perform the promised blessing. And when for this end Elohim himself, on that most solemn occasion, is about to descend upon the mountain and announce the fundamental conditions of the Covenant, it is becoming also that on the part of the people preparations should be made worthy of so sublime a moment.[4] Thus descending in his full glory, while the mountain, at whose feet the people expectantly await him, trembles at his presence, in louder and louder thunders Elohim first confirms the mediatorship of Moses, who stands nearer to him than the others, and then audibly pronounces to the whole people the words of the Ten Commandments.[5] But the people having now as much as they can bear of the immediate sight and hearing of the highest glory and truth, themselves desire that Moses alone may receive and impart the further communications; whereupon Moses,

[1] This renders many parts of the description in Ex. xix. especially important and instructive for the history of the most ancient usages observed at the principal sacred feasts.

[2] Ex. xix. 3–6.

[3] Ex. xix. 7, 8.

[4] Ex. xix. 10–13; a description obviously derived by the Narrator from the mode of solemnisation of the principal feast-days adopted in his own times; see Gen. xxxv. 2.

[5] Ex. xix. 16–19, xx. 1–17.

ascending unaccompanied to the cloud-covered summit, receives the additional precepts respecting the ecclesiastical and social life,[1] which form a long section, closing with promises and warnings, that lead the mind back to the thought with which the narrative opened,[2] that the Ruler who makes these laws the conditions of his benefits is at the same time the true God and Deliverer.

c.) Then after the people have freely accepted everything as it is laid before them for reception by Moses,[3] the Covenant is at length sealed with solemn covenant sacrifice, and made permanently binding on both parties, on Elohim as the protector, and the people as the protected; and that league with Jahveh is ratified in which the people, and with them the Narrator, feel supremely blest.[4] Now, when the heads of the people venture to draw near their God, they find his presence no more a source of disturbance and of dread, but radiant in all the bright loveliness of supernal glory;[5] a beautiful sign that the higher religion and state of conformity to law, now established, shall work onwards to eternal blessedness.

II. The Nature of the Legislation.

At this hallowed pause in the history of Israel, which even the earliest record makes at the time when the people, having arrived at Sinai, could find leisure to hold festivals to their God, and in his holiness and truth calmly arrange their life for the unknown future, it behoves us also to rest a while, in order to become better acquainted with the constitution which henceforth more than all else determines the national history; which in its essential elements has survived that history itself, and is not extinct even now. Further reflection indeed will not allow us to consider all the laws, the promulgation of which is assigned by the extant writers to the hallowed ground of the encampment at Sinai, as having really first originated there both in spirit and in practice. For a code of laws must have long existed in the whole feeling and aspiration of a nation, and indeed for the most part be already embodied in their habits, if it is to be successfully introduced or have happy results, as we can verify by many joyful or painful experiences in our own history. Much more, then, must this have been the case in that

[1] Ex. xx. 18–xxiii. 33.
[2] Comp. xxiii. 22 with xix. 5.
[3] Ex. xxiv. 3–6.
[4] Ex. xxiv. 4–8.
[5] Ex. xxiv. 1, 2, 9–11; the words of ver. 1, 2 must originally have stood before ver. 9, and been displaced through some ancient error, as might be shown by many considerations; comp. for instance, xxiv. 3 with xix. 7.

primeval time, when so many artificial means of constraint now possessed by governments were wanting. The Israelites long before the encampment at Sinai, nay long before the wonderful deliverance at the Red Sea, must have been habituated to the guidance of their great Prophet, and consequently to laws, the same in spirit with those which there assumed a more definite, permanent form, and entered into the full light of history. In fact, various traditions scattered among the narratives of the Old Testament (as we have shown) perfectly agree with this view; and the Egyptian stories mentioned at p. 76 sqq. permit us still more evidently to recognise the people, even while in Egypt, as being essentially the same in some most important traits, as they appear when organised through the legislation of Sinai. The momentous event at the Red Sea, therefore, only brought the already excited feeling to its height; the rest and the legislation at Sinai did but impart to it clearness and permanence of form. In a similar way, among the long and numerous laws referred to Sinai in the extant narratives, many, particularly among those relating to details, may have sprung up, or at all events have assumed their present form in the next-following age (see i. p. 83 sqq.). But those essential truths and social arrangements which constitute the motive power of the whole history, must certainly have been there promulgated and firmly ordained. These only, therefore, can be fitly described in this place.

In considering the truths then propounded, and the social arrangements consequent upon them, we must not at the outset be startled by the grandeur of the former, or the wonderful nature of the latter, so as to reject anything because it appears incredible. For all the greatest and most enduring ideas that actuate and glorify the subsequent history, must have arisen in that sacred birthday of the community; and, as we have already observed, at such extraordinary epochs, and among a people such as Israel then was, the most wonderful things became possible. But we must not omit further to consider, that where such new and mighty truths in all their vitality first lay hold of a nation or community, a certain violence and possible excess in their application is almost inevitable. For the new truth in its first youthful energy is apt to take too powerful possession of the whole man; not having yet attained a quietly assured position relatively to other truths. To gain this position it may very probably have to contend against the world in certain directions so vehemently as to be unable, without foregoing its own existence, wholly to abstain from violence towards the obstacles

which it encounters. An astonishing new thought, of which the true depth is not yet realised, nor the necessity apprehended, may at once display extraordinary power against its opposite, and thus call forth the most wonderful resolutions with apparent logical consistency; but through want of experience is apt to be driven by its youthful energy and zeal beyond those bounds within which it will be ultimately compelled to restrict itself. Early Christianity even, as is distinctly testified by history, did not remain free from such exaggerations in its conflicts, although its founder is the only one who in his own person did not furnish for them the slightest occasion or warrant. How much less could we expect that the Jahveh-religion would be unaffected by them in that early age when a path had first to be made for the entrance of any spiritual religion, and under a founder like Moses, who, however high he may be justly placed, neither was nor could be Christ! We are under the necessity, therefore, of truly describing these exaggerations also, wherever they are a matter of history; as otherwise we should be unable to understand how the higher truths, founded at the same time, assumed their historical form, or with what extraordinary difficulties they had to contend. And it is of not less importance also, to show on the other hand how the Truth, in the narrowness of the age, often fell short of its own greatness.

If now we consider in the first place the abstract ideas embodied in the Mosaic economy, without reference for the present to the social arrangements which proceeded from them, we cannot, if we adhere closely to the records, adduce any large number of these as derived directly from Moses. If, however, according to all extant indications, the ideas not only promulgated but founded in that primal age of the community are few, they are grand in themselves, universal in their bearing, and eternal in their duration. It is therefore these abstract ideas which must here be expounded with especial accuracy and fulness, since they henceforth rule the best and most enduring portion of this history, never dying out, and often emerging again with wonderful power.

1. *The Fundamental Idea.*

1) We must first of all bring forward the one great thought which in fact includes within it all the rest. For however fruitful a creative period may be in great thoughts and stirring truths, on a closer view there is always a single fundamental thought which comes forth in it with the highest certainty,

and therefore with irresistible power, just as every such period fights for one single end, and therefore directs all its thoughts and efforts to one great object. Here then, either this great struggle must be rewarded by the rise of some great new truth, some light breaking out of the darkness to enlighten and rejoice the age, and from which an abundance of other truths may spontaneously flow; or no advance is achieved, and the struggle has been in vain. If however the noblest powers of a whole nation are really and perseveringly directed towards one great object, they do not generally fail of their reward.

This fundamental thought will not be a mere proposition which a solitary thinker may have evolved from his own reflection and processes of reasoning, such as the 'Cogito ergo sum' of Des Cartes, or similar dicta of other philosophers; propositions concerning which one school may dispute with another, but which are neither historically connected with great national efforts, nor have any bearing on national life. As we have already said, this fundamental thought in its clearness and strength must undoubtedly have dwelt in Moses as in no one else; but even in him it could have been excited only by great national catastrophes, and in such a manner that it must have at the same time lain prepared, though with less power and certainty, in his people also, and thus from the leader easily acted powerfully on the whole nation. Even the proposition of the Unity of God cannot, as often supposed, have been that fundamental thought, because, although penetrating far deeper into the spiritual thought and life of a nation than the Cartesian doctrine above referred to, it is not in itself comprehensive or animating enough to serve as the highest principle of a nation's life. Accordingly this doctrine assumes by no means the same exclusive and almost convulsively exaggerated importance in the history of ancient Israel, that it possessed for Mohammed; and moreover it already existed in its original simplicity (as we observed at p. 38 sqq.) in the midst of Israel, like a precious ore not yet refined or put in circulation.

The fundamental thought should rather be said to centre exclusively in the knowledge of the true Deliverer. Salvation and redemption from all distress the Pagans also expected from their gods; and there is not, nor ever has been, any god imagined, great or petty, just or corrupt, from whom man did not expect some deliverance impossible to him with his human powers, from something that oppressed him. For universally and from the beginning nothing can have led man so necessarily and so strongly to the Divine, as his own distress and con-

sequent need of deliverance. Not as though the Divine, in contrast to the human, were in itself a mere phantom of the imagination, for this contrast has a permanent truth of its own; but because everything true and good, which the human soul can conceive and attain, must be impressed upon it by the strongest motives before it can be pursued and grasped. But what God is the true Deliverer? is the question which was then first resolved in Israel. If man truly desires to be delivered from something which oppresses his better self, there is no other help for him, than that he should descend into the depths of his own spirit, and there become conscious of that truth which exists not only in his own individual spirit, but likewise in the Divine Spirit itself, and which maintains every ordinance and every law of the creation, and therefore must support, strengthen, and deliver all men who do not estrange themselves from it. Now the God who, as the Lord of this eternal truth, itself invisible but sustaining all the visible, stands above all that is visible, created and transient, is the pure, spiritual God. That this God alone, as the true God, is also the true deliverer of those men who in their spirit do not dwell far from his—this is the fundamental thought which then first revealed itself upon the earth.[1] According to this explanation this fundamental thought is by no means so obvious or easily intelligible as it may appear to us now that it has prevailed with more or less distinctness for several thousand years. On the contrary, on closer consideration three thoughts are found to be inherent in it, which negative the same number of grievous errors, and which therefore could only have sunk so deeply into the consciousness of a whole nation by reason of the overwhelming weight of history itself.

a.) In the first place, the sharpest distinction between the higher and the lower in the world is given at once with the perception that the Spirit acting in it is the only eternal and infinitely powerful element: where is here the superstition of the Egyptians respecting the human body, which when embalmed they believed

[1] That Jahveh is the 'Deliverer,' is the teaching of the whole Pentateuch, as well as of the preamble to the Ten Commandments; see Ex. vi. 6, from the Book of Origins; the Earliest Narrator styles him also the 'Healer' (or Saviour), Ex. xv. 26. With this doctrine is closely connected the sentiment, as ancient as it is characteristic, here expressed with quaint and simple beauty—of the two-sided moral nature of the true God, which shows him, notwithstanding all his severe strictness in the punishment of evil, as in a still higher degree gracious and loving. This thought, expressed in the comment on the Decalogue in Ex. xx. 5, 6, and Deut. v. 9, 10, is repeated in Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7; Num. xiv. 18, and in later books. And this leads necessarily to the further conviction, that God by his very nature could be the Deliverer only because he is both loving and righteous, or as it is elsewhere more briefly expressed, because he is holy: Lev. xix. 2.

to last for ever? But in truth seasons of the deepest extremity, such as the Egyptian bondage of the Israelites, are the only times when man learns clearly to recognise the infinite might of the hidden powers of the spirit, and with no other weapons than the intangible and invisible armour of his soul to struggle out from the deepest despair to the purest elevation;[1] as Job, the true heroic exemplar of the striving people of Israel, has no prospect of a happy turn in his fate, until in the deepest extremity of his soul, he springs up from his despair, as if at the touch of an angel's wing, and becomes conscious of the might and eternity of his spirit, and of the true God, its eternal refuge.[2]

b.) The second truth presupposed in the fundamental idea is, that to the human spirit, rightly apprehended, the Divine Spirit —the God who created the world and works in it—is truly kindred, but infinitely superior; and that thus the real God is purely spirit, and yet at the same time calls to himself and seeks to deliver his image and noblest creature, man: thus vanishes the Egyptian and all other heathen polytheism, and the strictest opposition to it becomes possible.

c.) But, finally, it is not these two propositions by themselves which will bring the true deliverance; rather, he only who with his own spirit enters into this Eternal Spirit, and thereby becomes inwardly a new spiritual (prophetic) man, is truly delivered by the Divine grace, preventing him, and calling him to itself. And thus springs up that great fundamental thought that only the pure spiritual God is the true Redeemer of all those who desire to be no more estranged from him; a thought which first arose in Egypt under Moses; then, as above detailed, was sealed by the wondrous rescue at the Red Sea; and afterwards became the foundation-stone of the whole community of Israel, as well as the sole vivifying impulse of all devotion, and the profoundest idea contained in all the books of the Old Testament.

In fact this fundamental thought, the corner-stone of every true religion, is a doctrine which bore within it power to unhinge the ancient world. He whose spirit finds its true place in the Eternal Spirit, in that act receives an infinite power, which raises him above the world and time, and suffers him to find rest only

[1] No prophet has seized this idea with greater clearness than Hosea, the great prophet of love; who lays the greatest stress on the fact that in times of old Jahveh found his people at the very moment of their deepest distress in the terrible desert, and brought them up as his own child; but now when they had become faithless to him, he was driving them back into the same desert, there to find their God again; Hos. ii. 16 [14], ix. 10, xi. 1, 3, xiii. 3, 4; compare (from about the same period) Deut. xxxii. 10, and (from a later period) Jer. ii. 2 sqq., xxxi. 2, sqq.; Ezek. xvi. 4 sqq.; Is. liv. 6.

[2] See the article in Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1843, p. 711 sqq.

where the most blessed contentment dwells in union with an unfailing zeal to participate in the Divine energy. Heathenism depends essentially upon the slowness of the human mind to recognise and hold fast divine truth in its purity; a slowness which, having once crept in extends more and more, and knows no end but in utter destruction. But with that fundamental thought of God the Deliverer, there arise within the human soul at once the ability and the courage to recognise all the truth of the Divine Spirit who confronts it, and to open itself to his living influence. And this is a life which, when once it has struck vigorous root among men, can never again perish, but advances with ever multiplying fruits. Thus even here, in this earliest time, there arises an infinite truth, which, developing itself further, could not fail in the end to overthrow all heathendom and usher in our modern age. But whereas among all the other nations there was not as yet one individual who grasped that thought, or was willing to take it alone for his guide, here it not only exerts a living force over Moses, but becomes at the same time the possession and the innermost life of a whole people. Here then we perceive in its germ that which made the history of the ancient people of Israel truly a world-history: that while among other nations that torpidity of soul, Paganism, was assuming more and more rigid forms, until it became quite incurable by the few scattered spirits among them who looked deeper and attempted bolder things, among the Israelites, even in a relatively very early time, and before the heathenish tendencies in them could be fully unfolded, that freedom and boldness of spirit grew up, which, after once beholding the purity and power of the Divine light, can never wholly weary of turning towards it a longer and fuller gaze.

How deep and firm was the hold of this primary idea on the national mind is nowhere more clearly shown than in the fact that the whole narrative of the departure from Egypt, as it shaped itself in the thought of the Israelites (see Ex. i–xv.), is virtually nothing but a history of the true Deliverance. For the contents of that narrative are essentially this:—the spiritual God can truly deliver only when the divine truth respecting deliverance is present (through the true Prophet, for example, as its instrument), and the man or nation, hearing it, has at the decisive moment the right obedience and faith. And as the Israelites began their new course with this consciousness of the true deliverance, and thus beheld in that history the birth of their own higher life; the record of it also

must be the brightest mirror of the spiritual truth of deliverance, the type of every similar struggle for deliverance, and consequently of all real salvation. If, however, it is the later prophetical Narrators that give the grandest and most powerful descriptions of the event, it is because in the course of centuries the community had learnt to recognise more and more deeply the truth which thus lay at the root of their own existence. And we may well affirm that this great First Prophet and his work—the true deliverance through Jahveh—first found a completely worthy and satisfactory delineator in the culminating period of the renewed prophetical power in Israel, that is in the ninth and eighth centuries.

But the more clearly this primary thought is seen to be infinite in its nature, the less can we expect it to receive at once a pure and perfect embodiment in any human being. For there is always a wide interval between the first germination of a truth and its highest development. Even purely intellectual truths (of mere science) are at first rather gazed at with surprise than viewed in their whole bearing and carried out to all their consequences. But a truth of purely religious nature — even the highest of that whole sphere — may by the light of its own necessity be at once perceived quite correctly with the spiritual eye, and men may begin to strive to live in it and to receive it more and more fully; and yet what a long course must be gone through before it is so fully developed even in a single heart, that the whole life serves to illustrate its beauty, and thus becomes its perfect exponent to others! Undoubtedly this is its true destiny, to attain which, without or even against the will of any individual men, is part of its essence and life; for every truth which has once arisen by its intrinsic power maintains its ground, and in spite of all obstacles advances to its goal. In this sense that ancient Mosaic age includes within it the Messianic, that is the Christian; not as comprehended by distinct consciousness or direct effort, but as realised through the inherent germinating force of the fundamental idea which here arose, and in its own time necessarily led to it. Thus every great movement in the history of the world appears as a link connecting two others in an immeasurable chain; distinctly closing some earlier vast development of human life upon the earth, and silently introducing a fresh evolution. While Jahveism[1] advances towards its goal in overthrowing Heathenism, it yet

[1] We purposely adopt the term Jahveism as the antithesis to Christianity, rather than Mosaism, which according to p. 32 sq. is less appropriate.

embraces within itself, although at first scarcely visible even in the dimmest outline, a new goal, and therefore an end of its development; as Christianity again closes Mosaism, but at the same time foreshadows the end of its own history, and therein the commencement of a new one. But on this very account we cannot hold too firmly that the mighty and revolutionising thought with which Jahveism entered the world, at first appeared in it, not fully and completely realised, but merely foreshadowed and expected. And if this holds true of Jahveism during its whole course, it must be especially true of its early commencement, before it had developed itself, and thus begun to discern more clearly the goal which it was approaching, and to strive more strenuously for its attainment. There, in that primeval time under Moses, did the infinite Truth cast its first bright beam upon the earth; and this beam penetrated so deeply into one portion of mankind that they would never suffer it to be taken from them again. But the dawning truth was yet too vast for one individual, and the whole series of centuries passed until Christ, before that one arrived in whom it became flesh and blood. For this reason those narratives are of such great value which show that not only the exalted brother and sister of Moses, Aaron and Miriam, but even the great Prophet and founder of the community himself, sometimes, although but seldom and exceptionally, failed to keep pure his faith in the spiritual God, and therefore could not be regarded as the perfect exemplar of Jahveism.[1] Thus, when that religion would present an historical example of the highest faith, it had to go back to the sacred period of the Patriarchal world, to Abraham (i. p. 288 sqq.); although, as Abraham properly belongs to a different religious development, this is not entirely satisfactory.

2) But here, where we perceive the limit which confines the new Jahveh-religion at its very origin, we discover also distinct bounds within which the fundamental thought must restrict itself in order to maintain its own existence. Thus are produced a number of fixed forms, in which Jahveism henceforth appears; like earthly bodies which it can imbue with its own spirit.

a.) As this fundamental thought at first presents itself to man only as an intellectual idea, it comes to him in the form of a mere demand upon him—as a stern 'must,' requiring him to seek the spiritual God and no other. Had this thought been perfectly fulfilled in but one exemplar and become flesh and blood in him, that one, as a member of the community,

[1] Num. xii, xx. 1–13, 23, 24, xxvii. 12–14.

would have at once become the true and eternal type of all, and thus the head of that community: and the thought having been thus distinctly realised in history, this realisation in one on behalf of all would impart to all the blessed trust and the ennobling faith, that they might become like him and be perfect themselves. But that one perfect type being wanting, thought and aspiration are ever carried back directly to him who only commands and compels—the pure spiritual God with his strict demands on man. Jahveism, therefore, in its further development, necessarily becomes the religion of the Divine demands on man, and therefore of Law. From this limitation Jahveism made immense efforts to break free, during the time of its freest development and most spiritual elevation—the age of the great Prophets;[1] but without success, since every religion that remains, as it did, an essentially prophetical one is of necessity one of direct Divine command. So that when this characteristic of Jahveism had culminated during the third and last age of its existence, the New Testament was unquestionably right in placing the religion of the Old Testament chiefly under the category of Law.

Examining more closely the separate ideas which may be contained in this, we can distinguish the following three points. Not only the fundamental thought, but also every other purely spiritual or divine truth here forces itself directly or immediately upon us, because prophecy in its highest development becomes the mightiest instrument of spiritual activity. So here the eternally true God is always first foreboded, felt, apprehended by man *immediately*. He alone in his whole infinity stands over against man; and man knows and desires him alone to be his only Lord and God absolutely, immediately, with no intervening medium. But then, secondly, this *Immediateness* naturally entails the use of *Force*, whereby the truth presses itself upon us, and must rule over us. Thirdly and lastly, then, the truth which thus comes to man will soon come to appear a mere externally imposed rigid *Law*, when once it is long established and the mere necessity of its observance is alone remembered. These three characteristics, which are present in greater or less degree, are shown by the progress of history to be the greatest dangers that the true religion has to surmount in order to supply the defects which cling to it from the

[1] Prophets who call the people themselves as witnesses of the truth of their words, as Isaiah i. 18, Jer. ii. 31, and the Deuteronomist, who (xxx. 11 sqq.) shows how easy the Law really is for man, and how nearly it concerns him, are already preparing the transition to Christianity, i.e. to a religion which regards the Divine will as not utterly extraneous and opposed to the human.

beginning; and we are surprised to see how the germs of each of the three great epochs which constitute the whole course of this nation's history, are already present here, lying undeveloped side by side.

b.) This fundamental idea requires man always to keep his mind earnestly as well as willingly fixed upon the Divine spirit and upon his will. In this lies an infinite task for the heart and hands of men; and the example of Moses shows that any one who may strive to fulfil this command in a self-sacrificing spirit will be impelled to the most unwearied course of benevolent activity; for he so completely devoted the day to assisting with oracles and decisions all who came with inquiries or complaints, that his father-in-law Jethro was obliged to urge him, lest he should be entirely overcome, to lighten his labours by deputies.[1] The community which gathered round a principle like this must necessarily be led towards the purest as well as the most distinct conception of the Divine. In all that they experience they see the hand of their God directly active; in all prosperity they feel the favour, in all adversity the displeasure, of that Invisible Being towards whom their every effort ought to be directed. In the whole creation and in human history they perceive nothing so much as the action and supremacy of their spiritual God: and thus among other things grows up their characteristic view of history, which above all recognises and holds fast the higher and the Divine in national events. Especially, by Jahveism, is man set in a vivid contrast with God, of which heathenism had no conception; for the more spiritual and exalted the idea formed of the commanding God, the more utterly does mortal helpless man, capable only of obedience, vanish before him. Therefore among them when a divine truth is brought forward, it is not, strictly speaking, so much the prophet who utters it, as God himself, coming forth with his all-conquering 'I' (p. 49 sq.). Even the greatest human heroes, as Moses, do not feel themselves to be the deliverers of the nation, but Jahveh alone is acknowledged and glorified as the deliverer of all without exception (p. 32 sq.). But the most distinct indication of this exclusive direction of the mind to the divine is given by the fact that the community, in the period of its youthful exuberance of energy, chose Jahveh alone as its King and Lord, to the express exclusion of every earthly monarch. This strict and exclusive devotion to that which is loftiest, and this determination always to recognise the Divine alone, when made the fundamental

[1] According to the oldest account, Ex. xviii.

law of an entire community, deserves the highest admiration. And we may truly say that it was necessary that this concentration of all thought and feeling upon the divine as opposed to the human should at some time spring up, in order that, somewhere upon the earth, there should be established in full power the direct opposite of the prevalent heathenism; as if the human soul, wounded by the growing perversions of heathenism, had clasped with convulsive eagerness the one truth, whose light—too bright to be forgotten—it had once seen shining in the darkness; and at first had been able to achieve nothing more than firmly to maintain that basis of true religion which it had won. But precisely because the whole aspiration and effort of Jahveism were directed to the assertion of that truth which already shone so brightly, but had not yet become really embodied even in one single individual, and which therefore seemed as if it might easily disappear without ever attaining completeness; that religion could never gain room to penetrate the world with it in a permanent and completed form, nor rest in calm reliance that everything besides the spiritual God, when rightly known and more carefully examined, leads back to him. It could not therefore as yet embrace science with an equal zeal; for science in the strict sense does for a moment, during the inquiry, regard its object by itself, as if it existed in independence of God; and only when it has thus exhaustively explored it, confidently refer it back to the eternal divine law and to God himself. These limitations indeed were nearly broken through in the second stage of the history, that is, during the centuries of ripest development of the ancient community; and up to a certain point the rudiments of science grew up within Jahveism, but beyond such rudiments the ancient Israelites did not advance even in those ages of their existence which were most favourable for science; and they always returned with increased force and intensity to the pursuit of the one great task of their life, which even in the primitive age they had so clearly discerned—religious truth. Thus they never discovered with the same certainty the basis of an irrefragable science to correspond with it. But in truth, to follow out to its completion the true religion is a task grand enough to absorb for many centuries the noblest powers of an entire nation.

c.) This fundamental thought germinated, as already shown, in the midst of the most violent conflicts, and most impressive teachings, of history; and hence arose alike its own noble truthfulness, and the immense power with which it seized upon

so many persons, and became so intimately blended with the whole life of a new-born nation. For only that which thus, through the divine necessity of history, forces itself with overwhelming power upon a nation and is faithfully and intelligently received by them, being recognised as the very salvation which their whole life needs, finds an enduring abode among them. But whatever originates solely in the destiny and the experience of one people finds in that very circumstance its first historical limitation. Israel alone had vitally experienced this fundamental thought, which was brought home to it in the conflict with Egypt, and subsequently in like conflicts with many other nations; so that during the first stress and movement of their history it was directly and incessantly moulded, radically and in a manner decisive of its fate for all future time, into a peculiar possession of this one nation. It was thus completely united with and melted into their whole nationality, and by being so closely bound up with the special life of an individual people necessarily suffered a proportionate loss of purity. In fact the fundamental idea emerging here as the beginning of all true religion, is too spiritual and therefore too difficult of comprehension to be as easily disseminated as a discovery respecting the lower life. Those only who had lived it could comprehend it, and since *they* had grasped it only as a nation engaged in a great national conflict, they espoused it only as the word of their own God revealed to them, and as an everlasting endowment granted them for a defence and weapon against their enemies. Nor is it a small thing that it should thus at first establish itself even among them in all its power, and find among them a firm basis on which to unfold itself further. Jahveh becomes the glory, the greatness, and the actual king of Israel; with Jahveh as their best weapon David and his men of war fight against the nations round.

It is true, this fundamental thought, grasped in its purity, is so just and so irrefragable that it might well become the basis of true religion for all humanity; there is in itself no reason that it should first arise in Israel alone, for Israel alone develop itself, or remain in Israel alone to the end of time. And in fact we have seen that in the beginning it originated in the closest connection with the most ancient civilisation of Egypt, and on the highly intellectual soil of Egypt; that moreover on the departure from Egypt some non-Israelites joined Moses, and that, humanly speaking, it was but an accident that Egypt suffered this blessing to be finally snatched from her (p. 39,

66 sq., 82). By this fact it is clearly shown that pure Jahveism in its aim and nature is not the property of one nation only; indeed there always lies concealed in its innermost tendencies a strong impulse to become the light and life not of one nation but of all. At every intense movement and critical turning-point of all the ensuing history this impulse manifests itself more strongly, varying in form according to the age, but remaining essentially the same. It is seen active in the time of David and Solomon, and again still more powerfully in another way in the commencement of the third epoch of the history; and as at the beginning it was only hemmed in by temporary causes, so as the time of its perfect fulfilment approaches, it endeavours more vigorously to break through all such temporary bounds. But even to the latest times these efforts were but weak and incomplete, because this religion, through its origin, had been united so closely and so rigidly with the entire existence of this one people, that, without first achieving its own higher development, it could never with much success transcend the bounds within which it was thus confined. Jahveism, as soon as it arrived at maturity, restricted itself within this one people as in a home, so that if strangers embraced it they were compelled at the same time to enrol themselves as members of the Israelitish nationality. As Brahmanism, being closely intertwined with the national life of the Hindus, could only spread itself gradually, and *pari passu* with the rule of the Hindus, or rather of the Brahmans and Rajahs, and it was reserved for Buddhism, which was at its origin free from these national fetters, to spread over foreign lands and then flourish there chiefly; so Jahveism could itself never force its way beyond the people of Israel, and its completion, Christianity, alone had power to knock down the barriers and attain the result which the former had but sought and striven for. We must therefore recognise even in religion the main conditions to which all that is historical is subject. From the first, and long before Moses, undoubtedly, the germs of the true religion existed, but entirely isolated, or at most as the possession of single houses (families).[1] From this stage an immense advance is gained, when its fundamental thought becomes the property of one whole nation; and then, before any further steps in advance are taken, that one nation must be first so thoroughly penetrated by this thought, and have it so inseparably bound up with their innermost life and being during the working of many centuries, that at least by that nation it could never again be lost.[2] But not until the

[1] See i. p. 317 sqq., and here p. 36 sqq. [2] Compare Is. lix. 21 with lxiii. 11.

principle of true religion already exists ineffaceably, in spite of all changes of time, in the life of a whole nation, can it advance further, and[1] (striving after and finally attaining its own completeness) successfully break through its national limits. Then, however, it is driven forth beyond them with a power wholly irresistible.

Thus this fundamental thought, as soon as it comes prominently forward, is enclosed in certain definite moulds, which on the one hand constitute its defence while it establishes and develops itself historically, but on the other confine it within cramping bounds, which as its strength increases it must seek to burst. And there are times when, as if foreshadowing a new era, it actually raises itself above them, though never able wholly to transcend them so long as it finds this form and constitution necessary to it, and has not yet attained its consummation.

2. *Consequences of the Fundamental Thought.*

We see a multitude of new, great, and separate thoughts and eternal truths springing up from the fundamental thought; but we also immediately remark that each of these again is attended by its historical limitation. And we must regard these limitations with equal care, although, since they relate more to special points, they do not continue so essential as those before explained, to the very close of the history.

1) *Consequences in relation to God.*

a.) One of its first important consequences is the recognition of the true delivering God, as being self-consistent, eternally unchangeable and one. When the human soul is raised to such clearness and uprightness that it acknowledges salvation in the spiritual God alone, it must also apprehend this God as in himself absolutely equable and single, as a spirit that holds together the spirits of all visible creatures with their endless multiplicity;[1] for as man feels unity in his own spirit, and finds all his efforts directed constantly to one object, he must recognise the highest spirit, the constant and unchanging object of his own spirit, also as one only, before whom all that is lower, multiform, and earthly, disappears. Thus the

[1] 'The God of the *spirits of all flesh*' is an unusual and very curious designation, which has evidently passed into the Book of Origins from a very ancient source (Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16), and must therefore be regarded as genuinely Mosaic.

God in whose spirit the whole nation ever finds its light and salvation, must be strictly one. If then the spirit of God alone, as already revealed, and expected to be revealed again and again in future, is to reign over the people for ever; then, as there is only one such spirit, one truth, and one inmost connection of all things, there can be but one God whose word man must obey: one God—therefore unity of all thought and action, constant reference of all that is yet dark to his light, and direct progress towards the highest in a common uplifting of all the members of the community undividedly to him.

As the idea of the unity of God thus springs out of the living feeling of the true deliverance, it becomes also immediately fruitful, and prompts continually to a practice corresponding to this truth. It presents itself here, not as a proposition infinitely elevated and yet of little bearing on morality, as in Islam; but as an important, though still only a single truth, only resulting from true religion, not supporting and alone constituting it, as in Islam; where, simply on account of a mistaken antagonism to Christianity, it was carried to an exaggerated pitch. Accordingly it is announced even in the earliest period only historically (concretely), as a truth of which the people themselves had experience, in the words of the First Commandment; 'I am Jahveh, thy Deliverer; thou shalt worship no other Gods before me:' that is, the true God, whose delivering power thou hast already experienced, him alone shalt thou in all the future seek and reverence. The more definite expression of the thought of the Unity of God, or Jahveh, first developed itself in later times, as is clearly seen in the passages which mention it.[1] And yet in that simple expression, thus based upon experience, there lies a sufficiently strong opposition alike to heathenism and to the older religion of the Hebrews themselves, who cannot before this time have grasped Monotheism with that definiteness and clearness, as well as in that sharp contrast to every form of Heathenism in which it henceforth appears (p. 37 sq.). The Unity of God stands in the same position as all true religion. As this in its essence is present from the very first, but in respect to its special truths and their living power comes more and more prominently forward in the real world in strife with their opposites, so the truth of the Unity of God must now have made a great advance.

But there is an expression, undoubtedly derived from that primeval time and from Moses himself, which, without employing

[1] They do not occur earlier than in Deuteronomy proper.

the abstract word 'Unity,' does what is far more important and decisive, discloses a genuine conception of this unity derived from the purest sources. This is the description of Jahveh as 'the jealous God, who visits the guilt of fathers upon children to the fourth generation, towards those that hate him; but does mercy unto thousands, towards those that love him and keep his commandments;' and another, conveying essentially the same meaning, but in reversed order; 'the tender and merciful God, long-suffering and rich in grace and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving guilt and transgression and sin, but not regarding them as innocence; visiting the guilt of fathers upon children even to the fourth generation.'[1] It is clear that in the olden times Jahveh was proclaimed in those solemn terms, when it was designed in few words to indicate his whole nature, somewhat as an earthly king on solemn occasions is designated by all his titles of honour and dominion. The highest idea, then, that Jahveism could form of God was here shortly but clearly condensed; and nothing can be more certain than that these sublime words, which might gradually grow into a confession of faith, are derived from the age of Moses, and from that Man of God himself. Now the very essence of this description is that Jahveh is at once the really punishing and the really loving God; the love however is the mightier in him, and therefore (as is afterwards distinctly stated) it is from love alone he punishes. Since then this description of the two sides of the Divine nature, which in Heathenism are always more or less separate, strictly embraces them in a true unity, and distinctly shows how all the varied qualities ascribed by the heathen to their Gods, in so far as they are true, coexist in the one thought and feeling of Jahveh; we necessarily recognise in it a conception of the Divine Being in the presence of which a so-called dualism was impossible.

And yet we must here also immediately admit a limitation, which appeared in the course of events, and sprang up out of the midst of the new truth. It must indeed be admitted that the idea of the Unity of God from the very first exalted Jahveism far above any form of Paganism. The latter indeed taught something similar, not in a consistent and salutary way, but

[1] The first of these versions is found in the comments on the Decalogue; of the other the first half only is given by Joel, ii. 13, but the whole in Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7 and Num. xiv. 18; it is clear that the adoption of the one or the other form depends mainly upon the context, and that the two are identical as to the real thought conveyed. In the diction there are many peculiarities, as נקה לא ינקה.

indirectly and by constraint, inasmuch as it always allowed one of its gods to rule over the others: whereas in the Mosaic system of religion, owing to the prominence assigned to the Monotheistic idea, no room was left for the intrusion of any morally dangerous Polytheism, however secret, like that of the cultivated heathen systems. But since Jahveh (that is, the spiritual God) was at first understood by the people only as their own God, the chief god worshipped by some other nation might, in the popular mind at least, be thought of as his opposite; as if every religion, and therefore, in the religious condition of antiquity, every nation must have its special God. So in an ancient national song, Chemosh, Moab's God, is contrasted with the God Jahveh,[1] and in another ancient song of praise, Jahveh is called the 'Incomparable among the Gods,' as if the gods of the heathen had some kind of existence.[2] The higher truth, indeed, of spiritual religion could not be thus wholly suppressed. That Jahveh is the God of all nations and of the whole earth, the most ancient words declare not the least forcibly.[3] The wit of the higher religion revenged itself early in a pun upon the heathen gods, by whom as the ruling powers among the heathen, they felt themselves at times oppressed, by calling them Elîlim, that is nothings, or no-gods, instead of Elôhim.[4] But so long as Jahveh was accepted primarily and with the strongest feeling only as Israel's God, it was almost inevitable that whenever the people, being unsuccessful and hard-pressed by hostile nations, experienced less vividly the power of their God to protect them, they should imagine themselves oppressed by their enemies' gods also, look round to these, and possibly hope to be rescued by their more powerful arm or more gracious regard. In fact this became a chief cause of many later errors and dangers. But for this very reason the pure truth, as yet half hidden by a veil, must have been impelled with increasing force to make itself felt, until at length the true God was understood more and more generally and distinctly, not as God of Israel only, but as the one and only Ruler of all nations.

b.) Since this One God is the pure spiritual being who as the Creator stands eternally above all created things, and far more

[1] Num. xxi. 29; see Judges xi. 23, 24.

[2] Ex. xv. 11, whence the phrase is often repeated in later songs, such as Psalm lxxvii. 14 [13], lxxxvi. 8; whilst other late poets preferred to say at once angels instead of gods, Ps. lxxxix. 7 [6] sq.

[3] Ex. xix. 5.

[4] That this play upon the word was introduced long before the time of the great Prophets, is proved by the important passage Lev. xxvi. 1, which passed into the Book of Origins from a very ancient source.

above all that is made by human hands, it further follows that no image man devises of him can be equal to his nature or supply his place. This must be true even of those pictures which men form in their own minds of God: such pictures, indeed, constantly obtrude themselves even involuntarily upon the dreaming as upon the waking spirits of men, because all their thought begins in perception and imagination. But every representation of God which is thus formed, depicts the Divine merely in accordance with a particular experience which is transient and even momentary; and therefore, though it may in itself be useful and innocent, it can never suffice, nor dispense with the aid of a pure truth by which it may be corrected. Therefore this religion, though by no means repudiating or anxiously avoiding the mythological (or figurative) mode of speaking of God, in its original and most innocent sense, never suffers it to become stiff and rigid, or to be wanting in essential truthfulness and holy reverence. Still more must this be the case with respect to visible images, which men desired to regard as sufficient representations of him who is exalted above all representation, and to worship instead of him whose glory no image can approach.

But as this principle was now for the first time[1] decisively asserted against heathenism, it would easily be carried to excess. The essential character of heathenism is that it causes men to fall away from profound thinking upon God into a more and more superficial thinking and talking about him, and thence easily into image-worship; and Egypt was just the country in which a debased mythology and image-worship had early advanced thus far. Jahveism placed itself in the sharpest opposition to, and freed itself forcibly from, all heathen, that is all degrading, mythology; but with the blow thus given to all the imagery then prevalent respecting God and divine things, Jahveism fell back into almost too simple a method of speaking of the Divine, and thus lost that pliability and versatility of poetical imagination without which, e.g., no epic poetry can be developed.[2] Therefore during the following centuries it made

[1] That the Hebrews before Moses generally, if not universally, were accustomed to images, is already proved by the Teraphim; on which see my *Alterthümer*, p. 267 sq. We cannot here investigate whether either Numa or Pythagoras, as Plutarch (*Numa* viii.) says, at a later time prohibited the worship of images, and this prohibition was observed for 170 years; but at any rate that was a recent age compared to the Mosaic. It would be a more important discovery if we could determine the date of the commencement of the Zoroastrian prohibition (Herod. i. 131); though the Mosaic was certainly independent of it. The Egyptian religious reforms mentioned at p. 93 had nothing to do with image-worship.

[2] See my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, bd. i. p. 50, sqq. Similarly Islam rejected

constantly increasing efforts to acquire in this respect a greater flexibility and freedom, without sacrificing its primary sentiments; and it did actually gain by degrees a treasure of figurative conceptions, which were compatible with its own higher truth.

In the same way, it is a righteous and noble indignation which is now kindled by Moses against the Egyptian idolatry. The community which turns to an invisible God cannot possibly recognise any visible, that is, any created existence, nor consequently any image, as a sufficient substitute for the spiritual; as was done among the heathen, with whom it was not indeed the view of the philosophers, but the tolerated though degrading and demoralising habit of the people. But even the most spiritual religion does not demand more than this prohibition of the worship of sensuous objects; and the second of the Ten Commandments, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any likeness,' really says no more than this; since it is evident alike from the connection of this commandment with the rest, from the idiom of the language, and from the explanation appended to this commandment, that by the term 'likeness' is to be understood only an image worshipped as God. Other sorts of images were by no means excluded by Moses from the service of religion;[1] this is shown by the Cherubim of the ark of the covenant employed as a sign that the Invisible had there descended, and by the well-known story of the serpent-symbol, or brazen serpent,[2] the signification of which as related can only be that Moses lifted it up, not as an image for divine adoration, but yet as a symbol in the service of religion. But still there remains a certain obscurity respecting the significance of such images. For if the image or idol is never an actual living and helping God, then indeed he who perceived its nothingness may let it quietly remain without subjecting himself to it, and is not necessarily called on to be angry about it or to destroy its external form. But this calm reflection could not easily exist then in the midst of that vehement strife, when both antagonists identified the idol with the God;[3] the heathen from superstition, the others from their fresh indignation at the delusion. The mere image of a God was, at least by the more strict, regarded as the sign of heathenism; upon this sign therefore soon turned the deadly

the old Arabian mythology, and Zarathustra at least inverted that of the older Aryans.

[1] As did the later Jews, the Moslem, and many Christians, from mere misunderstanding of the Decalogue, which is misunderstanding of Moses himself.

[2] Num. xxi. 4-9.

[3] Ex. xxiii. 24.

strife of religions and peoples, which, although not without deeper and more real foundation, might, as relating to a sign innocent in itself, easily become onesided and degenerate. But while the more rigid carried their zeal and their opposition to the Canaanites, to the destruction of all images of this kind, which is early[1] mentioned as a command of Jahveh (though not as early as the Ten Commandments), another part of the community were less able to separate themselves from visible things, and at least preferred to worship Jahveh himself under an image;[2] even the brazen serpent gradually came to be venerated as a relic of antiquity;[3] and thus by the exaggeration of a new truth, occasion was furnished for a multitude of errors and divisions.

But though Jahveism thus strenuously asserted the supersensuousness of the Divine nature and the impossibility of representing it by images, it could not, quite consistently, and apart from local and all other earthly relations, maintain a firm hold of its God in this pure spirituality. For the nationality to which the higher religion was after all confined (p. 118 sqq.) now reacted on the religion, permitting that the God who was absolutely exalted above all the world, might yet be acknowledged and externally represented by visible signs as the God of this particular people of Israel. He is indeed an absolutely invisible, mysterious God, yet the place where he is enthroned in the midst of the community must be marked, in order that the people may assemble round that spot, as the family around the sacred hearth in the middle of the dwelling; and there are introduced first the Ark of the Covenant with the Cherubim, and then the holy ever-burning fire,[4] which is in fact similar to the fire in the temple of Vesta among the Romans. But further, the belief became established, that although there could be no visible representation of the God of Israel, and he could only be symbolised by his holy place, yet he was equally to be ministered to, and to be honoured with equal splendour, as any chief god of the Egyptians or other nations. Thus, however rigidly in other respects all that was heathen was avoided, yet in the peculiar ceremonies of their religion the Israelites entered into a kind of rivalry with the Egyptians and the other heathen, as if they wished to show that, although their God could not be represented in any outward form, he was not on this account to be any the less laboriously and sumptuously reverenced.

[1] Ex. xxiii. 24.
[2] Ex. xxxii.; Judges viii. 27; 1 Kings xii. 28.
[3] 2 Kings xviii. 4.
[4] See my *Alterthümer*, p. 134 sqq.

But indeed it is very remarkable how the true religion, as if early conscious that all this was opposed to its own higher thoughts, separated these priestly additions and adornments from its peculiar truths, as is perfectly clear from the tone adopted by all the Narrators.[1] It is also probable on many grounds that the form of worship was not completely developed till after the conquest of Canaan. Yet this, which borders closely on heathenism, established itself at an early period so firmly, that during the course of the following centuries it was long considered inseparable from Jahveism; and only after great struggles did the view gain ground, that wherever a true community is found there is the true God also, and priestly rites are not required: a view which first became triumphant in Christianity, although even there it was again obscured during the middle ages.

Yet the attempt at a localisation of the Invisible could never go so far that Jahveism should fancy itself in possession of an image of it; for this would have at once destroyed one of its fundamental principles. The Altar could here neither pass for an image of the Most High, nor bear such an image. In the Ark of the Covenant, too, no image of him could be hidden and carried about on the wanderings of the people, to be brought out and shown to them on high festivals. Even the dazzling Temple of Solomon itself must be absolutely without image of him whom it was built to honour. But early antiquity was a time of urgent and struggling seeking after God, of deep longing to see him, the hidden and mysterious, manifest himself clearly and visibly, of desire to approach him in the body, and draw him nearer through the senses. Every nation endeavoured to bring its many or few gods near to it by appropriate images, to kiss and honour them in these images, and thus to preserve them and make sure of them in their earthly representations. And was Israel, against the customs of all other nations, never to behold its God, never to still its deep longing after him in any visible image of him? But if ever individual Israelites endeavoured to supply this want for themselves in heathen fashion, their conduct could not but be soon recognised as erroneous, and indeed as one of the worst sins against the fundamental law of religion. If the people nevertheless still sought for a place where their God was always present in his full glory, only invisible to mortal eye, the heaven was the

[1] Not without reason the Book of Origins postpones the exposition of this until after the Ten Commandments, Ex. xxv. sqq.; and the Third and Fourth Narrators give us still more clearly to understand that the people could not bear the earlier and purer form of worship; Ex. xxxii, xxxiii.

most natural to occur to them in this capacity. The heaven, consequently, had to the Hebrews a much deeper religious meaning than to other nations. In the earliest times at least, before the insufficiency of even this faith was fully recognised,[1] the Israelites learned to raise their eager and longing eyes to heaven, and then feel the touch of the Invisible Heavenly God in their inmost parts. At that time, the 'Heaven' was to them assuredly more than the mere figure of speech which it afterwards became. The heavens seemed at times to declare more powerfully than anything else the presence of the Invisible in all his might and glory; and so the Cherub, as the emblem of God's descent from heaven to earth, was the only image worthy to designate the holiest spot on earth;[2] and so also the changing aspects of the heaven, from storm to brightness, easily produced a powerful and seemingly supernatural effect on the susceptible mind.[3] And yet of course Jahveism could allow neither the heaven itself nor any of the visible objects belonging to it to be a sensible representation of God himself, or even to be in any sense holy.[4]

c.) If, in this way, all the emotions and efforts of men are to be directed solely to the one invisible God, does not every tangible support of human trust appear broken, and all secure guidance lost to the weak sons of earth? Quite the reverse: from hence arises the very idea of the guidance and real trust. For that eternal truth and spirituality towards which alone each human soul should tend, when once it is actually sought with all the energies of the soul, and truly and vitally received, becomes a guiding and ruling power for man; because there is a fundamental relationship between the narrow and individual, and the infinite and eternal spirit. And further there exists among men no free and effective guidance, but when the human soul submits to be thus ruled and led by the Almighty, because it has recognised that to oppose his truths and his commands is to fight against its own good. And whatever else may arise from the many kinds of rule and guidance of men by men, that alone can be just or beneficial which does not contradict this highest law. In fact the youthful aspiration after such true guidance, and therefore after wise counsel, runs through the antiquity of all

[1] As in the words in 1 Kings viii. 27.

[2] See i. p. 322, and *Alterthümer*, p. 139 sq.

[3] According to Ps. xxix. and xix. 8 [7]; also from Judges v. 20, and still stronger testimonies contained in the old historical reminiscences which will be subsequently explained.

[4] What folly it is to bring the Zarathustrian (Zoroastrian) religion into historical connection with Jahveism, is obvious at this point. Zarathustra, like Moses, rejected images, but only that he might deify the pure visible original matter instead. Zarathustra put down altars too, which Moses left standing.

nations. For what is implied, in the whole system of Oracles, but that first some individuals, more or less consciously, permitted their lower spirit to be seized and guided by the higher Spirit, and to be carried on to the external manifestation of that which they had heard and felt within; and then others were induced to follow the Divine counsels thus revealed? But though every nation in its primeval age desired the guidance of its gods, yet it is under Moses alone that the great 'I' first stands decisively opposed to the 'I' of men. In the short sentence placed at the head of the two stone tables: 'I am Jahveh, thy Deliverer,' and in the other scattered words of extreme significance, which show the like genuine Mosaic temper,[1] we can see only the mighty germ of the idea of the true Godhead. It is indeed possible that a heathen god, like man, or any other imagined rational being, may stand opposed to the thinker as an 'I,' as soon as the mind tries to enter into that which is foreign to itself, and to discover the actual or possible thought of another; but since the God whose thoughts are made known to the earnest seeker, and who appeared in full power to Moses, must be the spiritual and true eternal God (for only towards such a one tended the thought of Moses), his 'I,' that is his revealed thought, is necessarily the voice of a Ruler, to refuse whose guidance is destruction, whose command should be recognised afresh in every truth, and gladly followed whenever it is known. And as this great omnipotent 'I' first becomes manifest through the Prophet, the latter also straightway submits wholly to him, and suffers himself to be ruled by him alone as a bright example to others. But although these others neither can nor should be forbidden to enquire from such a mouthpiece of God, and to follow him as a model, since this is the very commencement and basis of Jahveism; yet prophecy exists here not for its own sake: but the end sought is that every individual should, the sooner the better, follow a good guidance through his own conviction and wisdom. This is shown by a beautiful

[1] 'I am Jahveh who healeth thee,' Ex. xv. 26; likewise, 'I am Jahveh your God,' which is often repeated in Lev. xviii. 2 sqq., a passage compounded of many very ancient elements. In cases when the Prophets after David rise to a similar elevation of thought and form of expression, it can only be regarded as a continuation of the genuine Mosaic style, these expressions being self-evidently very ancient; and moreover the expressions in which these later writers speak of the 'I' are not exactly the same, but only somewhat similar. As to the mere form of speech, the Egyptian priests also put speeches in the first person into the mouth of their gods: see S. Birch in Heidenheim's *Th. Zeitschrift* 1861, p. 228 sq.; indeed this is everywhere the oldest oracular diction. But the matter which the Egyptian gods are thus made to speak, consists almost entirely of mere flatteries towards the kings. This gives us, therefore, an example of the constant likeness and unlikeness between the Hebrew and the Egyptian character, close side by side.

story[1] which, although first given by the Third Narrator, certainly presents a truth that had early grown upon the genuine Mosaic soil.[2] Thus was instituted here the rule of the spirit, the only enduring and eternally progressive one.

When therefore the entire life tends to the truly divine, and the trust of the soul goes forth only to the eternal God, all belief in that which is vain, unmeaning and hurtful is thereby extinguished, the innumerable multitude of heathen superstitions fall away before the clearer light, the idea of holiness is purified, and whatever opposes the better knowledge and aspiration is cleared out of the way. A prohibition of superstition —faith in improper helps and cures—is found in the earliest attempt at a detailed exposition of the law,[3] and again in the Book of Origins, and there also derived from more ancient authorities.[4] And if in these passages certain kinds only of superstition are expressly forbidden, it must be remembered that the form of a law is determined by the circumstances present at the time of its promulgation, and that none of the ancient languages possessed a word answering to the general idea which we express by 'Superstition,' while the logical inference from such instances to the general principle is self-evident.

But though this spiritual trust in the spiritual God and his mighty aid existed in those times in wonderful energy, it nevertheless manifested itself under certain historical conditions. Hence arose a peculiar expression of this trust, which in the end might easily lead to a new form of superstition. In purest trust on the true God and filled with his power, the Israelites, provided only with the simplest weapons, had fought victoriously against the Egyptians, who were completely furnished with chariots and horses and every other implement of war (p. 73 sq.); in like manner they afterwards overcame the not less formidably armed Canaanites, and took their strong fortresses, although themselves little skilled in sieges, and utterly disinclined to a life passed in fortified cities. Thus was fixed in the mind of the people the conviction consecrated by this first experience, that not chariots nor horses[5] nor fortified cities,[6] but Jahveh alone was the true defence; and so long

[1] Num. xi. 26–29.

[2] For even Joel, iii. 1, 2 [ii. 28, 29], takes this truth for granted; and indeed it must have been generally acknowledged, especially after Samuel had founded the School of the Prophets.

[3] Ex. xxii. 17 [18].

[4] Lev. xix. 26; and see ver. 31; xx. 6.

[5] See Ex. xv. 1, 4; Ps. xx; Is. ii. 9, and compare Zech. ix. 9, 10; Deut. xvii. 16, xx. 1.

[6] See Is. xvii. 9; Micah v. 9 [10] sq. The earliest weapons and customs by which a nation has effected great things, are everywhere apt to become established for all its subsequent history. The Hellen-

as this belief was held in its living and heart-stirring power, it embodied one of the highest and most enduring truths. It is surprising to see how deeply this idea leavened the whole life and practice of this ancient people; even in David's time it flourished in full power, and impelled to the mightiest deeds. Moreover, so long as any such idea is held, not as a cold and rigid formula, but as a living inspiration, it can never be hurtful to the pure spirit of religion, because it is then apprehended in its due limits. And if the great Prophets of the eighth century often speak in this strain, and even describe the Messianic age in accordance with it, they do this rather from an exalted recollection of the glorious primeval age of the community, than because they attached any importance to externals of this kind. But it cannot be denied that by degrees the absence of war-horses and chariots, as well as of fortresses, came to be regarded as an external sign of adherence to the true ancient Jahveism, although times and customs had so greatly changed. It was then only a short step further to maintain, that he who abstains from the use of these external means of defence, participates more in the grace of God. Thus would be thrust aside the higher belief that any external means is helpful only insofar as it is used by the spirit with living power, and that then all are indifferent.

d.) And, finally, if the soul of man is fixed without intermission or faltering upon what is true and eternal, then, amid the troubles and perplexities of this earthly life, his hope and trust can never be wholly deceived. That whereon his trust is based is the great spiritual Power, which is incessantly acting, whether in secret, or, at the right time, openly, for the restoration of all that has been put out of order, and thus for salvation and blessing—'the God with whom none can compare, glorious in holiness, fearful in excellence, doing wonders,' as he is termed in the ancient song of praise.[1] If, then, this invisible spiritual Power is ever active for good, its liege subject can never feel that evil either in himself or in the world is too great or too powerful. Rather, as he may at all times flee to that eternal hope which has its seat within, so even from without there may come to him a great deliverance, if he, unweariedly waiting and labouring, knows how to seize it at the fitting moment. And this leads on to the truth of the continual deliverance, or eternal capacity of the soul to rise from a state of bondage and

istic kings always tried to follow the tactics introduced by Alexander; and the Manchu Tartars, who conquered China 200 years ago with the bow and arrow, have even into our own times regarded these as sacred, and as the best of weapons.

[1] Ex. xv. 11.

degradation to one of freedom and of joy, and for ever to advance by conquest of obstacles from a lower to a higher stage. According to the universal feeling of antiquity, the conception of a God is inseparable from that of a Protector;[1] but the God of Moses is to those who come near to him, not merely the Deliverer of old,[2] but also the ever-present *Healer* or Saviour.[3] But since it is only by entering into the Divine order and its laws that man can be freed from evil, redeemed and strengthened, every true deliverance must be first that of the spirit, and the only true enduring gain is that which the freed and redeemed spirit wins: as it is often said, not horse or chariot of war, not violence or sword, but Jahveh alone and his spirit will save, as he in the times of old has saved.

It is true that an effort, a primary uplifting of the wrestling soul, must precede every deliverance that is to be really effected; yet the actually experienced deliverance alone first opens to man a new spiritual world, places him in a higher position, from whence he beholds and delights in that which was before closed to his eye and his heart. Only when thus delivered can he know who the delivering God is; and therefore the deliverance is essential not only to the arousing of any high views or wide surveys, but also to vivify the whole region of knowledge and of action. For what avail the three already described abstract truths, as mere propositions and demands, so long as they do not pass into the inmost life and work as living powers issuing from the heart and soul? They may possibly germinate, weak and scattered, here and there; they may knock gently at the door of the inquiring spirit; but not until they have been received, through experience and therefore through some inward upraising, into the entire life of the individual soul, and so react again from it, do they become strong and fruitful; nay, then first are they manifested in perfect certainty and clearness.

And finally, if this upraising and deliverance has been once attained, whether by an individual or by a community, and has become the blessing of their life, their true task thenceforth is never again to sink down from their hardly-won position, but rather, in every new affliction and difficulty to see but a new

[1] I intentionally select this very general idea, believing it to occupy this position as connecting link in the series of Divine attributes, because it can be proved to be a primitive Mosaic thought; whereas the subtler conception (which is really more important on the present occasion) of God as the Creator, who, as Father, cannot do otherwise than love his own creatures, does not appear till later in the Old Testament; indeed the Book of Origins is the first that assigns any high significance to the creation at all.

[2] Ex. vi. 6.

[3] Ex. xv. 26.

call to fidelity to that which is already known, and to the achievement of further knowledge and higher stages of life: as it is constantly said that Jahveh tempted Moses or the Israelites, whether they would remain stedfast to the blessings already gained, in order to win new ones.[1] This, however, leads us to the origin and constitution of the community of which we shall speak hereafter.

But even here, amid the fulness of this new and overflowing life, there gradually springs up a want; and amid the great furtherance of true religion, a notable hindrance to it. For that pure trust in Jahveh and hope of perpetual deliverance satisfied the people then so fully, and so entirely did they see themselves therein supported and upraised by the Divine Spirit and its guidance, that they, as the people of Jahveh, imagined and prefigured their future also in accordance with it. Jahveh will continually guide them thus, and conduct them to victory, will bring them immediately into the beautiful land of their fathers, towards which under Moses all their longing turned—this is the one great hope of those days, the exulting anticipation with which alone the Divine word, as declared by Moses, always inspired the people (see p. 67), and which was afterwards so gloriously fulfilled. In this hope and joyful endeavour the whole higher life of the people was at that time concentrated; and their object was then both noble and difficult enough, because it was of the utmost consequence that the higher religion should for the first time find somewhere upon the earth a nation and a fitting land in which it could firmly establish and quietly develop itself. This blissful hope, elevating the entire nation, was also that of each individual man and hero of that age, in which he gladly encountered death; looking joyfully to a future which showed to him his house and race enjoying a more and more glorious development in the ever-advancing community of Jahveh.[2] But the individual who lived and died on the whole with this lofty trust and hope, was naturally unburdened by any anxious outlook to the future and continued existence of his own soul; and while the nation as a whole believed so firmly in its everlasting future, the individual paid the less regard to it for himself. Thus the religion also, in its external developments, was wont to lay no weight upon the expectation of continued existence

[1] It appears from Ex. xv. 25, 26, that even the Earliest Narrator adopted this view; wherefore the tempting of man by Jahveh is even regarded in Deut. xxxiii. 8 as a grace shown by him, and with justice.

[2] In no passage in the Pentateuch is this feeling expressed with so much truth and vividness as in the words of Balaam, Num. xxiii. 10. And doubtless the heroes of Israel in that age went to meet their death as joyfully as the early Christians and early Moslem, though not animated by the peculiar hopes which impelled these.

for the individual spirit, and to desire perpetuity and happiness only for the earthly fatherland. Even the ancient exposition of the Ten Commandments shows this; and all the Divine promises and threatenings in the ancient religion have reference, not even to this world and the present life in general, but rather only to that fair land which was the aim and the incitement of all the most earnest labours of the people.[1] In fact we must see in this simply a manifestation of the powerful and self-sufficing life which, springing from Jahveism in the vigour of its youth, long maintained itself unweakened. As a strong man in the midst of the triumphant whirl of life and a multitude of remunerative labours, becomes easily contented with the present, and reflects neither on the terrors of death nor on the rewards of another life; so that ancient community, amid its new great truths and the consequent inspiration of its victorious life, felt itself too preoccupied by the present and the tasks of the immediate future to be conscious of any strong necessity to look much beyond. To this it must be added that Jahveism, while dealing a blow to all the mythology that had hitherto prevailed (see p. 124 sq.), especially abhorred the generally gross heathen conceptions of events after death, because its thoughts respecting God and man's relation to him had so totally changed. Least of all could it appropriate the Egyptian notions, which were little conducive to any high religion, though fully matured into a system, and interwoven with the whole life of the Egyptians. Nay, Jahveism, with its living ardour, presented the direct opposite to the Egyptian religion, which, as easily happens in an over-civilised and effeminate people, busied itself only too much with things after death, and might be as justly termed the religion of death as Jahveism the religion of life.[2] Even of the old faith of the Hebrews as to the condition of man after death there remained visible but few fragments, and these weakened and impaired, and extant only in traditions[3] and in the thoughts and poetry of the common people.[4] But

[1] Warburton asserted this with truth, a century ago, in his extensive but incomplete work *On the Divine Legation of Moses*; but was unable fully to trace either the source or the subsequent history of the phenomenon, and thus fell into many errors, particularly concerning the Book of Job.

[2] See the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, edited by Lepsius from the Turin Manuscript, Leipsic, 1842; also Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, vol. ii. second series, 1841, p. 381 sqq.

[3] As in that of Enoch, Gen. v. 22–24. But the admission to the abode of the Gods, which is promised to all the virtuous both by the poets of the oldest songs of the Vedas and by the Egyptian priests long before Moses, would have no true meaning in connection with Jahveism, and is not mentioned at all in common life.

[4] As is proved by the pictures of Sheol (Hell, or rather Hades), which are scattered through the Old Testament, but never found in declarations of law.

although the defect which thus arose would not be much felt in the first period of Israel's success and victory, it must in the course of centuries have operated very painfully, when by degrees the ancient earthly prosperity of Israel irreparably vanished, and therewith the pillars of Jahveism itself appeared to totter. Thus, as the later ages were called on to free the ancient religion from its rigidity and poverty in respect to figured representations of divine things (see p. 124), there remained here a yet more sensible deficiency for better developments to fill up. And in both cases it was of the utmost consequence that the gaps which Jahveism had left in the past development (not by chance, but owing to overwhelming influences) should be supplied from its own spirit.[1]

2) *Consequences in relation to the Community.*

If we next consider, with regard to their external influence, these few great truths, which we have hitherto discussed in their inner relations, it is evident that vitally to apprehend them is the same thing as to recognise their eternal duration, since a truth is pure and necessary only insofar as it is impossible to conceive it destroyed throughout all time. We read, indeed, no express declaration by Moses respecting this consciousness of the eternity of such truths, nor can we expect any from him in that simple primeval time;[2] but the assertion so often repeated by later writers, of the indestructibility of the religion of Jahveh, finds its basis and justification in the truths now first affirmed. But that which is recognised as necessary and eternal will ever extend its sphere, and is the firmest bond by which men can be united; thus truths which, like those before us, are necessary for each man as the first law of his spiritual life, will in the end be not only of equal validity

[1] If, on the other hand, Jahveism at its origin had actually denied the immortality of the human soul, it is easy to perceive that it could never afterwards have received this doctrine and harmonised it with its own highest truths. But the original Jahveism never did deny it, but only maintained a provisional indifference towards that whole province of thought, which is a very different thing. This view may at the same time preserve us from erroneous conjectures. It might, for instance, be fancied that that religion regarded God as absolutely supramundane, and thus placed such an impassable gulf between him and man, that man must appear as nothing before him, and consequently incapable of possessing an immortal soul. But if the religion had started from such principles and reasonings, it would deny the immortality of the human soul, which is not the case. We must therefore say without further subtleties, that both the later doctrine of immortality and the scepticism of Ecclesiastes are completely foreign to the old religion.

[2] Sentences like 'May Jahveh reign for ever!' in the ancient hymn, Ex. xv. 18, express rather the consciousness of Jahveh as king than that of the eternity of the religion.

and necessity for all, but they will also ere long assemble around them, as around the pillars of a new and secure abode, a great community of congenial minds. The very essence of a community is this—that many persons recognise and permit to rule over them the same principles and aims, as mutually binding them to action, and as entitling them to a participation in the fruits of their common efforts; so that a truth then remains no longer isolated, a prey to chance, but as the mutual bond of many may speedily become infinitely firmer and stronger. Every community grows up thus from pursuits in which all who devote themselves to them see a common benefit; and it prospers or decays according as its special efforts, principles, and order do or do not promote this. And those fresh pursuits which arise in a time of increasing civilisation always find in existence older communities of various kinds, which they penetrate, transform, and renovate with their younger life. But from these great and simple truths, and the aims growing out of them, we now see a community arise, which, in spite of all the storms of time, struck imperishable roots in the broad soil of heathen superstition, until at length, casting off its lower branches, it developed its highest and purest bloom, overshadowing heathenism more and more grandly. And just at the moment when these truths go forth through Moses, this community also springs up from its mysterious germ. Once at least it was necessary that Moses, through the great truths which in him had obtained a vigorous life and unbounded power, should inspire a great multitude with answering thoughts and deeds, and that on the basis of these truths the whole people should experience an actual inward upraising and deliverance; so that it became Jahveh's, that is the true God's, people, to him belonging, and from him inseparable; and that was the true sacred moment of the founding of this community. Without this assumption, the whole history that follows is inexplicable; but for doubt respecting it there is no ground whatever. (See p. 70 sqq.) Some spiritual elevation the founding of every community demands; and here what remote laws and claims, and, for that age, how burdensome!

a.) Since then this community is founded on truths which in their nature are indispensable, and, when heartily received and well employed, must prove most beneficial and salutary to every one; it is obvious that all its members, bound as they are to like exertions and duties, are entitled to equal rights and blessings as their fruit. The demand made on all is briefly expressed, sometimes as "to be holy because Jahveh is

holy;'[1] sometimes as 'having once heard Jahveh's voice to hearken to it evermore and to follow him;'[2] or to express the same thing in another way, to maintain unbroken the spiritual height to which they had been raised by the living reception of the truth—to live permanently and constantly under those sanctifying influences which they had once experienced, prepared at all times to receive and follow them anew. This is the universal demand from above and duty from below: a duty in which, when pursued into details, an inexhaustible series of special duties lies.

But as all members of the community without distinction are in this sense bound to like duties, they are likewise all entitled to like enjoyment of the blessings which correspond to these duties. These blessings are—Equality of all before God, so that the direct knowledge and the full use of the spiritual truths which are the very source and basis of the community are withheld from none; Justice for all without exception, or free access of all to those benign and salutary laws (springing from these truths) which regulate and maintain the community; Unimpeded development of every faculty and power under the protection of the community. 'I will be your God,' that is, ye shall have in me a gracious protector whom ye shall not serve in vain, is without doubt an ancient Mosaic declaration,[3] with which the other, 'ye shall be my people,' that is, ye shall minister to my glory,[4] is naturally joined, so as to complete the idea of reciprocity, which lies at the basis of all right and all religion. But to the protection and the blessings which this God grants to his true people, and which must appear doubly real since they can be exhibited in external ordinances, all without exception have a claim, if they do but fulfil the condition of their attainment. Here therefore, in direct opposition to the Egyptians and many other nations, different castes among the people are not possible; or if, nevertheless, through a sort of weakness, exceptions do occur during the course of the history, such as that of the erection of the Levites into an hereditary sacerdotal caste, still a happier time may come, which will overcome such aberrations, and revert again to the original law on all these points.

Thus, therefore, sounds the joyful word of promise, which

[1] From the ancient passage, Lev. xix. 2, so frequently repeated afterwards.

[2] Ex. xix. 5, xv. 26, xxiii. 22.

[3] Ex. vi. 7, xxix. 45; Lev. xi. 44, xxii. 33, xxv. 38; Num. xv. 41; whence it is clear that this is an expression peculiar to the Book of Origins.

[4] In the varying passages Lev. xxvi. 12, Deut. xxix. 12 [13], and frequently employed both by Jeremiah and Ezekiel; derived originally from Ex. xix. 5.

introduces and accompanies the founding of this community—the true Gospel of Jahveism:[1]—'Ye shall be my possession before all nations; for mine is the whole earth;' and further, as an explanation of this: 'ye shall be to me a kingdom of Priests (that is a kingdom consisting only of priests),[2] and a holy nation.' In truth such declarations, when rightly understood, are neither too mysterious nor too high. For nowhere else in antiquity was a nation or a community established on principles so strictly spiritual and indestructible, and starting legitimately from aims so pure. While elsewhere, especially in this early time, the difference was firmly established between the laity and the priests as privileged and more holy persons, standing nearer to the Deity, here every one without distinction was to stand as near to the True and Holy One, as if, in the sense of other nations, he were himself a priest; so that not a few individuals among the people, but the entire people, was holy. And while other national communities, owing to the great multitude of errors and superstitions cherished by them, were separated from the true invisible God as from a foreign and distant ruler, this spiritually redeemed community was undoubtedly before all others his inalienable possession. For as man strictly possesses as his own only that on which he has placed his faith and his thought, which in fact are a portion of his own spirit (for inherited property is to be regarded not as acquired, but only as continued); we may truly say that God himself chooses as his own peculiar possession such a community as this, in which his spirit is really active and living, and to which he must therefore be ever drawn anew as to his own; even as each individual in whom dwells a vigorous spiritual and holy life, feels himself as belonging to God, and not disunited from him. Thus these apparently high-sounding words express no more than a just anticipation of the exceedingly glorious and lasting vocation to which this community was called through its precedent conditions, and which had indeed already grown into life within it. But on the other hand, in that very feeling of deliverance and favour beyond all other nations, is contained that which leads as strongly to humility on the part of this community. To influence their treatment of others, the stranger and the distressed, they find therein the strongest appeal for all possible gentleness and benevolence, for they were con-

[1] Ex. xix. 5, 6.

[2] This is certainly a very unusual and enigmatical phrase, analogous to those mentioned p. 19; but such sharp antitheses and apparently irreconcilable contradictions may be expected in the commencement of every religion of more than common depth, which has to rise in rebellion against long-rooted errors.

stantly called on to remember that they themselves were once in Egyptian—the most extreme—helplessness, and were delivered and made glorious only by Divine grace.[1] In respect to themselves, they found therein the strongest incitement to humility and thoughtfulness; for the delivered community could not but reflect that the greatness of the Divine deliverance must correspond to the fidelity of man, and thus every breach of that fidelity must be more severely and swiftly punished by Jahveh, the nearer to him the community had been brought.[2]

b.) The equality of all the members of the community before Jahveh, established here, is by no means such as either excludes or abolishes the difference between human capacities and vocations. Even independently of the differences among men in the lower life, there are, in respect to the higher or religious life itself, necessary gradations.

(*i*) First and principally, in this community the PROPHET must exist. For it was founded solely by means of prophetic activity (p. 47 sqq.); and that whereby it was founded must as far as possible remain ever effective in it, if it is not to decay. And since its first great Prophet, who was its founder, could only give the earliest and most essential fundamentals of true religion, it was desirable, even on this account, that he should find as many followers as possible to carry on the work which he had but commenced, and which was as yet far from its completion. The more mighty and pure the declaration of the Divine word, and the farther it advanced in truth from the principles once given, overcoming errors as they arose, the more gloriously would the community, thus powerfully stimulated, flourish, or at least would emerge the more vigorously after every storm; while it would approach the nearer to its dissolution, as this its innermost life-force grew weak or suffered in its purity; this was the law of the duration of this peculiar community. Whoever, therefore, in it feels himself actually called to be a prophet, must speak as the spirit of Jahveh moves him, even if he had been until that moment a mere herdsman in the field";[3] and men must hearken to his words to judge whether the voice of the Divine truth is actually heard in them or not.[4] The light of Jahveh, which had once shone brightly before the people, and by which the community itself had been

[1] 'Remember that ye were (helpless) strangers in Egypt' are the beautiful words, in which this is expressed; often repeated in Deuteronomy from the ancient passages, Lev. xix. 34, Ex. xxii. 20, xxiii. 9.

[2] 'The Lord begins the judgment with his own house' is the shortest expression for this thought, employed in 1 Peter iv. 17, quite in the spirit and almost in the words of Jeremiah (xxv. 29), as well as of other great prophets of the Old Testament.

[3] Amos vii.

[4] Strictly speaking, this is verified throughout the Old Testament.

called into life, must constantly beam forth anew, that all may walk in it and take it for their guide.[1] But he who will act as prophet in this community must be prepared to be in all points like Moses, the first prophet and great prototype of all that should follow. As he willingly undertook all services for the community, and with the greatest self-sacrifice sought in all things not his own good but theirs[2]—he who, according to a true tradition[3] derived from the Earliest Narrator, was the meekest and most peaceable but at the same time the most sorely-tried man upon the earth, and who (according to the beautiful stories springing out of the genuine conception of the true community)[4] was so far from seeking fame and greatness for himself, coupled with danger or destruction to the community, that unless he could avert these he did not even wish to live—so must any later aspirant learn to be a true prophet, before all else, by discarding his own human thought and will, and avoiding even the smallest act whereby he may in any degree contribute to degrade the community from its once attained elevation. And then he must know, as Moses did (according to the Third Narrator), that all prophecy even the mightiest and most successful, so far from being its own object, ought to desire that it should itself soon come to an end through all members of the community becoming prophets—not indeed in its external manifestation (which is eloquent speech), but in its internal essence, the free spontaneity and power of the divine life (p. 128 sq.). But it is clear that prophecy, taking this position in the community, does but impose heavier duties, and grants no greater privileges, to the man who is invested with it than properly belongs to every member of the community who fulfils his duty. Yet precisely because prophecy in this community was intended to maintain its purest elevation, it could not[5] be accepted as an institution continued without interruption; since the influence of its spirit is the freest possible, coming and going uncalled by man.

[1] Is. ii. 5; compare the exposition in Micah iv. 5.

[2] Num. xvi. 15, from the Book of Origins.

[3] Num. xii. 3; compare Ex. xi. 3, which passage has probably also been preserved from the Earliest Narrator.

[4] Ex. xxxii. 9 sqq.; Num. xiv. 11-20.

[5] As, for instance, in Egypt, where the prophet's office, being identical with the highest priesthood, formed only one special rank in the priesthood, and was therefore hereditary with certain persons, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 4; it was therefore placed at the head of all the special forms of priesthood, or attached to the High Priest's office; compare Choerilus, apud Porphyrium *de Abstinentiâ* iv. 8, with *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ προφῆται* in the Rosetta inscription. In opposition to this system, Jahvoism brought Prophecy to perfection for the ancient world, only by freeing it from all external restraints. The connection which even here subsisted in some respects between the prophetic and the sacerdotal office, is not due to the original principle, but rather to the supervening incidents of history.

(*ii*) The second is therefore the PRIESTHOOD, as a permanent board for preserving and administering the truths already given, as well as the sacred objects connected with them. From the picture of this office given in the Book of Origins, Aaron has ever since been regarded as its exemplar. This rank being a permanent one, easily gained more external influence than prophecy, though far inferior to that both in original power and in independence; but the two functions, precisely on account of their different relation to the same object, religion, might easily come into collision with each other. All this is clearly shown in the mutal relation of the exemplars, Aaron the elder, and Moses the younger, as first described at length in the Book of Origins. Now, if the Priests, like the Prophets, had merely taken on themselves more duties than the rest of the people (on the ground that for the advancement of religion, as for every special faculty and art, it is desirable that persons should be found who can engage in it constantly with more zeal and skill than can be demanded of all), the office of Priest would have become a position in the nation, more permanent and defined by rule than that of Prophet, but still freely movable, and open to all. But history shows that everywhere in ancient times a permanent position in a nation readily became an hereditary one;[1] and to this was added in the case of the Priesthood, that the fitting guardianship and provision for sacred things was even in ancient Israel (see p. 126 sqq.) so very circumstantial, and demanded so great an amount, not merely of peculiar knowledge, but also of special art and skill, that only a priesthood trained up, as in Egypt, by inherited tradition and education in early youth seemed altogether adapted to its object. But that the particular tribe of Levi received the distinction of the hereditary priesthood with all its higher and lower offices, was a result at which history doubtless arrived gradually—accidentally, as it were, and without special design on the part of Moses. This result may have been determined, on the one hand by the more active assistance in his plans which Moses must have received from his own tribe, on the other by the grateful reverence which the people would cherish for their great leader towards the close of his life and immediately after his death.[2] For certainly before

[1] In the earliest age of Greek history prophecy was even hereditary in some houses: see Klausen's *Aeneas und die Penaten*, i. p. 112, and O. Müller's *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, i. p. 172.

[2] So in Islam the descendants of the Prophet bearing the name Seid, or (with certain distinctions) that of Sherif, form the only hereditary nobility, and might very possibly have inherited also the priestly office, if that had possessed the same importance in Islam as in the ancient religions of cultivated nations.

Moses the tribe of Levi did not possess any such prerogative; since according to the earliest accounts Levi was the third and not the first son of Jacob, which of itself shows that he had no claim to sacerdotal preeminence,[1] and since besides in the primeval age he, like Simeon and Judah, appears a merely warlike tribe, and even endowed with a rare degree of barbarism and cruelty, the exact opposite of the priestly character.[2] And there are moreover a multitude of indications which show that this tribe did not receive its priestly dignity even immediately on the appearance of Moses.

An hereditary priesthood, however, really introduces an open contradiction into the highest truths of Jahveism, according to which not one portion of the community but the entire people should be a holy priesthood of Jahveh. This principle indeed it was that laid the basis of its preeminence over the Egyptians and all the other heathens (p. 137). That, therefore, which involves so palpable a contradiction can only have arisen from a certain need and weakness of the time, like many other things of the same kind which have been already mentioned. As Jahveism is really suitable for all nations without distinction (p. 118 sq.), and carries within it a decided tendency to universality, but for a while in the narrowness of the age was confined to the one people of Israel; so, as soon as it was shown that the whole people were not yet capable of maintaining permanently unimpaired their exalted truths, and therein their own dignity, there was formed in Israel itself a smaller circle which maintained them for the time with the greater firmness. And for this reason there are certain accounts[3] which permit us to see as in a glass how decidedly the authority of a priestly tribe sprang by degrees out of the perplexities and weaknesses of the time, and that it must therefore again disappear so soon as the entire community had attained the indomitable resolution for ever to protect that which was sacred among them. And this is one of the most excellent characteristics of the Old Testament, that even where its sublime original truths suffer through the violence of the times, it ever permits us to recognise the original essential thought, because in this community itself a consciousness of it could never be wholly lost. But in the end only the one great gospel (Exod. xix. 5) remains preeminent over every other principle—that gospel, which was in existence before all hereditary priesthoods, and outlasts them all, fast-rooted as they

[1] In the primitive age a claim to the priesthood was grounded upon primogeniture.

[2] Gen. xxxiv. xlix. 5–7; comp. i. p. 378 sqq.

[3] Especially Num. xvi. xvii.; Ex. xxxii–xxxiv.

were for many ages; and since this priesthood had always to tolerate by its side the freest Prophetic office, it was saved from ever becoming completely an Egyptian or Brahminical one.

(*iii*) Many other ranks, offices, and gifts become prominent in this community, with various grades of artists, poets, learned men of every kind; but every individual and every class which seeks to attain eminence in it, must each in a special way, differing according to the particular calling, be yet strongly influenced by that same spirit of Jahveh which had founded and constantly upheld the whole community.[1]

c.) Thus therefore, in spite of such gradations, all its members remain legally equal before its God. Here it is the Community that exists first, built up and held together through the divine truths by which it is animated; and not till afterwards, amid this equality of all its members before God, arise the human gradations, which can properly never bar the way to the free access of all to the highest truths, and to the beneficial action of all through them. A community resting upon such foundations is as little to be found elsewhere in the ancient world as is that higher religion itself which in it assumed its earthly body.

But hence it follows, finally, that neither with respect to its duties nor to its blessings can it be imposed, or in any way whatever made compulsory. Rather its possibility only is brought near to men, through a free display of its conditions, and a statement of its objects and import; and only a willing adoption of its spirit and a free acceptance of its duties, bind men to its maintenance and to its laws—laws, however, which, as soon as they are received by men, react at once with full severity against those who transgress them. This is, as was observed on p. 101 sqq., the purport of the conception derived even from the Earliest Narrator respecting the solemn Covenant of Jahveh with the people, Ex. xix–xxiv. 11.[2] For everything which is valid as law among men, results from a contract, either silent or expressed, between two supposed parties; and only a free agreement, after the weighing of every reason and the accommodation of every dispute, binds both completely. Even in ordinary communities and kingdoms this is accepted as a

[1] As the seventy elders were in an especial manner filled by the Divine spirit, Num. xi. 19–30, and as Jahveh fills the best artificers with the spirit of wisdom or (what is mentioned as identical) the Spirit of God, Ex. xxviii. 3, xxxv. 31, xxxi. 3.

[2] The Book of Origins then imports this idea into the constitution of the three Premosaic periods distinguished by him, that of Abraham (Gen. xvii.), of Noah (Gen. ix.), and even of Adam (Gen. i. 28–30); though in the latter case, as Adam has not yet erred and there is therefore no severed connection to be restored, the idea of a covenant is less prominent, and the single will of God more.

fundamental principle; and every just contract of the kind, which regarded from without appears to be simply a covenant between two men, or between a king and his subjects, is in its inner essence likewise a covenant between the lower or human principles which are given up and the higher or divine ones which are received—an adjustment of the strife between man and God. But this principle must have been most powerfully operative at the founding of this community, in which, under Moses as the Mediator,[1] the most eternal truths and principles, proposed from above and freely accepted from below, became for the first time earthly laws, which were able to bind together the noblest community. It is clear too that what on this subject was most strictly and necessarily true at the origin of the community, must also hold good in all later cases of like kind, even though of less significance: so that, for instance, afterwards, by virtue of the existing sacredness of the community, the king and the people could make a similar covenant respecting some special matter and God himself be likewise present, although the narrative be silent respecting it.[2]

If then the community has originated thus, and starts solely from these principles as its all-regulating laws, the truths which have built it up, instead of remaining external to it, ought rather in process of time to penetrate it even more deeply and become more inseparably its heart and soul. It has had the courage to place its reliance on pure truths; these therefore, after each temporary shock, sink ever deeper into its soil, as fruitful scions, and grow with it ineradicably. The stability and the permanence of the community itself become their protection and guard in troubled days, so that in every new age they may awake in fresh power and expansion; as on the other hand they constantly work upon the community, now reproving and punishing, now consoling and elevating. The consciousness of this high significance of the community cannot certainly be so clear at its commencement, when these results are not as yet discernible; and it is a later Prophet[3] who first declares it briefly and distinctly in the words: 'The spirit of Jahveh can never depart from his community.' But it is desirable for us to trace the extensive relations of this historical development from its first visible origin, and to confess that, while in the mysterious darkness of the Mosaic time lay the fruitful germ of all the later greatness of this community, in Christianity its fundamental essence endures for ever.

[1] Μεσίτης, Gal. iii. 19.
[2] Compare Jer. xxxiv. 8, with 2 Kings xi. 17.
[3] Isaiah lix. 21, lxiii. 11.

3) *The Government: the Theocracy.*

Where the pure divine truths spoken of at pp. 108–135 are accepted from on high, and this principle rules the community here below, these two combine to give life to a THEOCRACY. Every community must in the last resort have a head, by which all its members are bound together, and before which all are perfectly equal, both in obedience and in liability to punishment. When however it is really a higher fundamental thought that has founded a community, which is the case here, as in every spiritual religion, then there is always formed, strictly speaking, a higher community above a lower, a divine kingdom above an earthly one. For ordinary governments, such as arise out of religions of a lower kind, out of merely national necessities, or even from conquests or other similar causes, have always been long in existence, and generally very firmly established too, before a higher religion has sprung up and rallied around itself a more or less numerous band of believers. And since such a higher kingdom forming itself within the lower is properly a kingdom of religion only—that is of hearts and souls under a Divine head, of necessity invisible—it may rightly coexist with the earlier-developed lower or national government with its visible human ruler, and even found amidst the diversities of nationality a higher unity of faith and morals, and thus more and more imbue and purify the secular with its spirit; and may also itself at times be chastened with advantage by the visible and external (or secular) authority, when, as is quite possible, it permits itself to be carried away by passion, and thus to do what is utterly opposed to its own end.[1] This has been the case both with Christianity and Buddhism, unlike as they are in their origin.

But that higher religion which rose under Moses upon the soil of older communities, made its advent with such amazing power as to set up the pure spiritual God, who here first appeared on earth and first showed his infinite might, as the sole ruler even for all secular relations, and expressly excluded every human king. So entirely are the Israelites Jahveh's own nation, that in the strictest sense they hold Jahveh alone to be

[1] This I consider the only sound view on this subject, which leads me to object, on the one hand, to the absorption of the State into the Church, which the Popes desire in blind imitation of the Old Testament as misunderstood by them, and, on the other, to the opposite extreme desired by some modern philosophers, especially at Berlin; and I believe that the duality of the political and the spiritual kingdoms will cease only with the end of each, i.e. with the Last Day.

their King. Proud as they feel to think that he descended from heaven to receive and name them his people, they manifest an equal pride in the privilege of obeying no other king, and an equal determination for ever to follow his word and command alone. Thus the covenant between Jahveh and the people, the general meaning of which was explained at p. 143, binds them together in a union which is at once the closest and the highest possible: it embraces everything, and everything immediately; there can be nothing, national or otherwise, that is foreign to it. The nation looks to Jahveh; each individual in it looks towards him in everything; for him alone they live, fight and conquer. By his arm, mighty though invisible, they hope, as in former times, so in all future ages to be saved, and made for ever victorious.[1] They pay him homage and indissoluble vows of eternal allegiance, and expect from him in return unfailing guardianship. Whatever of true love and tender devotion a happy people may feel elsewhere towards an earthly king, is here all given to the King Eternal and Invisible, as the highest object of all thought and love, in incalculably greater strength and purity.[2] They know him to be present, although unseen, with his holy glance and his almighty power, in their camp, their field, their dwelling; with him as their leader they go forth to battle, and with him return home; his presence is felt both in the even repose of life, and in yet greater force in all its great crises; and if he himself in his full majesty is not to be heard by mortal ear, yet in the darkest times they clearly catch the voice of his messengers.[3] Accordingly we find all those titles of distinction and those securities which naturally belong to the monarchical relation, and are elsewhere used in connection with the earthly monarch, here strictly applied to the divine; eternal dominion, which, according to the ordinary custom of language in those countries, is the wish expressed towards an earthly king, is here desired for Jahveh,[4] and the offence of indiscreet speech against Majesty, and the actual

[1] It is a very significant trait, that the Old Testament regards a man as truly victorious, not when he can put to flight or massacre his enemy to his heart's content, but when he himself is delivered from a danger that threatened his life; for he only truly conquers who by the Divine Spirit is saved from such a danger, and every true victory is a spiritual salvation; compare נוֹשֵׁעַ *victorious* and תְּשׁוּעָה *victory*. The Arabs, however, have also the same conception in the words منصور and انتصر.

[2] This is not merely proved by the passages Judges viii. 22–24, 1 Sam. viii. sqq. but is really echoed from all parts of the Old Testament in the most diverse tones, since, whatever form the times might take, the fundamental tendency of the community could never be wholly lost.

[3] The power of this faith is sufficiently evident from such passages as Judges v. 13, 23, 2 Sam. v. 24, Ps. cx. 1, xliv. 10 [9]; or indeed from the entire Old Testament.

[4] In the ancient hymn Ex. xv. 18, and once even by David himself in Ps. xviii. 47 [46].

crime of wanton insult to it,[1] is here committed only against Jahveh, and punished on his behalf, as elsewhere on behalf of the earthly ruler.

This is the Theocracy,[2] which was prepared during the Egyptian age, is now established by law, and is to try for the future to maintain its original nature in perfect purity. Accordingly it is not a mere idea or even a mere aspiration, but something perfectly definite, and penetrating the whole essence of the community. Were it nothing more than the declared determination of a people or a government, that they would not consent to an existence without the living power of divine truth, and therefore without constant divine guidance, but that rather they would hold it as their highest glory, everywhere to recognise it, and to subordinate everything to it: even then it should never be wanting as an effort for the present, and as an aim and necessity for the future. Thus it is never wanting in Christianity, where this is anything more than a pretence. But then it was something quite different; it was intended to have a direct and universal force, and therefore strictly excluded all human dominion beside itself. And although this community was intended to have a monarchy, quite as much and as strictly as any other nation, yet it was of a kind until then unknown to any.

It is in this point that Jahveism as a whole first culminates. In its inner life it is wholly spiritual, but entering into the world, it must at once adjust itself to definite temporal relations, and restrict itself within a nationality. But again the temporal and national does not suffice for it; consequently the spiritual and the national strive tobecome one in it, the latter being wholly transfigured into the former, and asserting itself only so far as it does not contradict the former. But in practice this requires that every individual among the people should by his

[1] The sin is described in the third commandment, Ex. xx. 7, the crime as something more definite, Lev. xxiv. 10–16.

[2] Josephus implies that the Greeks were not acquainted with any government of this kind, where he says that he had first formed the word *θεοκρατία, ὡς ἄν τις εἴποι βιασάμενος τὸν λόγον, Against Apion*, ii. 16. At a later time indeed Iamblichus in his *Life of Pythagoras*, xxx. xxxiii. (174, 240), speaks of the true Theocracy, but probably with no more idea of its actual realisation than Porphyry has of the miraculous calming of the waves mentioned by him in his *Life of Pythagoras*, xxix. The cases in the heathen world in which a Prophet or a Lawgiver speaks in the name of his God, as Lycurgus in that of the Delphic God, Zaleucus in that of Pallas Athene, or in which an oracle formed the centre of a political community, are very far from producing a Mosaic Theocracy, if it were only because no community like the Mosaic existed there. There is no need to notice more copies, such as those of Mohammed and the Popes; Philo terms the Theocracy *Monarchy*: but his book on the subject shows that he had formed no clear and adequate conception of these early Mosaic times. His second book of this name ought rather to be entitled '*On the Sanctuary and the Priests.*'

free determination constantly subordinate his will to the higher will, and acknowledge himself the servant and the champion of Jahveh, in order that the selfsame Spirit from above may alone bear rule, as the guide of all. And this is not a mere expectation or desire, it is the highest law binding on all, the fundamental constitution of the realm; for if the King be invisible, his kingdom is visible and outward, for it is the nation. The really grand point of this Theocracy, which is pregnant with important consequences, is that here for the first time a demand for the purest religion was set up with the utmost decision on the part of an entire nation. The nation resolves to seek its entire life and happiness only in sedulously avoiding all human violence and caprice, and always following the better truth alone when once perceived, and in being raised by the eternal, invisible power, just as much as if it had been a visible earthly power; thus shall the Ideal, which has once approximately been among them, abidingly remain with them; and since here below this is not possible unless each individual, with his utmost endeavour, constantly receives into his own will that of Jahveh, the most active cooperation of all towards one divine end is demanded. Thus is introduced the strongest contrast to all those worldly kingdoms whose aim and end lie only in themselves, which arise and pass away solely by means of human force and caprice. Here for the first time a kingdom exists, which recognises its end and its aim as something beyond itself; which has arisen not by human power, nor by human power can grow; which, because it desires that only which is divine, bears within itself a germ of eternal duration, through which, in spite of every change, it does in fact maintain itself for ever, so far as its inner truth is concerned, and in Christianity only rises again into a new youth and intrinsic perfection. Whatever form then this Theocracy assumed at first, it was the fulfilment of the great attempt to grasp a true religion, and the most distinct expression of its spirit.

However self-consistent and safe a principle the Theocracy must have appeared, it obviously came into its historical existence among the Israelites with reference to its direct antithesis, the form of government of which the nation had just had a severe experience in Egypt. There the Israelites had long and bitterly felt what human kingship is, where it governs without the truth and grace of the Divine Kingship, that is, without true religion (p. 7 sq.). And in every heathen rule, all the corruption inherent in a false religion readily

develops itself most powerfully. No wonder that the Israelites, upon their great deliverance, felt an unconquerable abhorrence of all human kingship as it had hitherto existed in the world, and as they especially had tasted its bitter fruits; and that they desired, in the directest opposition to it, for ever to devote themselves to him alone as their King, whose saving hand they had known as no other people had, and whom through Moses they had learned to reverence. And this contrast evidently influenced them very powerfully.

The first form accordingly, in which the Theocracy established itself, was indeed the strongest and most direct, and therefore liable by exaggeration to become the most onesided, because it strictly forbade all human kingship; but it was withal the boldest and the most gigantic conceivable. For if even the individual with difficulty dedicates his entire life at all times to the service of the Invisible One, of whom he must each moment preserve a clear consciousness, unaided by any external support or hope: how much more difficult must it be for an entire people, without any human kingship and the external order and stability thereby gained, ever to find their unity and strength in the invisible and mystic kingdom, and voluntarily to renounce for their kingdom every support from without! It is obviously easier for an individual than for an entire nation to do justice to the demands of a Theocracy; and indeed history shows that while its vivid apprehension gradually decayed in the nation, it still flourished in many individuals with ever increasing fervour. That it was once actually received and maintained unanimously by an entire nation as their highest law, was a gigantic effort—one of the Titanic enterprises to which nations in the vigorous period of their youth often do rouse their powers—and it was an effort that raised them into the noblest sphere, and strained all their highest moral powers. Only during a period of lofty courage and extraordinary spiritual elevation, in which a nation had actually had living experience of the true delivering God (as we must picture to ourselves the first happy period of Israel's deliverance), is the unanimous resolution to adopt such a form of government intelligible—a resolution far nobler and bolder than that of expelling the Tarquins or the Peisistratidæ. The fact that in Israel there had hitherto been no royal house, that the nation in fact had never before had a native king, and that at this time the entire machinery of a constitution had to be formed from the beginning and put on a secure basis, undoubtedly operated very favourably for the pure Theocracy, and permitted

its complete establishment without injury to any member of the nation. But the fact that those whom circumstances had placed at the head of the community, and especially Moses himself, did not follow the example of other nations[1] and found a kingdom for themselves or their favourites, when it would have been so easy to do so, points obviously to a time, when the sufficiency of the protection of the invisible God was experienced with such power, that even the mightiest ruler among the people recoiled from the thought of founding an earthly kingdom.

But amid the redundant fulness of this trust in God, there existed a defect, at first indeed scarcely perceptible, but which in the course of time made itself the more painfully felt. This defect concerns the nature and office of human rulers under the Theocracy; for such there must be under any form of government, and they are not excluded by the Theocracy (p. 139 sqq.), when they appear as mere instruments of the true unchangeable king Jahveh, and are recognised as such by the community; and if such instruments could be always found in the requisite succession and efficiency, this theocratic constitution might suffice for ever. Certainly Moses was such a perfectly sufficient instrument; and the true Prophet in the oldest sense of the word (p. 47 sqq.) is always the most capable of acting up to the demands of such a constitution, because through him the best counsel is always promulgated, and the whole nation hangs upon his words, as the words of God himself. Only among a people in the midst of whom Prophecy had already appeared and enjoyed the purest development and the mightiest influence, could such a constitution become possible, still less develop such enduring power.[2] It was not indeed to be expected that the command of the guiding prophet should be always immediately followed;[3]

[1] It might be supposed that perhaps the reason why Israel in those early ages had no king, was, that in simpler times royal power is not yet needed, as was the case in many old German, and many Arabian tribes. But with regard to the Hebrews this supposition would be wholly erroneous. The Egyptians and the Canaanites, with whom the Israelites had chiefly to contend, had long been monarchical; and likewise the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Idumeans, to whom the Israelites were most nearly related by blood; although respecting the last named, the establishment of Monarchy was still remembered: compare Num. xx. 14, with Gen. xxxvi. 31-39. The Midianites indeed, as well as most of the pure Arabian tribes, do not seem to have possessed it: but the essential and the only peculiar feature of the case of the Israelites is this, that, not eschewing monarchy, but rather desiring as much as any other nation to possess it, they wished to have an invisible king.

[2] See Ex. xviii. 19, where this thought is most clearly expressed by the Earliest Narrator: 'Be thou (Moses) to the people confronting God,' i.e. their Mediator before God.

[3] The history of Moses himself, indeed, as will presently be shown, bears witness of the contrary. In like manner Mohammed by no means everywhere found immediate obedience.

but in the end the community was always constrained after all to recognise in his words the Divine command and the true guidance, while he himself never desired to rule independently, but was always trying to establish an understanding between the community and God, and referred them to God alone as the source of power, being distinctly conscious that he himself was only an instrument in his hand. So long as Moses lived, therefore, the defect was concealed; and might so continue for a long time after, according to the scope of the influence projected by his spirit upon the following age. But in what people could a prophet so great and so universally recognised by a nation be at all times found? And as soon as ever such a prophet was wanting, instead of the highest order, the proper concomitant of a Theocracy, extreme helplessness and disorganisation might easily rush in; while yet the original dread of an earthly king might long continue, and even in the course of time become inveterate. The most wonderful and gigantic course might therefore here, as ever, prove the most dangerous; and in the very principle, which was the crown and summit of the whole, lay dormant the possibility of an awful insecurity and decay.

3. *The Regulations and Morals of the Community.*

1) The permanent erection of the community itself, with Jahveh, not merely as its eternal, but also for the present in the strictest sense its only king,[1] was the great institution of that age. As for the consequent specific arrangements of the community, they might, it is true, be quite as simple as were those fundamental principles. Nevertheless, the newly awakened spirit did not at once act with equal force in all directions of the national life. In every newly organised community, much that belonged to its earlier condition is sure to be retained for a considerable period. Some however of its existing elements may be absolutely incapable of penetration by the new spirit, and therefore remain foreign, or even utterly at variance with it. These may be gradually thrown off and annihilated in the progress of civilisation. Such for example was the fate of the custom of avenging bloodshed; which, although in fact practised for a considerable period after Moses, was very early condemned on principle by the new spirit, which tolerated neither murder nor private revenge, and was

[1] As is said poetically and beautifully, but briefly, Deut. xxxiii. 2–5; on the meaning of the words, see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, iii. p. 234.

therefore abolished in actual life at no very late period. Or when an old institution seems to be comparatively unimportant or harmless, it may be left long untouched, almost unnoticed, but protected by the force of custom; an example of this we see in the Levirate (or marriage of the brother's widow).[1] On the other hand, such institutions as clearly run directly counter to the new ideas and aspirations, are soon and completely put aside, at all events by the more scrupulous; this we see exemplified in the worship of images. While thus sifting and rejecting, the new spirit also appropriates to itself much that was old, and attaches to it its own new interpretation so firmly and inseparably, that only an exact knowledge and investigation of the previous history can again dissolve and exhibit separately the originally diverse elements. Thus to the primitive custom of circumcision was attached the idea of the community and its sacredness; and yet more strongly to the ancient eve of the Spring-festival (the Passover) was attached the idea of the great historical deliverance whereby the community achieved its existence; so that the festival became a yearly remembrance of this deliverance.

But the foundation of the Israelite community and their distinct national development fell in a comparatively very early period, in which men were most exposed to the impressions, the compulsive force, and the enchantment of nature. If the Egyptians and the Canaanites were then in many respects already far removed from nature, yet the Israelites with their simpler civilisation still stood very near to her. Accordingly, from this primeval age of the community much has been retained by it, which evidently testifies to the original great dependence of man upon nature. In the midst of all the customs and usages of Jahveism, this still exists as a separate portion, forming the link which attaches it both to its own primeval age and to heathenism. To this belong many arrangements for the service of God himself: on these the Israelites bestowed the more scrupulous care, as they thought it necessary to show that they did not less securely possess, nor less carefully honour their invisible God than did the heathen their visible deities. To the same class belong, further, the ancient sacrifices, which were tenaciously retained in their stringent form, and even carried on to greater extremes, the further the nation was removed from the effeminate life of the Egyptians (p. 58). To the same class also especially belong the many regulations respecting purification, concerning which

[1] See my *Alterthümer*, p. 239 sq.

outward rite the Israelites, like the nations of the Zarathustrian (Zoroastrian) religion, became excessively scrupulous, mainly from the feeling that inwardly, through their earliest training, they were a pure and holy nation. But if Jahveism in this last respect shows a spirit very similar to the Zarathustrian, in other points it differs very widely from it.

2) But the new spirit awakened through Moses would not show any very great power, if beyond the general institution of the community it had called forth no new specific arrangements, which at the time strictly expressed, and to future ages preserved, its own spirit. And such new Jahveistic institutions there are. The institution of the Sabbath, for instance, can neither be proved to have existed before his time, nor to have been established subsequently. It is certainly purely Mosaic, and it perfectly expresses the sentiment of the new spirit which was to animate the community. For the demand made upon the community by the new religion is, that without break or relaxation they should always live for holiness alone. But amid the labours and the needs of actual life this demand cannot every moment be perfectly fulfilled, because the mind becomes immersed in worldly toils also. Therefore let the community, at least at definite periods not too far apart, have a pause in the common lower cares and avocations of life, and collect their energies with the greater zeal for the life of holiness, that they be not too long and too far estranged from it. No institution could be devised which would require so few outward signs or equipments, nor which would so directly lead man both to supply what is lost in the tumult of life, and effectually to turn his thoughts again to the higher and the eternal. Thus the Sabbath, though the simplest and most spiritual, is at the same time the wisest and most fruitful of institutions; and thus it becomes the true symbol of the higher religion which now entered into the world, and the most eloquent witness to the greatness of the human soul which first grasped the idea of it. But again, because in the Sabbath the new life first found its adequate expression, its author sought to carry it out through the changes of human existence with such youthful energy and grand consistency, that it should become the regulator and the restorer of all that in man's slow progress may be disordered or destroyed in the ever widening circles of the nation, the country, and the realm.

With respect, then, to the outward forms, in which the new thoughts took shape; the Community itself, and as its corrective, the Sabbath, in the widest sense of that word, are the new

creations which sprang out of this grand period; and they possessed foundations so indestructible, and at the same time were so closely united, that they have both lasted through all times down to our own, essentially unchanged.

3) But the new direction which life assumed in this community expresses itself not merely thus in the creative force necessary for founding new institutions which shall represent and encourage its own spirit; it turns itself also with energy against all that is inimical to it, and to put powerful restraint upon this it readily adopts various new usages. And the more peculiar and intense is the new direction of life in which a community finds its salvation, the more negative and exclusive will be the attitude assumed by the community towards all that is foreign, especially during its first zeal, and before the new element has gained its full inward clearness, power, and independence. And if in addition the community is restricted to one special race, as was then the case, the national antagonism and aversion, which under any circumstances may be great, are developed in the intensest form. Since then the Israelites in very early times were thrown upon the earth, unheard-of strangers among those ancient nations in comparison with whom they were but a small community; and as their religion presented the strongest contrast to that of other nations, and naturally aroused their hostility and ill-will; it cannot excite surprise, that at first they sought to keep strictly to themselves, and to exclude as dangerous everything foreign; and that the more all that was individual to them was in danger of being torn away, the more resolutely they maintained it after every attack. It were indeed erroneous to imagine that Moses held nothing to be of more pressing import than to inspire his own people with abhorrence of all others, and to forbid to those who stood in the covenant of Jahveh, or (to use the striking expression of an ancient writer, p. 77) the Confederates, all communion with strangers. For if this had been intended to be vitally important or indispensable, a commandment to that effect would have been placed in the Decalogue, which is not the case. On the contrary, that which came to pass in this respect, proceeded from the general position of the people in Jahveism, and from the necessities of the times. But how rigidly the national mind took this direction is shown especially by the law of interdict,[1] by which not merely the objects of heathen superstition, such as images of gods, but also other heathen possessions which fell

[1] חֵרֶם and see my *Alterthümer*, p. 86 sqq.

into their hands as booty, especially chariots of war, were to be *offered to Jahveh*; that is, destroyed, from inward abhorrence of them, and to the honour of Jahveh, that they might not allure to evil. And, as we can understand from p. 78, 130 sq., not only the chariots, but even the horses of their enemies were an abomination to them, and they preferred to disable[1] all captured horses rather than to take them into their own service for war.

From principles such as these, so long as they were firmly maintained, could not but proceed a nation of unique stamp, maintaining itself and fighting with amazing courage in the midst of every danger, because inspired by the highest divine truth; renouncing all earthly blessings and attractions; conquering and aggrandising, but not insatiable either in pleasure or in conquest. In almost all these respects the Hebrew nation may compare with the Arabs in the first bloom of Islam, but differs from them inasmuch as, springing from a sound and lasting germ, it became a confederation of one narrow national circle; and in battle, like the ancient Swiss Confederation, relied not on the horse, but on the indomitable force of the infantry. Moreover, as they ridiculed the superstition of the Heathen, they especially slaughtered and ate bulls and other animals, which by others were held sacred and carefully fed and preserved in the temples. In this light the nation appeared even in the Egyptian struggle (p. 77), and such it continued to be long after the days of Moses.

4. *The name Jahveh* (Jehovah).

But a new religion does not create new institutions and customs alone: it also exercises a mighty influence upon the language as well as the thoughts of its adherents, and leaves behind it the trace of this influence in new ideas and words, or at all events in the new employment of old words. In the Hebrew tongue, of which, with the exception of proper names, we possess from the Premosaic age scarcely any perfectly demonstrable remains, we cannot do much towards proving the great change which must have taken place at the time of Moses. But one clear proof of it at all events we do possess, in the employment of JAHVEH as a name for God—a proof than which none can be more decisive. For one of the most certain monuments in which the genius of every religion and

[1] עקר Josh. xi. 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii. 4; compare the Arabic عقر *to hough the sinews of the foot* in Tabari's *Arabic Annals*, i. p. 118, 11.

of every remarkable age will generally reveal itself, is precisely this innovation in the employment of Divine names. How sharply and clearly a short name of this kind, or a new phase in its use, epitomises the ruling views and ideas of an entire age, may be proved from all periods of history. Thus when the later Hebrews (the Jews) gave way to a slavish veneration of the actual letters of the sacred name, this mistaken fear of desecrating it prevented them from any longer pronouncing the true Mosaic name Jahveh at all. As certainly as the title *God of Hosts* (Sabaoth) is quite foreign to the Mosaic period, and indicates a subsequent stage of national culture, the name *Jahveh* is the distinguishing mark of the Mosaic religion, so that the glory which the greatness and sacredness of this diffused justly streams back upon that name. Moses undoubtedly announced his revelations under this name, when he spoke as a Prophet, and he thus stamped it as the word of chief power in the community. The Book of Origins, whose author had long known it as the most sacred name on earth, describes in solemn words the moment when God (*Elohim*), instead of the great name *El Shaddai*, whereby he had spoken to the three Patriarchs, first revealed himself to Moses by the higher name *Jahveh*;[1] and the Fifth Narrator imitates this in his peculiar way.[2] But from the time of Moses this name runs through a rich and peculiar history, which it is very instructive to examine. In the first place, for some centuries afterwards it was not much employed in ordinary discourse; then by degrees it became frequent, and even very general. Thus (to mention only one instance) the Earliest Narrator on all occasions names God Elohim; the Book of Origins makes it a rule not to name him Jahveh until that moment in the life of Moses when this name was revealed to him; the Fourth Narrator is the first who from the very creation introduces the name Jahveh. At first this name was seldom used by the community in the formation of personal names (and then shortened as an affix into *-jahu* (*-jah*), or as a prefix into *jô* or *j'hô*); Moses himself, as a beautiful tradition[3] records, changed the name of his faithful successor Hoshea into Joshua,[4] as if to fix more firmly the memory of the new religion, and to connect it with his young and trusted friend. But afterwards it grew into more frequent use for this purpose: and in fact in the days of the later Kings of Judah it was employed everywhere as if for the purpose of display—a

[1] Ex. vi. 2–8.
[2] Ex. iii. 13–15.
[3] Num. xiii. 16.
[4] Just as Mohammed gave to some of his followers new names; see my *Lehrb.* 7th ed. p. 671.

proof how deeply at that time the religion had mingled with human customs. On the other hand, in the Premosaic period, such names are not found at all (with a single exception, which will be adduced immediately): indeed even in the Mosaic age, with the exception of Joshua, there is no similar man's name, while during this period there are very many names compounded with *El*, and others even with *Shaddai*.[1]

We might therefore naturally suppose that Moses himself invented the name; but many indications oppose this supposition. For in the most ancient songs or fragments of songs[2] is found the shortened pronunciation *Jah*, a form only used in poetry, and by later writers rarely even in poetry. Moreover the name has in Hebrew no clear etymology, which is scarcely conceivable if it owed its origin to Moses or his age.[3] But the chief point is, that so far as we can discover, no other person in antiquity but Jochebed the mother of Moses shows a trace of this name of God before the time of Moses.[4] This fact leads us to the idea that the name Jahveh, formed analogously to Jacob and Isaac, was already employed as a

[1] See my *Lehrb.* 7th ed. p. 669.

[2] Ex. xv. 2, xvii. 16. With the exception of these two fragments of very ancient songs and Isaiah xxxviii. 11, יָהּ is employed only by very late poets.

[3] For if יַהְוֶה be of the same root as הָיָה it must be Premosaic, because this root in Hebrew never again became הוה except under the Aramaic influence of later times, and with that exception is invariably pronounced היה. The word might denote 'the Existing, i.e. the real, the permanent, the eternal,' in opposition to the 'sham or non-existent,' אֱלִילִים p. 123. Thus the Fifth Narrator, writing at the time when Jahveism was felt to be a living truth, and was understood in a highly spiritual sense, in the eighth century, very appropriately interprets it, in Ex. iii. 14 sq. In the Premosaic age however, if היה (compare the Arabic هَبَا) is properly *fieri*, from a root meaning 'to make, prepare,' the word may perhaps have been equivalent to 'Creator' (Sanskrit *dhâtri*). But the safest course is to start from the evidently extremely ancient idiom מֵאֵת יְהוָה Gen. xix. 24, which is paraphrased 'from the *heavens* (compare Micah v. 6, and Snow coming ἐκ Διός in Homer, and the Latin *sub Jove*), and reminds us that even in later times Jahveh is always regarded as essentially the God of Heaven; the name would thus in itself denote either the Heaven or the God of Heaven, and we might compare שָׁמַיִם, a rare word, which, like שָׁמֵן and הוֹד, may express the idea of *height*. But the comparison of the Arabic سَمَا *aiz*, as if it corresponded to the Sanskrit *dêva* and Latin *deus*, would be erroneous; for that Arabic word does not, like the Sanskrit *div*, denote 'bright, shining,' and thence come to be a designation of the heavens, but means 'an interval, empty space,' like the Sanskrit *antarîksha*.

[4] Ex. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59. From such proper names as Elioenai (1 Chron. vii. 8), Izrahiah (ib. 3), Abiah (ib. 8, ii. 24), Ahijah (ii. 25), it might indeed be inferred that the name Jahveh had been much used even before the time of Moses. But the list of those ancient genealogies drawn up by the Chronicler, may very probably have been filled up in many instances by later names, substituted for the forgotten originals. It would be an equally hasty conclusion to infer from the proper name פַּרְעֹה (1 Chron. iv. 18), that the Jew Mered had married an Egyptian princess. The fact stands here too isolated to admit of any certain inference from it. Moreover the name פַּרְעֹה might be borne by a Jew, since it might be a derivative from the Hebrew root פרע.

name of God in the Premosaic age, to which indeed all other simple names of God, and words of more than usually obscure signification, are to be referred; but that before Moses it was probably used only in the house of the maternal ancestry of Moses. It might be the peculiar name of God in this family; for we can conceive the germ of the religion of the Israelites itself to have existed in the Premosaic age (i. p. 317 sqq.); nevertheless it remains certain that it was only through Moses, the great son of a mother belonging to this house, that it obtains its importance in the community.

Although we may not now be able to give with perfect certainty the literal meaning of this name, which through the great son of that mother has become part of the world's history, yet at least we will no longer designate it by the barbarous form Jehovah (which was only produced three centuries ago through Christian aggravation of a Jewish superstition), but we will restore its real sound *Jahveh*, were it only as a sign that Hebrew antiquity is now springing up among us out of the grave of ages endowed with fresh life.

5. *The Decalogue and its Ten-Clauses.*

Finally, we do not hesitate to assert that all which has been already described as new was actually derived from Moses and from his age. It is not only that these thoughts and these creations can be nowhere shown to have been Premosaic; they constitute also the true foundation upon which all the subsequent history of Israel turns, that they are the few and mighty impulses, which from that time forward incessantly acted in ever-widening circles and with ever-increasing result. Besides they constitute in themselves such a distinct and well connected whole, that we cannot but confess that in their original unity they must have proceeded from one great creative spirit, like Pallas springing at once fully armed from the head of Zeus. But we may still recognise in an original document of that age, designed only for the general use of the entire nation, namely the two stone tables of the Decalogue (see p. 19), essentially the same fundamental principle with the new thoughts and institutions which we have been considering.

1) For in the first place it cannot be doubted that the Ten Commandments were designed solely for the general use of the people, as a first attempt to bring the new truths and the essential principles of the community into legal language, for practical use in ordinary life. They possess in their construc-

tion the proper form of public laws, each commencing 'Thou shalt'; and if we take away from the two copies which have been handed down to us, Ex. xx. and Deut. v, the additions and explanations which we find there,[1] they exhibit perfectly that sharp clear brevity which every law ought to possess, for the advantage of the judge as well as of the judged. It is true no definite punishments are annexed; but nearly the same thing occurs in other ancient laws,[2] because many points in the carrying out of the punishments were evidently still hardly defined. To this must be added, that these Ten Commandments, being an attempt to reduce to precepts of the shortest form all the most important new truths, restrict themselves solely to these eternal truths themselves, as if they had descended from heaven. They are therefore content with simply enforcing these, and not solicitous to carry them into detail; in this respect resembling rather the purely religious than the civil laws, which become immediately associated with temporal punishments, and therefore with such as change in the course of time. They therefore most nearly resemble the ten highest laws of Buddhism,[3] which endeavour to express in an equally brief compass all that is most essential. But as certainly as these Buddhistic commandments are only an ingenious extract from a much larger multitude of truths and opinions, so Moses also knew and taught much more than these Ten Commandments, which taken alone are a mere dry skeleton, but considered with reference to their intrinsic character and significance, imply a religion originally taught with a perfect living fulness.

But with all this effort after condensation, and this restriction to the small number of twice five laws (in which we

[1] A separation which we are perfectly justified in making; first, because in these comments, and in these only, the two existing versions exhibit important variations, while the actual commandments themselves agree together in the two versions in a far more striking degree (for in the tenth commandment only the words are gratuitously misplaced by the Deuteronomist through the interpolation of the comment); secondly, because old charters and other records, more especially those on stone, are always restricted to the most necessary words; with which is connected the further reason, that if the comments were written, the first table with its five commandments must have contained incomparably more words than the other, while we naturally expect a certain uniformity, even in outward appearance, between the two tables.

[2] I have here in view those of Lev. xviii, xix.

[3] See '*The Catechism of the Shamans*,' translated from the Chinese original by C. F. Neumann, London, 1831. The Buddhists had originally only five commandments, which were then variously enlarged to ten, to ten and five, and so on: see A. Rémusat's *Foe koue ki*, p. 404; Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, p. 23 sq., 27 sq., 32, 35, 37, 83, 86 sq., 113, 130 sq. (8 or rather 10), 153, 193 sq., 243, 252, 270, 276, 284, 286, 288, 290, 308, 427; also 42 (i.e. 6 × 7) are found, see Schiefner in the St. Petersburg *Bulletin der Philologischen Arbeiten der Akademie*, ix. p. 70. Manu, vi. 91 sqq. also enumerates ten virtues of the Brahmans.

still trace the very simplest method of counting upon the fingers of the two hands),[1] we find here nevertheless precisely the most indispensable and comprehensive propositions, as judiciously selected as they are skilfully arranged in a consecutive but well divided series; so that we are thus obliged to assume that the same master-mind to which the profound truths described above were clearly present, also arranged this happy collection of brief statements for popular use. Answering to the fingers of one hand, there is first a series of five consecutive commandments, embracing and separately specifying the various forms of duty owed by the inferior and dependent to the superior and primary (what the Latins term *pietas*), commencing with the highest, with the relation between Jahveh and man, and closing with the corresponding earthly relationship between parent and child. Since one commandment only (the fifth) is required to do full justice to this last relation, the four preceding ones remain for the treatment of the numerous and intricate relations between God and man; and the selection and arrangement of these deserve our especial admiration. After the opening words 'I am Jahveh thy God and thy Deliverer' which contain only the announcement of the God who is speaking,[2] the first commandment forbids Polytheism. The second, in the words 'Thou shalt make to thyself no image'[3] (i.e. no idol), in reality forbids only sensual worship—prayer or veneration directed towards any seductive external or earthly object of the senses. These two commandments having put aside the corrupt, the two next

[1] The essential feature to be observed is, that the number five here is the root of everything, and indeed throughout the ancient world constantly peeps forth clearly enough: see Hom. *Od.* iv. 412, and τὸ ἀριθμήσασθαι πεμπάσασθαι λέγουσιν, Plut. *de Is. et Os.* lvi. How this ancient system of numeration is expressed in the very forms of the numerals, I explained as long ago as 1837, in an incidental observation in my '*Hebräische Sprachlehre.*'

[2] This is evident from the slightly abbreviated version of the same phrase, 'I am Jahveh your God,' occurring in the series of ancient laws in Lev. xviii sq.; it might of course also serve as a concluding formula.

[3] פֶּסֶל is originally a *stone* image, and is from this very fact (see i. p. 343) more certainly referable to a high antiquity. The following words, 'any form which is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, to these shalt thou not bow down, nor serve them,' are only a further explanation of the preceding; Deuteronomy correctly omits ו before כל; and moreover it is false that תמונה is ever synonymous with פסל *idol.* But it is clear that this further explanation, or rather distincter expression of a kindred thought, is of equal antiquity, and in fact truly Mosaic, not only from its threefold division of the world, which is very ancient, but of rare occurrence in other parts of the Old Testament, but also, and chiefly, from the fact that the special form of this declaration shows the directest reference to the Egyptian zoolatry. As a final reason for this declaration, the true nature of Jahveh exhibited in his twofold moral action is then referred to: 'for I Jahveh thy God am a God who,' &c. (p. 130 sq.); whereas an idol cannot punish, far less reward.

establish the correct in corresponding sequence, the third answering to the first, and the fourth to the second. If all other gods are to be put away, there remains only the one true spiritual God, the sole ruler to whom all power and glory belong; and since in this community he is regarded as at once the true eternal king and the sole ruler, the *crimen læsæ majestatis* immediately affects him, the deliverer and founder, the lord and protector of the community. Therefore the third commandment is couched in this form, 'Thou shalt not sinfully pronounce the name of Jahveh thy God;' that is, thou shalt not blaspheme or otherwise speak evil of it, or in any way misuse it, or employ it perversely, but shalt keep it holy, absolutely and in everything.[1] And if the thought and heart of man ought never to sink down to an idol, nor even to Jahveh in any form of sensuous homage, as is ordained by the second commandment, then he ought rather, instead thereof, ever and anon in the spiritual festival of the Sabbath to look upwards to the pure spirit of Jahveh. Thus arises the fourth commandment, 'Thou shalt remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.'[2] Thus the third answers to the first, and the fourth to the second; in the place of what the first two abolish, the last two lay down something to be really done. At the close is given the commandment respecting parents.[3]

The other series of five commandments, coming down to the earth, treats of mutual duties between man and man. By an equally skilful grouping, from the numerous command-

[1] That this is the meaning is clear also from such passages as Lev. xxiv. 10–16, Ex. xxii. 27 [28]; besides which the addition 'for Jahveh will not hold him guiltless who pronounceth his name sinfully' also points to one of the greatest and most punishable offences.

[2] The words next following after this fourth commandment are, as in the case of the second and tenth commandments, only a comment, which in Deuteronomy is expanded to somewhat greater length. But the reason added by the Deuteronomist for the commandment is more antique than that in Exodus, derived from the Creation: we must therefore admit that the author of the Book of Origins here imported into his transcript of the Ten Commandments that history of the creation which is characteristic of him, and always possesses to him a special importance, whilst the writer of Deuteronomy had before him an independent transcript.

[3] The reason, here fittingly referring only to the Divine blessing, 'in order that thy days may be long in the land which Jahveh thy God will give thee' is, like all the other comments and reasons (with the exception of the already mentioned allusion to the Creation in the Book of Origins), most ancient, being doubtless derived by oral tradition from Moses himself, and affords a memorable testimony that Moses really regarded Palestine as the object of the journey (p. 67). In fact the contents of the blessing show such a striking antique simplicity, that even the Deuteronomist has to explain the expression, 'to live long' by the addition 'to be prosperous;' and rightly to understand this antique expression, we must transport ourselves back into times in which nations looked upon the simplest necessaries of life, for instance bread and fruitful land, as the highest gifts of the gods, a view which is most clearly exemplified in the oldest hymns of the Rig-vêda and the most ancient portions of the Avesta.

ments which might here be given, four of the most general application for the protection of life, of chastity, of property, and of civil security are selected; thus passing in a natural sequence from that which is the most primary of all blessings to the individual, to secondary and later requirements. But since the mind that ordained all this so wisely, well knew that in social life the evil deed can scarcely be avoided, if the thoughts and desires have once taken a wrong direction, he closed this section with the commandment 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house;'[1] and by this precept, relating to thoughts alone, he made the close of this great religious command accord with its commencement. Nothing therefore can be more excellent and unique than these five and five commandments of the two tables of stone, both in their contents and their arrangement. Accordingly the two series of five have this also in common, that in each the first four belong closely together, and the fifth forms a natural close.[2]

The two tables, however, in the versions which we have of them (p. 20), differ in the following point. All the five commandments of the first are furnished with additions, partly elucidatory and partly justificatory; the justification of the first being however sufficiently effected by the prophetical preface, which (according to p. 160) naturally stands first of all. But the five of the second table have no such additions, with the exception of the last, the addition to which, though seen by its very nature to be ancient, is really only an elucidation. After all that has been explained above, it cannot surely be maintained that these elucidations and justifications were given on the tables themselves. We give the picture of this smallest

[1] The words 'Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, his man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox or his ass, or anything which is his,' evidently contain a mere exemplification. The Deuteronomist however, confounding together the comment and the original short commandment, and altering the words very freely, makes up a long new one, in which the word *House* is invested with a very different meaning; but this is only another instance of the licence assumed by this writer, which is well known from other cases.

[2] The old dispute, recently revived in Germany, respecting the proper division of the Decalogue, the most valuable product of which is the excellent treatise of Joh. Geffken (Hamburg, 1838), can never be so settled that no controversy remains possible, but by study both of the general plan on which the commandments are arranged and of the special position of each one. Undoubtedly the original meaning of this arrangement was already in great part lost in the times of the earliest Fathers of the Church, or even earlier: and with what licence the number Ten was made out and expounded in those days, may be seen especially in Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 7 sq.: yet even Philo, in his treatise on the 'Ten Words,' has the division correct, although he very improperly refers the Third to perjury only, and follows the incorrect transposition of the sixth and seventh, which originated with the LXX. and was very widely adopted. On the most recent flood of Decalogue-writings see the *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* ix. p. 144 sqq.

but oldest and most important of all works of law. The Law of the Two Tables was undoubtedly as follows:

I.

I am Jahveh, thy God, who delivered thee out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

(1.) *Thou shalt have no other God before me.*
(2.) *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image.*
(3.) *Thou shalt not idly utter the name of Jahveh thy God.*
(4.) *Thou shalt remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.*
(5.) *Thou shalt honour thy father and thy mother.*

II.

(1.) *Thou shalt not murder.*
(2.) *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*
(3.) *Thou shalt not steal.*
(4.) *Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.*
(5.) *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.*

It is obvious that the first four commandments of the second table least want any elucidation or justification. But an examination of all the additions as they now stand yields (as has been shown above in single instances) the important result, that, with the exception of the justification of the fourth commandment contained in the Book of Origins, all the additions are not only very ancient, but identical in tone and style with the commandments themselves, and therefore necessarily to be ascribed to no one but Moses himself. The great Prophet and Legislator himself could best expound and inculcate his Laws, so that the people might never forget them. That the real old elucidations to the commandments are certainly by Moses himself, is apparent also in the fact that in the first half they, even by themselves form one connected series of progressive thoughts, thus: 1) I am thy God, because thy deliverer; but then, 2) I am the true God, in his double character (towards friends and foes); and therefore, 3) my dignity is not to be insulted with impunity; 4) it is I who led thee to higher tranquillity and refreshment, and 5) shall now lead thee to a land of thy own—one of the highest of blessings, but one which, like all the things of earth, although gained, will, in the absence of constant genuine goodness, certainly be soon lost again. Thus the running commentary on these five laws itself flows from one stream of thought, and distinctly betrays the age of Moses—if it were only in the composition of the fourth and

fifth propositions. Here therefore the author of the verbal expression and arrangement of the Ten Commandments appears to expound his work and direct attention to it, out from the deep feelings and train of thought of his own soul. As every word which is indisputably Moses' own must have an incomparable value to us, it is very important to note all these details with care.

2) But the early origin of the Decalogue, and the remarkable influence which it must have exercised upon the very earliest writings from its universal recognition as a groundwork by Moses himself, may be proved by other indications, which sometimes carry us down below the age of Moses, but which are notwithstanding most suitably discussed here. The Pentateuch contains several other such series of laws, in the form of Ten Commandments, which must be here examined.

a.) First, we find in the second half of the present book of Leviticus a number of extremely concise laws, or rather legal proclamations (oracles). These were certainly incorporated by the author of the Book of Origins into his own work, because evident traces of his hand are scattered through them, but their intrinsic character is quite peculiar,[1] and proves them to possess extreme antiquity. Here we note only the following particulars. These fragments are distinguished by the solemn words 'I am Jahveh' (p. 129), pronounced at the commencement or the close of a declaration. These words, considered as to their outward form, serve only to mark the declaration as spoken by Jahveh himself;[2] but, considered as to their inner meaning, they flow out of that strong simple feeling, according to which the true Prophet announces what he receives not humanly, but divinely. In the earliest times this feeling was most direct and powerful, so that the human being seemed wholly to disappear in presence of the God who spoke through him; and the language corresponded with the feeling, expressing in the strongest way that God alone spoke, and spoke moreover strictly as God, that is simply commanding; wherefore the irresistible power of his word was announced by the expression 'I am Jahveh,' either preceding or closing it. There is clear evidence that this must have been the genuine Mosaic method of

[1] Shortly touched upon at i. p. 94 sq. The broad distinction remains, that the writer of the Book of Origins never allows his treatment even of legal matters to fall into such short sentences and detached commandments, but rather loves a comprehensive and calmly explanatory style of composition; moreover he cannot be proved to have been a prophet.

[2] Where the Book of Origins itself employs the phrase 'I am Jahveh,' it is clearly repeated from an ancient authority; but it is found in fact only in and after Lev. xviii, and on the exceptional occasion of Ex. vi. 2, 6–8, 29.

giving oracles. The Decalogue shows this (p. 160), and the same peculiar method is followed in the passages of which we have now to speak. So far as language is concerned, if we can anywhere recognise the genuine Mosaic character, it is here: for even the Prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries adopt a very different style. As more of human feeling mingles with their message, their constant expression 'Thus says Jahveh,' which takes the place of 'I am Jahveh,' shows that with them prophetical discourse and divine command are no longer so entirely one as they were in Moses.

Since these antique sentences no longer lie before us in their first form, but only as they were incorporated into the Book of Origins, and possibly into even older works, their earliest form can only be approximately discovered by us. But thus much is perfectly clear—that so large a number of short detached sentences must have been connected together by some external bond, as otherwise they must have fallen asunder. But then what bond more obvious than that already made sacred by the Decalogue? And we actually find upon closer investigation that in these passages such an arrangement still shines unmistakably through all subsequent elaborations; as often in ancient temples traces of earlier ones are discovered, of whose materials they are in part constructed. Briefly to illustrate this, let us here examine the important example furnished by Lev. xix:

1) Here we find three commandments on the same subject as those of the first table of stone of the original Decalogue,[1] with which may be suitably connected two others which now stand quite isolated in Lev. xxvi. 1, 2.

2) There next follow five commandments in which the subjects of the second table are more fully treated.[2]

3) We then find five similar ones, also defining the duty to the neighbour.[3]

4) After a fresh general introduction, five commandments follow, which have reference to something new—the domain of feeling, and consequently of the becoming and unbecoming.[4]

5) Finally, after another general introduction, five command-

[1] Lev. xix. 2–4, the first words of ver. 2 being rejected as an introduction added by the Book of Origins, and the first member of Lev. xxvi. 1 as a mere repetition of xix. 4.

[2] Ver. 9–13; for every word of ver. 5–8, which give certain regulations about sacrifices, must belong to the Book of Origins.

[3] Ver. 14–18.

[4] Ver. 19, 26–28, 30; whereas two other enactments, that in ver. 20–22 on fornication, with the similar one in ver. 29 on prostitution of daughters, and that in ver. 23–25 on first-fruits, are in their every word characteristic of the Book of Origins

ments treating of the socially equitable and just, close the entire series.[1]

Accordingly we have here a brief but complete work of law of 5 + 5 commandments, each commandment (this is a new feature) divided into two or three lines or members, and thus assuming something of a poetical form. The matter also points to a high antiquity, as it appears to be the earliest amplification of the original Ten Commandments; and if Moses himself in his later years was not its author, some other prophet of the same age must have been. Similarly in Lev. xviii. the forbidden marriages and lusts appear to have been originally treated in four times five such sentences.[2]

b.) Secondly, we possess in Ex. xxi. 2–xxiii. 19 another work of law, which like that concealed in Lev. xix. is evidently intended to embrace the entire circle of national law, but treats every part with greater detail and precision than is done in the passage of Leviticus (i. p. 74). It is true, the author of this work no longer employs the phrase 'I am Jahveh,' and throughout follows a more descriptive method, entering into numerous individual cases, and on this very account less resembling the form of the oracle: but a nearer view discloses that he also endeavoured to divide the entire mass of the commandments into fives and tens, as if the legal form were in his day still influenced by the model of the original Decalogue. And as the description in general is more detailed, the individual commandments could here assume a longer form than in that earlier fragment; but here as there, they necessarily consist of at least two members; only the first or the last of a series might consist of only one.[3] Compared with the passage in Lev. xix, this work, though not wholly uninjured, preserves far more of its original form. What is extant comprises the following elements:

1) Ten Commandments on the rights of the home-born men and maid servants, xxi. 2–11, falling into two perfectly equal divisions.

[1] Ver. 32, 34–36; for ver. 33, although now standing in close connection with ver. 34, is seen by its style to belong to the Book of Origins; as also ver. 31, which moreover contains a decision foreign to this series respecting idolatry; see xv. 32, xxii. 8. On the other hand, the two members of ver. 15, beginning with לֹא תִשְׁאָ, which form a distinct commandment, were probably originally placed before ver. 35.

[2] Namely in Lev. xviii; 6–23 as explained in the *Alterthümer*, p. 226 sq.; except that neither ver. 20 on fornication, nor still less ver. 21 on the worship of Moloch, belong originally to this place, but are in their every word characteristic of the Book of Origins; of which, however, besides these verses only the first member of ver. 23 reminds us.

[3] As in poetry proper: see my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, Bd. i. p. 72 sq.

2) Five commandments on murder and its punishment, xxi. 12–16. The single commandment (ver. 17) on the punishment of those who curse their parents, stands here perfectly detached, and looks as if it were a fragment only of a second much mutilated half, which may have mentioned the crimes which were to be considered as heinous as murder.

3) Five laws on bodily injuries not punishable by death, xxi. 18–27;[1] to which five others are added as a continuation, xxi. 28–32.

4) Ten laws on injuries done to property, xxi. 33–xxii. 5 [6]:[2] here the two halves are not sharply distinguished.

5) Ten laws on breach of trust with regard to property or to honour, xxii. 6–16 [7–17]; divided into two very obvious halves.

6) Ten laws in two halves, xxii. 17–30 [18–31],[3] and

7) Ten more, also in two halves, xxiii. 1–9.[4] These twenty conjoined describe purely moral conduct to the breach of which no external punishment can be attached, as is done in all the former laws. The fact that in these two decalogues the same command occurs twice with scarcely any change, in xxii. 20 [21] and xxiii. 9, has but little importance, because the frequent employment of such a series of tens necessitated some freedom in externals.

8) Lastly, ten commandments on festivals and offerings, xxiii. 10–19, in two halves.[5]

With these the work might well close: but when we call to mind that with this fulness and variety it was evidently intended to give a comprehensive view of the legislation, while yet many essential points are wanting, and also that in this case it would be very strange to begin with the slaves (xxi. 2), we are justified in supposing that it has lost some series of tens, which loss may have occurred even as early as its introduction into the work of the First Narrator. Instead of eight times ten, it may easily have contained originally ten times ten laws: and we actually now find in xx. 23–26 five commandments which look just as if they might be the real commencement of

[1] Viz. ver. 18 sq., 22, 23–25, 26 sq., as the sense requires.

[2] The Masoretic text has indeed only 9, but the LXX. have in xxii. 4 [5] the missing one: see *Alterthümer*, p. 214.

[3] Viz. vv. 21–23, 25, 26, 28 and 29 [22–24, 26, 27, 29 and 30] belong together.

[4] In the second half, vv. 6–9, where ver. 9 clearly forms a fitting conclusion, if ver. 7 were divided into two commandments, each would be too short; but it rather seems as if here two members had fallen out, since, as the verse now stands, its two members do not harmonise very accurately together.

[5] The short ver. 14 may form a fitting close to the first half, if for no other reason at least for this, that its contents are repeated more definitely in ver. 17. Before ver. 10 a declaration on the year of Jubilee may have fallen out, as vv. 10 and 11 must form together only one commandment.

this great work. We need be no more surprised at this method of legal exposition in language bound by many of the restraints of verse, than that the ancient Hindus force into verse their endless multitude of laws, of which the *Mánava Dharma Çástra* (Code of Manu) is only the best known example.

c.) Thirdly, if we come down to the Book of Origins, whose principal subject is that of law, we there find the amplification of the laws which had been already begun in the earlier work, so fully carried through, that the fetters of the arrangement by tens could no longer be employed. The once prevalent method of delivering the laws was already so far changed, that all circumstantial explanations of laws were put in an historical dress which referred them to Moses, leaving of the ancient method nothing more than the introduction of the words by Jahveh himself. We find however in Lev. vi and vii, incorporated into the Book of Origins, a passage which was certainly earlier, and proceeded from another author, but yet was not very far removed from the age of that book. This is a summary of the duties and rights of the Priesthood with reference to offerings of all kinds, which as a brief memorandum for the priests the author seems to have brought designedly into this quaint and ingenious form (i. p. 88 sq.). Apart from the historical introduction which precedes each subdivision, and the historical matter at the final close (vii. 34–38) we here find:

1) Five ordinances on burnt-offerings, vi. 2–6 [9–13], and five others on corn-offerings, vi. 7–11 [14–18].

2) Five ordinances on the offerings at consecration, vi. 13–16 [20–23], and five others on sin-offerings, vi. 18–23 [25–30].

3) Ten ordinances on trespass-offerings, vii. 1–10.

4) Ten on thank-offerings, vii. 11–21.

5) Again twice five directions respecting the portions of the animal sacrifices allowed to be eaten, vii. 23–27, 29–33.[1]

So accurate a grouping as this cannot be accidental. Here are $5 \times 10 = 50$ directions, whence we perceive that the old sacred form of legislation was still well known at that time.

But even the Fourth Narrator set forth the original Decalogue suitably renewed for later times.[2] In Psalm xv, of considerable antiquity, the duties of the pious are still distributed into ten poetical sentences.[3]

Now that we are thus enabled by clear indications to trace

[1] In this computation it is taken for granted that vi. 13 [20] forms two ordinances, and that vii. 11 and 12 form only one.

[2] Ex. xxxiv. 12–26; the ten being as follows: first five, ver. 12–16, 17, 18, 19–20*a*, 20*b*; second five, 21, 22, 23–24, 25, 26.

[3] Ps. xv. 2–5*b*; into these ten members are the 3 of the older song, Ps. xxiv. 4, expanded.

the history of the wording (form) of the various commandments, we distinctly perceive what a remarkable influence the original Decalogue must have exercised, to call into existence solely by its own example an entire and influential branch of literature.[1]

B. Vicissitudes and final Victory under Moses.

I. Vicissitudes.

1. *The Elevation and the Relapses of the Age.*

When we once more turn our attention to the true nature of the guidance of the people by Moses, and the new order and constitution of their life which was then established, taking a connected view of the whole, we cannot but feel that everything which in the long series of following centuries was great and glorious, whether in intellectual truth, or in the order and aims of life, was, at all events in its germ and its primary impulse, derived from the mysterious elevation of the Mosaic age. As by the wing-stroke of a mighty spirit, a new power was in that distant age set in motion in the world, whose pulsations vibrated through the whole of antiquity, and which, instead of becoming weaker with the roll of centuries, reached out still further and shook the ground more and more powerfully, until it finally culminated in Christianity and in Islam: attaining then a position which suddenly converted it into a vastly more powerful movement. Not that these few but eternal principles of true religion and of a life ruled by it had sprung up entirely pure and unmixed. On the contrary we have seen how in entering the world and time these principles were by time and the world modified and narrowed. At one time with excess of youthful boldness they attempted things that they could not permanently sustain; at another, through too great zeal in the prosecution of the new, they put aside the old which ought rather to have been adopted in a purified form; and on other occasions they were too weak to oppose the reentrance of earlier corruptions. Thus were developed a number of obstacles

[1] This is a sufficient answer to a question which was first publicly brought forward by Ernst Bertheau in a treatise entitled '*Die sieben Gruppen Mosaischer Gesetze in den drei mittlern Büchern des Pentateuchs*' (Gottingen, 1840). I reviewed this work in detail in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, for 1841, p. 65–73, in an article which was broken off in August 1840, after the examination of Ex. xxi–xxiii. I intended there to prove at length, what I have here briefly shown to be my opinion, namely that the conjecture in that work was not without foundation, but ought to be more rigidly defined and reduced within narrower limits, and that thus that work possesses a peculiar merit of its own.

and corruptions equal to that of the original good principles, which not less than the latter entered into the history and determined its form. These evil principles, however, only so restrained the living and imperishable germ once planted, that, developing to the full its hidden power, it pressed up with even greater force, and conquered every restraint, until it finally shot swiftly upwards into full maturity.

But the nation which in that primeval time had once had the high courage to embrace the truths and principles of living without which no true religion can exist, had in that very act too nearly identified its entire life, its well-being and its happiness, with the prosecution of the aim of true religion, ever again entirely to fall away from it; already it had seen so much of the pure light, and tasted so fully of the higher blessedness which lay enclosed therein, and so clearly seen the prosecution of this object to be its special divine mission in contrast to other nations, that it could never lose the noble pride and unwearied pertinacity with which it prosecuted that aim. Therefore every obstacle which it encountered, and every false path into which it was led, threw it back at last all the more forcibly upon the straight path to the attainment of this aim; all the divergent efforts of its life gradually converged into the single aim of attaining the perfection of true religion; until finally in the extreme strain of the effort to attain this object it lost its own independent life. That which alone is great and of value for the world in this nation, lies in the fact that as a whole, or as a nation in the strictest sense of the word, it entered actively and willingly into the highest demands of religion, and strove after that ultimate object with entire self-abnegation; while among other nations, more especially the Hindus, individuals endeavoured to discover the truths of religion, and some few to realise them in their lives, but there was never formed a true Community bound together by pure religion. But since religion is far more powerful for the entire nation and for the world than for the individual, it follows that it was only by means of the true Community that it could attain its highest form.

The ultimate source, then, from which all this sprang, is assuredly the sublime age of Moses. But upon a closer consideration we cannot look upon that age as if it had always constituted a pure untroubled glory around Moses. Far from it; where the lists are opened to so much spiritual freedom as was here conferred by the fundamental laws of the community, there dangers from within are to be apprehended—violent

movements, vehement demands and excesses, dangerous plots, conspiracies and disorders. Where, as in this community, the demands of God, whether already fixed in laws, or continually announced anew by the living voice of the Prophet, ever pointed to the purest and the highest, there from various causes the opposition might be all the more powerful and obstinate, reacting against what was already in existence, and springing up with even greater violence when a further development, however needful, was about to be introduced. Thus the Old Testament history often and urgently complains of the stiffneckedness of Israel, which in the course of the following centuries was constantly increasing and growing more conspicuous, the higher rose the general development of the truths and requirements of Jahveism. But even in the case of Moses himself, accounts some of which are very ancient do not conceal the fact that after the covenant made at Sinai discontent arose against him, now louder now more subdued; not merely on account of the absence of external blessings, but also from envy of his pre-eminent prophetical power, combined with the idlest suspicions of the whole guidance assumed by this gentlest and best of men. And this discontent arose not merely from the general multitude, but also from the privileged Levites who stood nearer to Moses himself, and even from Aaron and Miriam. The history as it has come down to us furnishes a grand exemplification of the universal truth, that the best and most capable man of a community is often the most misunderstood and persecuted, and a manifest type of that aspersion and persecution which constantly assailed the best men of this community in after ages. We cannot imagine the petty states of Grecian antiquity more full of commotion and agitation, than according to the most certain indications of history the kingdom and people of Jahveh were during many periods of their history. No age and no position is secure from the temptation to such misuse of a noble freedom; even the priests and prophets we see at times deeply degenerate and crowding to help on the corruption. And it is obvious that from all these causes were derived many great obstacles to the realisation of that better principle, the foundation of which was already laid in the community. But pernicious as these perplexities and disorders frequently were, they were yet so little able permanently to destroy or even hinder that better principle, which was really stronger than they, and had set even them in motion, that the better principle, after every such attempted interruption, was enabled through the concentration of its various powers to gain

firmer ground and advance onwards. Even the longest and most confused struggles in the end brought about only a greater victory of the pure truth, as the history of every period up to its last great catastrophe will show. And all the best men of the nation, with Moses at their head, to what purpose were they the best, unless it were that in combating such hindrances they might gloriously and successfully prove their power and their allegiance to higher truths and duty? To be misunderstood and persecuted to death by contemporaries, but thereby to be impelled only to a still purer and intenser pursuit of the True and Eternal,—is not this too a blessing from above, and often the very best—a blessing to the sufferer, and a blessing to others also? Therefore in respect to Moses and all others who are called into similar contest with pressing inward difficulties, almost the only point of interest is, in what way they solve their problem, how far they prove themselves victorious, or in what degree they leave the struggle to their successors. Spiritual freedom itself, although often restricted or suspended during the course of such entanglements, in the end always returns only more peaceful and more free from vague conceptions.

But we must now take a nearer survey of the relapses of that age, since only by estimating them aright can we understand why it was only at the close of his long life of public activity, that Moses could secure to the people through his guidance even the very beginning of the necessary external advantages of position. For these advantages, though often the natural consequence of a great elevation of spiritual life once attained, can yield permanent fruits only when this elevation has won a firm and imperishable basis in resolute strife with its antagonistic principle. Were the truths and institutions then established extraordinary in their novelty and purity?—then the more readily even under Moses himself would various relapses occur, so soon as the first strong and general but momentary enthusiasm had passed away; such relapses as those of which the early Christian history also is full, from Judas Iscariot downwards.

1) No great importance attaches to various unconnected trespasses of individuals who could not at once accustom themselves to what was now recognised as the right course. Thus the Book of Origins tells of a man, who being the son of an Israelitish mother, but of an Egyptian father, suffered the punishment of leze-majesty for blaspheming the name of Jahveh,[1] and of another who suffered in the same way for

[1] Lev. xxiv. 10–23.

breaking the Sabbath.[1] More important would be the case of Nadab and Abihu, the two elder sons of Aaron, who, having at first been men of influence and acted as deputies for their father,[2] afterwards, according to the Book of Origins,[3] because 'contrary to Jahveh's command they brought strange fire before his altar,' were killed by the 'fire of the altar:' but it will be made clear below that this tradition does not properly belong to this place.

Among the backslidings of the entire people the most pardonable appears that momentary vexation which proceeded out of merely local hardships. It is indeed easy to understand that the Desert, in itself terrible and most trying to the patience, would draw from a people accustomed to the rich soil of the Nile, many passing sighs and even random words and projects. The existing traditions contain clear indications that this did often occur. Yet such ill-humour, momentary though it be, cannot be justified before the tribunal of Religion, inasmuch as it springs from impatience and want of faith, and weakens the higher aspirations. The murmuring of the people at the want of sweet water at their first encampment after leaving the Red Sea,[4] is mentioned by the Book of Covenants merely as a trial of their patience. But the writer of the Book of Origins treats with more severity their frequent murmurings and wranglings on account of deficiency of bread, meat and water, and in his peculiar way attaches to these the explanation of many sad but instructive events of which memory had still to tell. According to this account, when the people murmured for bread and meat, Jahveh gave the manna, which was the characteristic food of the unproductive desert, to satisfy their hunger while they wandered there, without as yet betraying any anger with them for the claim thus set up, since it referred only to the barest daily sustenance. But when subsequently complaints of the want of meat were loudly renewed, first by the lower rabble who had come with them out of Egypt,[5] and then by the Israelites themselves, allured by their example, Jahveh still gave them the food so clamorously demanded, more indeed than they could wish—vast numbers of birds of passage thrown

[1] Num. xv. 32–36.

[2] According to Ex. xxiv. and the Book of Origins.

[3] Lev. x. 1–3, and on all these passages of narrative compare i. p. 88–91.

[4] Ex. xv. 23–26.

[5] This singular account (Num. xi. 4; see p. 82) accords with a similar one by the First Narrator in Ex. xii. 38, while the Book of Origins nowhere makes such a distinction. But the whole of the very lifelike account of the manna and the various modes of preparing it, in Num. xi. 7–9, appears also to have been interpolated here by the Latest Narrator from the earliest book, especially as the description of the manna in Ex. xvi. is somewhat different.

suddenly by the wind upon the camp. But since their desire was now not restricted to a reasonable demand, Jahveh granted it *in anger*; the effect of which was that while these presumptuous claimants were feasting in the utmost carelessness, a great plague[1] broke out among them. For he who eagerly and clamorously sues God for something not really necessary to him, may sometimes actually obtain it without difficulty, but then it never brings with it a blessing.[2] And later, when the people ran to Moses and Aaron wrangling and chiding for the want of water, Jahveh showed Moses how with his sacred staff he could bring water even from the solid rock; yet here also the violent wrangling of the people had at least one evil consequence, that Moses and Aaron themselves, having for the moment lost their composure and their firm faith in Jahveh, were from that time no longer so completely pure and without stain as before.[3] The Fourth Narrator, according to his custom, has removed this story to a much earlier period, and does not give it that beautiful moral, according to which every immoderate demand, even when granted, is always followed by some evil consequence.[4]

But such momentary ill-humour or despondency becomes dangerous when it threatens to break down all those con-

[1] Termed strictly with still greater vagueness 'a stroke' Num. xi. 33, without indication of its real nature. The event which had so sad a result was very significantly placed at the encampment 'Graves of desire.' The outbreak of severe disease after a long fast followed by too eager enjoyment of too rich food is conceivable.

[2] The two narratives Ex. xvi. and Num. xi. (without vv. 1–3, which in this position are quite irrelevant, and possibly stood originally after ch. xiv.) are seen from their general plan to be derived from the Book of Origins, in which they probably stood together, the story of the manna preceding that of the quails. The story of the manna in Ex. xvi. cannot have been pushed back to so early a point of time by any older writer than the Last Narrator, because in vv. 32–36 it presupposes not only the institution of the Sabbath, which had never before been expounded, but also the Tabernacle, which was not made till Ex. xxv. Moreover, these passages have been not only torn asunder, but also greatly enlarged and altered by the Third and Fifth Narrators. In Num. xi. the long account of the prophetical choice of the seventy Elders (from ובעיני משה רע in ver. 10 to ver. 30), gives evidence of being a mere interpolation or modification by the Third Narrator bearing reference to Ex. xviii; for surely this choice can in the nature of things have but little to do with the disturbances produced by the want of animal food. On the other hand, much of what now stands in Ex. xvi. 6, 7, 9, 10 must originally have stood between Num. xi. 10 and 31; for according to Num. xi. 32, 33, they gather heaps of flesh-meat for two days, but even while devouring it with their teeth, are punished; now this is exactly as if they were to learn in the evening of one day the greatness of that good God who delivered them out of Egypt, and in the morning of the next day the injured majesty of the punishing God; in which character, moreover, he immediately (ver. 10) shows himself in the glory of his pillar of cloud, as if he had heard the violent murmuring: see Num. xvi. 5, 19. But the Latest Narrator, giving a different application to this antique phrase (as is clear from his gloss in ver. 8), inserted here what must have originally stood elsewhere, and gave to the whole the form in which we now have it in vv. 6–13; and since in the original narrative in Ex. xvi. it was only manna and not flesh which was expected, vv. 6–13 must be a later interpolation.

[3] Num. xx. 1–13.

[4] Ex. xvii. 1–7.

nected exertions which the circumstances of the time most absolutely required. Of this a remarkable instance is preserved in the Book of Origins,[1] where it is beautifully narrated in full detail. Just after the giving of the Law, and when Moses had prosperously led the people by the nearest way from Sinai to the south-eastern boundary of Canaan, and the conquest of the country was about to be undertaken thence, the people were suddenly seized by a strange despondency and cowardly fear of war, and with a surly or rather mutinous feeling against Moses refused to move from their tents into the open field. In thus refusing they appealed to the terrific accounts brought back by the deputed spies, most of whom shared their fears; but this was only a result of the despondency which had already taken deep root, and naturally sought to shield itself under any pretext. So easily may a mind which had previously appeared resolute recoil at the critical moment before real or imaginary danger; and an approaching crisis must bring to light every concealed fear. Moreover in this instance, speaking humanly, some excuse may be found in the fact, that at least a considerable proportion of the people had not long been even redeemed from bondage, and had until then met with no enemy of importance in Asia: for the fight with Amalek, which the Fourth Narrator[2] describes as occurring at that early period, may in the end have served only to excite more strongly in such an enemy the desire of vengeance. Yet such a cowardly recoil, at the very moment when the reward of the long and toilsome journey in the desert from Sinai to Canaan was at length to be gained, cannot on any high grounds possibly be condoned. Moses, however, and some others of their best men contended in vain against the general feeling; and the bond which had until then subsisted between the people and their leader became dangerously loosened. And as one misfortune or misunderstanding of this kind seldom comes alone, there occurred soon afterwards another calamity. Many of the people, as if suddenly converted, desired hastily to atone for their delay, and ventured upon an inroad into the southern border of Canaan, while Moses with his closest adherents remained quiet, warning them of excess and indiscretion (for the first enthusiasm was past, and in the interval the Canaanites might have strengthened their position). But, rashly advancing, they suffered a severe defeat.[3] They then[4] complained loudly that Jahveh had betrayed them,

[1] Num. xiii, xiv.
[2] Ex. xvii. 8–16, see *supra*, p. 100 sqq.
[3] Num. xiv. 39-45.
[4] It follows with great probability from Deut. i. 45, 46, that, as was conjectured above, the passage Num. xi. 1–3 stood

and fell into worse and worse confusion; until, as the story says, the Divine vengeance came upon them in the shape of a deadly fire of Jahveh.[1] At length Moses had to pray for the misguided people; and the evil consequences of such a relapse having been sufficiently manifested, this plan for the conquest of Canaan was abandoned, and their thoughts were directed to other enterprises.[2]

Finally, to this series belongs the very distinct narrative of the Brazen Serpent,[3] which even in its present form appears from all traces to have originated with the Earliest Narrator. The people advancing towards the Red Sea, weary of the hardships of the tedious march, and tired of the scanty nourishment afforded by the manna of the desert, complained loudly to God and Moses of the want of bread and water. Instead, however, of obtaining relief, they then incurred a much greater evil, being furiously pursued by a multitude of large and venomous serpents, from the bites of which many died. In this they recognised God's righteous punishment for their murmuring, and repentantly entreated Moses for his prophetical interposition. Then Moses by divine command fixed a serpent of brass upon an elevated banner, that, gazing on it, those who were bitten might be healed; and this actually occurred. The obvious meaning of this story is certainly not that Moses set up the image of the serpent as an object of adoration; it was obviously only a sign that, as by the command of Jahveh this serpent was waved on high, bound and harmless, so every one that looked upon it with faith in the redeeming power of Jahveh would

after ch. xiv. even at the time of the composition of Deuteronomy; because Deut. i. 20–44 is a repetition from Num. xiii, xiv, and consequently the author, in order to write ver. 45, must have found after Num. xiv. something of similar import to Num. xi. 1–3.

[1] By the consuming fire of Jahveh (Num. xi. 1–3), nothing else can be meant by the Book of Origins, but sacred fire derived from the altar (compare Lev. x. 2, and ix. 24; Num. xvi. 35 and xvii. 2 [xvi. 37]); in accordance with the belief that the sacred fire can suddenly burst its bounds to the destruction of evil; though Job speaks differently in i. 16.

[2] Again in the passage Num. xiii, xiv. the truly prophetical description in xiv. 11–25, which exhibits great affinity to the narrative in Ex. xxxii–xxxiv, but in its present position is only an elegant paraphrase of verses 26–36 (as can be proved from the diction), is inserted here by the Fourth and Last Narrators. From ver. 26 the last author has only here and there added a word or two according to his usual custom, viz. חי אני ver. 28 (compare ver. 21), נאם יהוה ibid. (on which see p. 164), and in ver. 31 the clause containing מאס, because this verb is quite foreign to the Book of Origins, although excessively common in other, especially rather later, books, and in other passages demanding attention here, occurs only in Num. xi. 20, and several times in the long prophetical interpolation Lev. xxvi; finally the word זנות in ver. 33, appears quite foreign to the Book of Origins in this sense of 'Unfaithfulness' in general, in which it is first used in Hosea; although the corresponding verb does occur thus early of idolatry, but yet only in phrases of considerable fulness, as Lev. xvii. 7, xx. 5, 6.

[3] Num. xxi. 4–9; and compare the important fact mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. 4.

be preserved from evil. It was therefore a symbolic sign, like that of St. George and the Dragon among ourselves, or the serpent itself among the heathen. As that creature, by nature the most noxious, and yet supposed capable of being tamed (p. 63), became the image of remediable bodily ill, and consequently the symbol of Æsculapius, so here we have something of the same import, but with an element of reality and practical necessity, since that desert has from the earliest times abounded in venomous serpents which conceal themselves in the sand.[1] Such a symbol may in itself be quite innocent, and certainly was so at first under Moses; and we may hence justly conclude, that, as before remarked, Moses neither forbade nor despised the use of images as the symbols of higher truths (p. 110). Still it is to be regretted that the despairing people could not dispense with such an external support for their faith; for though, so long as a great prophet like Moses kept alive the significance of the symbol, no great misuse could be made of it, yet it is not surprising that afterwards a kind of superstition and idolatry was actually connected with it.[2]

2) An infatuated jealousy even of Moses himself rose up repeatedly and from very various quarters; on this we possess ancient and in part very distinct traditions. But the influence of Moses constantly advanced in despite of all such petty jealousies and intrigues, and posterity soon could regard him only as the noble and divinely protected leader, whom to injure was a double wrong. Accordingly even the Book of Origins regards these particular relapses with an especially severe eye, and gives peculiarly animated descriptions of their Divine punishments, scattered traditions of which may have been long retained in the memory. Even his sister Miriam with Aaron, according to the Book of Origins, at one time envied his higher prophetical gifts, and strove to obtain the government; but for this Jahveh in his displeasure punished her with leprosy. Although delivered from this through the magnanimous entreaty of the very leader whom she had repudiated, she could not possibly be regarded as having committed no wrong, and be immediately received again into the community.[3] This is

[1] Strabo xvii. 1. 21 (and compare Ælian's *Hist. Anim.* xvii. 3), as well as Istachri in his *Geog. Arab.* p. 30 Möll., say that such serpents were very common in the desert between Pelusium and Heroopolis; and modern travellers, as Burckhardt (p. 814, 818) and J. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, i. 329, ii. 738), affirm the same also of the surrounding deserts. On the signification of such images among the heathen see Gerhardt *Ueber Agathodämon*, in the *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, for 1847, p. 473.

[2] Which was first forcibly extirpated by king Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 4.

[3] Num. xii. It is to be regretted that this passage, the contents of which are extremely curious, is not preserved to us in

clearly a beautiful combination of two traditions which may have been long in circulation respecting the inspired sister of the Prophet, the one claiming for her such prophetical gifts as even to rival those of Moses, and the other relating that even she, the sister of Moses, had once suffered from leprosy.

Later, when such dissensions in the house of Moses himself appeared to be silenced for ever, there arose from without, according to the Book of Origins,[1] a much more dangerous discontent, which broke out even into open mutiny. The cause of the insurrection of Korah, of the tribe of Levi, and of the elders Dathan, Abiram, and On, of the tribe of Reuben, with their 250 followers, appears very clearly to have been a low jealousy of the prophetical supremacy of Moses and of the priestly power of Aaron, founded upon an overstrained interpretation of the nature of the community as just then set forth by Moses; implying that from the newly promulgated idea that the Community was to be holy and the seat of Jahveh, it followed that the individual was already holy and perfect, and consequently had no need of any earthly guidance, priestly or other.[2] Undoubtedly every age which like the Mosaic first brings strongly to light the highest truths respecting the idea of the Community, must contain also within its bosom a multitude of misunderstandings and excesses, false imitations and vain pretensions, as the histories of the first ages of Christianity and of Islam abundantly teach us. The occurrence of a mutiny based upon

its integrity. To judge by its conclusion in ver. 14 sqq., it must be from the Book of Origins; but even the word רק, used in ver. 2 in addition to אך, points to a recasting of the passage by the Third Narrator; and, to judge by similar instances occurring elsewhere, the noble passage in vv. 6–8, which speaks of Moses as standing far higher than ordinary Prophets, is inserted only by the Third Narrator in place of other words which the Book of Origins may have used, and is besides preserved in our present text very incorrectly; in ver. 6 יהוה should probably be put after ויאמר, and נביא מכם be read; and in ver. 8 לא מראה and תמנת should be read without ו; so that the whole passage would be as follows: 'And Jahveh said: Hear now my words: If any one of you be a prophet, I make myself known to him in a vision, I speak with him in a dream; but not so is my servant (i.e. the steward of my house) Moses, but he is accredited in my whole household, mouth to mouth do I speak with him without vision, and not in mysteries does he behold the very form of Jahveh.' Ver. 1, with which (according to p. 140, note 3) I connect ver. 3, must have been borrowed by the Latest Narrator, not from the Book of Origins, but from the Earliest Narrator, for the reason that the jealousy of prophetic endowments expressed in ver. 2 bears no intrinsic resemblance to the vanity of noble birth and to the consequent reproach attaching in ver. 1 to a matrimonial connection with an ignoble (black or Ethiopic) race. This woman herself must certainly—such is the spirit of the story—be regarded as passing for a concubine taken by Moses after the death of his first wife, as Abraham did, Gen. xxv. 1.

[1] From which ch. xvi. and xvii. of Num. are derived; in xvi. 1 read ויקהל as in vv. 3, 11, 19. xvii. 7 [xvi. 42], xx. 2, Ex. xxxii. 1, for ויקח; in xvi. 18, 19 the division of the verse is wrong. The omission of the Levite in Deut. xi. 6 is perhaps due to the fact that the Deuteronomist never likes to touch on matters discreditable to that tribe.

[2] Num. xvi. 3, 13, compared with Ex. xix. 6.

views so strange might even be adduced as a fresh proof (if such be needed after what was said above, p. 77 sqq.) that these exalted views respecting the nature of the community were at that time vividly felt and widely spread. The fact that from the tribe of Reuben three elders rose up in jealousy against the new power of Levi, although themselves obliged to seek a Levite as their confederate, agrees very well with the earliest history of the twelve tribes.[1] But certainly there is nothing intrinsically more dangerous and reprehensible than the employment of such exalted truths for selfish ends, and the abuse of such freedom as a cloak for personal ambition, lawlessness, and dissolution of all order, as if the holiest things given to man could be trifled with with impunity. Against those who thus seek to use holy truths and blessings merely as a means of universal corruption, the Holy itself turns round and becomes their instantaneous destruction. The story of Korah and Moses is here exactly what that of Ananias and Peter is in the Apostolic history. How the insurrection was put down in strict history, is a riddle which is scarcely to be satisfactorily solved by the aid of the only existing narrative, that of the Book of Origins.[2] In this account nothing is distinctly expressed but the clear consciousness of victory, and of the enduring greatness of the house of Aaron as the true priestly race, and a deep abhorrence of the proceeding, with a consequent belief that no punishment could be severe enough. And since attention had been thus long fastened exclusively on the Divine side of the event, the chief point of the story, here as elsewhere in the history of the words and deeds of Moses, is the image drawn of the true Popular Leader. Accordingly the historical traditions here preserved have taken the following forms:

a.) Moses did not at once proceed to punish the offenders: but with the dignity of a true Leader, while severely and justly calling them to account for their infatuation, he would not be judge in his own cause: let them as well as Aaron take their censers, i.e. assume priestly functions, and approach the sanc-

[1] See i. p. 373 sq.

[2] The death-stroke mentioned Num. xvii. 11–15 was possibly in the original tradition the destruction of the guilty portion of the people by the hand of the rest; at least something of this kind appears to follow from the story told by the same author in Num. xxv. 1–15, as well as from another clearer case in xiv. 36, 37; and it is quite conceivable that the guilty were put to death, either through a judicial sentence before the altar, or through a sudden outburst of rage on the part of the well-affected, and so were considered to have fallen under a Divine plague and punishment; in fact the Fourth Narrator gives this clearly to be understood in Ex. xxxii. 35 (comp. vv. 26–28). But the aim of our present Book of Origins clearly is to strip off as far as possible every human addition, and hold fast only the divine signification of such occurrences.

tuary of Jahveh, and see whether he would receive them graciously or no.[1]

b.) Nevertheless they persisted to extremities in their infatuation, and were implicating the entire people in their self-seeking agitation against Moses and Aaron, and now did not recoil even from the sanctuary itself. Now, therefore, that they were past hope, there descended upon them at last the miraculous punishment they had long deserved, which a prophet like Moses could foretell without drawing it down by his own will. The ringleaders were swallowed up by the earth, which could no longer bear such thankless children;[2] the remaining 250 were annihilated by the sacred fire of the altar.[3]

c.) When, a short time after, the people still murmured and thought Moses and Aaron to blame for the destruction of so many men 'of the people of Jahveh,' a plague was sent forth by God, to root out the last traces of this delusion, cutting off 14,700 victims; and its further ravages could only be stayed by Aaron's untiring exertions, accompanied by an acceptable offering. So certain is it that the offended superior power must itself forgive, and seek with trembling haste, to give the swiftest alleviation to the punishment decreed.[4]

d.) Through such incidents Aaron's rod, i.e. the rule of his house, was only the more firmly established; and, as if to afford a Divine proof of this among the twelve rods of the twelve tribes, which, as if for choice and decision, were laid up before Jahveh[5] in the sanctuary, only Aaron's bloomed afresh. It was then deposited there as a sceptre for ever; to become, alas! also a rod of punishment for future rebellions. The age of innocence is now gone; after these warnings the people henceforth cling trembling to the sanctuary.[6] Thus the author

[1] Num. xvi. 4–17.

[2] Although such images must have been originally derived from landslips, yet here the miracle alone is the real soul of the story, almost as in Is. v. 14. The Greek stories of Amphiaraus and of Trophonius are analogous; see Pausanias *Perieg.* ix. 37. 3.

[3] Num. xvi. 18–xvii. 5 [xvi. 40]; and compare xxvi. 9–11. According to the Book of Origins, therefore, only the three (or four) ringleaders were swallowed up, even Korah's children being spared; which is probably to be imagined as happening thus, that the three standing with their censers close to the sanctuary, at the head of the 250, raised their presumptuous hands against it, and were instantly thrown down, while at the same time the 250 were destroyed by the sacred fire of the altar, as in Lev. x. 2. But the Fourth Narrator, conceiving the ringleaders as being suddenly swallowed up with all their families and possessions, laid all the stress upon this point, and consequently placed the execution of the sentence in the neighbourhood of their tents; as if Moses had previously warned all others to depart from the neighbourhood of these tents. Hence it comes that in xvi. 23–33, instead of the words of the Book of Origins, we now have those taken from this later work inserted.

[4] Num. xvii. 6–15 [xvi. 41–50].

[5] By a species of soothsaying; see my *Alterthümer* p. 299.

[6] Num. xvii. 16–28 [1–13].

of the Book of Origins explains the rise of the priestly power, which in his own day was in full bloom.

3) It is noteworthy that a relapse into the worship of strange gods, which as a denial of all the truths already existing in the community would involve not less guilt than the crime just described, is not mentioned in the Book of Origins until towards the close of the long wanderings in the desert and of the life of Moses, when many of the people, at an impure festival of the Midianite god at Mount Peor, allowed themselves to be drawn into a participation in the licentious sacrifices there offered. But this immorality at once aroused such indignation among the better portion of the community, that according to the account in the Book of Origins 24,000[1] of the guilty fell as if smitten by a Divine stroke. And this work of avenging anger continued until the young and vigorous priest Phinehas, grandson of Aaron, at the same time brought it to a climax and ended it. For, while this dreadful punishment was raging, an Israelite of considerable rank appeared before his grieving brethren, in the company of a heathen woman, also of high rank but of dissolute manners. Phinehas quickly seized a spear, chased him to his tent, his chamber, and his bed, and ran them both through; thereby, as it were, forcibly attacking and destroying at once the seat and the cause of this licentiousness.[2] I attach importance, as I have already stated, to the fact that the Book of Origins places this relapse at the close of the life of Moses, because the worshipping of other gods must have been one of the last crimes[3] into which the people were likely to fall, both from the general spirit of early antiquity, and still more from the vigorous life into which the religion of Jahveh had grown up among them. And it agrees well with this view, that (according

[1] In 1 Cor. x. 8, the Apostle makes the number 23,000, apparently only from a slight slip of the pen.

[2] Num. xxv. 3–18; vv. 1 and 2 are derived in the extant narrative not from the Book of Origins, but from the hand of the Fifth Narrator, who (as will be presently explained) confounded the two nations Midian and Moab. If the original commencement of the story has been altered, then it is easier to explain how in ver. 6 the definite expression את המדינית can be used instead of the indefinite, which was to be expected there; we should otherwise have to suppose that 'the Midianitess' is used simply in a contemptuous sense, as equivalent to 'the heatheness, the unchaste;' but in the present form of the narrative, the Midianites are brought in we know not why. For the rest, we can even now conjecture from xxxi. 16 (and compare ver. 8), what may in the Book of Origins have been the original commencement, now cut off: apparently the chief aim of the Last Narrator in changing this commencement was to omit all mention of Balaam as the seducer of Israel, seeing that after the events related in Num. xxii–xxiv. he could not believe anything so adverse to the Israelites of him.

[3] For the 'murmuring against Jahveh,' mentioned often besides in the Book of Origins, Num. xi–xvii, indicates only discontent with the oracle and the fate appointed by it, principally therefore discontent with Moses; from which point to the falling away to another God is a long step.

to the narrative itself) the worship of Baal-Peor at that time was after all neither general (for Moses punished the guilty not personally, but by means of the Elders), nor based upon anything deeper than a sudden allurement rather to unchastity than to any deliberate revolt from Jahveh.[1]

The Fourth Narrator speaks very differently. His tendency being to shift all the possible events of a period as far as possible towards the commencement of it,[2] he transfers to the very beginning of the residence at Sinai a relapse of the whole people into idolatry and licentiousness, which is almost without parallel in its inexcusableness. For we should neither expect from the people, that, after they had had such deep experience of the glory of the invisible God, they would at once during the first forty days fall away so generally from that state of exaltation; nor from Aaron, that he, without any very obvious reason, and certainly without offering any serious opposition would yield at once to the demands of the people. But clear as it becomes upon closer investigation that the Narrator incorporated many older fragments[3] into his account, it is equally certain that there is no other genuine historical ground for this narrative, than the fact that during the first centuries after

[1] But it is as impossible to deny the guilt of these relapses, as that Hosea, who some centuries after the composition of the Book of Origins alludes to this story (ix. 10, and compare xi. 2), had a right, in connection with his denunciations, to employ this event of ancient history as an example of his proposition, how quickly and readily the people turned from Jahveh to Baal-Peor, from truth and salvation to destruction; for how short, after the lapse of centuries, would the entire period passed in the desert appear! But it *is* remarkable that Hosea does not refer to Ex. xxxii–xxxiv. Later writers certainly do attach some importance to the fact that the Israelites had been faithless to their God in Egypt, and so could the more readily commit the same offence again under Moses, Josh. xxiv. 14, Ezek. xx. 8; but these are only very general reflections.

[2] That is, in the passage Ex. xxix. 12–18, xxxi. 18–xxxiv; for upon reflection no doubt can be entertained but that this entire narrative was continuous, and derived from the Third and Fourth Narrators. The long intermediate section taken from the Book of Origins, Ex. xxv–xxxi. 17, must be regarded as having been intentionally placed here by the Last Narrator, as if to fill up the space of the forty sacred days which Moses passed on the Mount; as indeed is intimated in xxxi. 18. When we try to separate accurately the portions due to the Third and to the Fourth Narrator, which the Last Compiler has fused into one, we find that xxiv. 12–18, xxxi. 18, xxxiv. 29–35, xxxiii. 7–11 are from the Third Narrator, and ought to stand in the above order, xxxiii. 7–11 especially coming after xxxiv. 35.

[3] Besides the genuine Mosaic words in xxxiv. 6, 7 (mentioned before p. 121 sq.) many more scattered words and sentences point to an ancient poem which must have lain before the narrator. Purely poetical are the two words לשמצה בקמיהם *to the whispering*, i.e. to the malicious joy *of their adversaries*; and the connection in which they are found in xxxii. 25 does not lead us to expect common prose. Further, in the feeling dialogue between Joshua and Moses in xxxii. 17, 18, on the tumultuous sounds in the distant camp, in which Moses (who always hears more clearly than even a Joshua) from a distance catches the exact words used more distinctly than Joshua, many peculiar words occur; and his answer is quite poetical:—

'No loud shout of victors,
And no loud answer of the conquered,
But loud singing do I hear!'

See also *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 26 sqq

Moses, Jahveh was actually often worshipped by the people under the form of a bull,[1] and even with the assistance of priests of Aaron's race. Since Aaron was regarded as the type of the priesthood generally, and since earlier traditions[2] relate that he did not always agree with Moses, who was the higher spirit, the new idea might easily arise at the time of the Fourth Narrator, that once during Moses' absence Aaron himself at Sinai had actually given way to the demands of the people, and set up a calf as the image of Jahveh. But the point, as also the beauty of the story as we possess it, lies not so much in this as in the manner in which Moses is represented as taking up and treating such a case. At a folly thus possessing men in the highest position, a true Leader, as a man, would naturally burst into the utmost indignation, and act with all his power and decision for the destruction of the evil; but in his higher or Divine character he would labour still more zealously and unweariedly to prevent its extending further, since every depravity of this kind, if the opposing influence of good be not still more powerful, must draw upon itself a boundless and ever deepening ruin, or (to speak as from above) God's unbounded wrath. On the truth of these two ideas rests the whole story in its present form, especially as developed in the sublime dialogues between Jahveh and Moses, the highest conceivable man. Moses is summoned to the top of Sinai to receive the two stone tables with the Ten Commandments and other sacred books of the Law;[3] but while he, believing that everything is well arranged below, ascends into that mysterious sanctuary, remains there for forty sacred days,[4] and receives the tables;[5] on the earth beneath an insurrection breaks out, sanctioned even by Aaron.[6]

[1] Or a calf, because the image was commonly made smaller. In modern times this has generally been regarded as an imitation of the Egyptian worship of animals, and as either the Apis of Memphis or the Mnevis of Heliopolis (which latter, according to p. 82 sq., were the more probable); besides which Athôr (Venus) was worshipped by the Egyptians in the form of a cow. But this, which even Philo (*Life of Moses*, iii. 19, 20, 37) thought possible, cannot be, because actual *worship* of animals is peculiar to the Egyptians, from whose yoke the Israelites had just been delivered; and the idea is expressly excluded by the designation of this God as the deliverer of Israel from Egypt, Ex. xxxii. 4, 8; 1 Kings xii. 28. We may, therefore, more correctly suppose that it was the ancient symbol of the Hyksôs, which the Israelites, having stepped into their shoes as the enemies of Egypt, could now adopt, especially as it may have been retained in use among their confederates the Midianites. The bull was the ancient banner of Ephraim, as is seen clearly in the words of blessing in Deut. xxxiii. 17, which have a special bearing on this subject. So also the lion was the ancient banner of Judah, and the wolf that of Benjamin (Gen. xlix. 9, 27).

[2] As in Num. xii. 1.

[3] Ex. xxiv. 12, 13.

[4] The 40 days of Ex. xxiv. 18 are also (from Deut. ix. 9—x. 10), different from those named in xxxiv. 28; certain as it is that at the time of these writers a period of 40 days must have long become a proverbial expression.

[5] Ex. xxiv. 14–18, xxxi. 18.

[6] Ex. xxxii. 1–6.

But this is at once observed by the All-seeing eye above, and Moses with difficulty restrains the immediate outburst of the Divine anger, which would instantly destroy the thankless people, raise him as the sole guiltless one and put him in their place.[1] But as he descends from the mountain the actual sight of the evil overpowers the hero, who was after all but man, more completely than he had anticipated, so that in his anger he throws from him and breaks the sacred tables of stone; for what can these written laws now avail, after the people have trampled their contents under foot? In his uncontrollable religious zeal he then, to the horror of all, breaks in pieces the idol, silences Aaron, and by means of the Levites, who are easily incited to the task, brings to reflection, by a Bloody Assize, many who seem to be growing hopelessly demoralised.[2] But these penalties and executions do not kill off the evil principle now roused into life, nor appease the wrath of Jahveh. The sublimest part of the account is that which describes how the human hero with inflexible courage strives against the Divine wrath, at the sacrifice of all personal fame and advantage; and how on the successful issue of this contest he attained the noblest reward of victory—for himself the blessedness of penetrating deeper into the unfathomable nature of Jahveh, and for the people the recovery of all his former favour. At his first entreaty he obtains only the assurance of Jahveh, that he will still cause the people to be led by Moses as far as Canaan; but will not himself go with them as their immediate Lord and protector, but only send an Angel before them.[3] But if so, Israel will be only like any other nation, none being without some kind of God as an Angel of the Highest. Moses therefore becomes still more urgent with him whose immediate presence is the only source of perfect aid, in favour of the people, who manifest a deeper and deeper repentance; and obtains a promise of the restoration of his own immediate guidance—the special privilege of a community relying not on images and mediators, but on Absolute Truth itself.[4] Then Moses, to confirm not only the restoration but even the increase of the grace of Jahveh, ventures on the last and boldest step of all, makes the nearest approach to the Unapproachable possible to mortal

[1] Ex. xxxii. 7, 11.

[2] Ex. xxxii. 15–29.

[3] An important deviation from the conception held by the Earliest Narrator, of the Angel as the people's guide. However, even this concession from above is only the result of a long negotiation, Ex. xxxii. 30–xxxiii. 3; but the position of ver. xxxii. 35 is certainly not original.

[4] Ex. xxxiii. 4–6, 12–17; the discourse of Jahveh in xxxiii. 14 cannot be taken otherwise than as interrogative: 'Must I myself go to procure thee rest (i.e. contentment)?' The necessity of this will be recognised as soon as the connection of the whole is clearly apprehended.

man, and in that holy presence earnestly repeats only his petition for the people.[1] Jahveh, now at last entirely reconciled, solemnly renews the broken covenant, restores the shattered tables of stone, and confirms afresh the holy laws.[2] A glorious picture, perfect in its kind and full of eternal truth, if only it be not treated as dry historical fact!

It is a constant truth, exemplified here very soon in numerous cases, that many such backslidings of the people must seriously relax the firmness of the laws originally so simple, and render severer and more numerous ones necessary.[3] And they might also at last paralyse and overcome their leader. Since Moses himself can be regarded only as the great and unique originator, not as the completer of this new direction of human life, the Book of Origins very appropriately relates how even he together with Aaron once fell from the pure height at which the community should for ever rest, and thus lost the untroubled Divine favour. It was indeed only a momentary despondency respecting the higher ends of life, excited by repeated acts of insubordination on the part of the people, who were always relapsing into their old want of faith. But, however caused, the least lapse, which in another would have been readily forgiven, could by no means be passed over in a leader so exalted; and we see the great dangers into which continual disturbances and perplexities from beneath might hurl this noble spirit, who was watching constantly over the good of all (see p. 114).

2. *Survey and Chronology of the Wanderings.*

But these relapses of the people have also another result, over which we as historical inquirers must mourn. They early obscured the Israelite's own historical knowledge of the long period of the wanderings, and thus left a gap in the reminiscences of later writers which our most careful investigations can now never wholly fill up. The cowardice of the people (mentioned above, p. 175), which was manifested as they stood on the southern boundary of Canaan, the consequent severe defeat, and the open insurrection which apparently fell not

[1] Ex. xxxiii. 18–xxxiv. 9: in ver. 9 read נְחִיתָנוּ instead of נְחַלְתָּ.

[2] Ex. xxxiv. 10–28; the two tables of stone alluded to in ver. 28 are (according to xxxii. 19, xxxiv. 1, 4 and the sense of the whole passage) undoubtedly not those containing the original Ten Commandments, but those which contained the words of the covenant as repeated in vv. 10–26; see above, p. 168. But something must have fallen out after xxxiii. 6.

[3] Consider the real meaning of the end of the stories in Num. xvi, xvii, and Ex. xxxii–xxxiv.

much later (p. 178 sq.), were disasters that must have cast the people down again from their scarcely secured moral elevation, and sunk them for a long period in dangerous commotions and dissolution. But times of continued misfortune and deep humiliation soon appear in the recollection of a nation only as obscure spaces, containing neither progress nor change; and what we have already seen to have been the case with respect to many centuries of the residence of the people in Egypt, holds good here also on the smaller scale of some tens of years.

When the people were already established in Canaan, and looked back upon the long period of their wanderings in the desert after their Exodus, undoubtedly the view became fixed among them that the time passed in the desert had been forty years—a round number, the early adoption of which may be inferred from the Book of Origins.[1] But when its author sought to assign to the several still remembered events of this long period their proper dates—their years, months, and days, we see at once how difficult it was even then to effect this in any historical sense. For while the entire middle of these forty years remained a completely blank space, of which nothing further is said than that the generation which came up from Egypt had to die in the desert for its backslidings, in order to make room for a better,[2] all those events which could not belong to the close of the wanderings were placed in the first two years, and all the remainder in the last year of the forty. Within these three years, which are not even quite filled up, the exact month and day are occasionally defined. The following instances, however, comprise the whole of these specifications. In the first year: the fifteenth day (i.e. the middle) of the second month;[3] the day of the third month (i.e. the day of the new moon, or first day of the month).[4] In the second year: New Year's day, for the setting up of the sacred Tabernacle,[5] the first day of the second month,[6] and the twentieth of the same.[7] In the third year: New-Year's day.[8] In the fortieth, the first day of the fifth month.[9] It requires no long reflection to perceive how vague and indefinite after all are even these isolated data, to say nothing either of the forty days' journey of the spies, which corresponds to the forty years of the

[1] With which agree some passages of the older prophets, as Amos, ii. 10, v. 25. The early Arabs also used the number 40 for a long and dismal period, as for instance their two greatest wars before Mohammed, those of Dâchis and of Basûs, each of which was said to have lasted 40 years.

[2] Num. xiv. 20–35.

[3] Ex. xvi. 1.

[4] Ex. xix. 1.

[5] Ex. xl. 2, 17, and Num. ix. 1.

[6] Num. i. 1.

[7] Num. x. 11.

[8] Num. xx. 1.

[9] Num. xxxiii. 38.

whole period[1] in the Book of Origins, or of the forty days assigned by later narrators to the abode of Moses upon Sinai (p. 183).

While it is from this cause difficult for us to form a connected history of the journeys and fortunes of the people in the desert, a fresh difficulty is presented by the fact, that the Latest Narrator can be clearly shown to have omitted many circumstances from the middle period of the forty years as described in the Book of Origins. At the very point where this narrator introduces for the second time many passages from the earliest record,[2] he must have made various omissions from the Book of Origins, unless we assume that these are due only to later copyists. For whoever is at all accurately acquainted with the style and method of the Book of Origins, the most beautiful as well as the grandest historical work of the ancient Hebrews, must confess that such a leap as that between Num. xx. 13 and xx. 14, where the narrative passes without preparation from the second or third year of the journeyings to the fortieth, cannot possibly be attributed to it. That a long desolate period would follow is indeed already indicated with tolerable clearness in the fourteenth chapter, but its actual entrance, and the transition to a new and better generation in the fortieth year, must necessarily have been related before xx. 14. To this must be added that the first words of chapter xx. appear quite disconnected; which is contrary to the usage of any historian who gives a connected narrative, and especially opposed to the detailed descriptive method of the Book of Origins: 'The children of Israel came in full congregation to the desert of Zin in the first month—and the people abode in Kadesh.' For as we cannot possibly understand this first month to belong to the second year, on account of Ex. xl. and Num. x, the reader has not the slightest clue as to which year the narrator intended. Indeed we might even think the fortieth year was meant, since the events following after xx. 14 obviously belong to that; especially the death of Miriam (mentioned xx. i.), since the death of Aaron, which is mentioned soon afterwards,[3] undoubtedly[4] falls in that year, and the Book of Origins always treats as typical this exalted family. But the general spirit of this book obliges us to consider the vehemence of the people in their craving for water, as well as the yet faltering faith of Moses and Aaron, to point not to the close but to the commencement of the forty years. The complaint uttered by the people in verses 3–5,

[1] Num. xiii. 25, xiv. 34.
[2] Between Num. xx. 14 and xxii.
[3] Num. xx. 22–29.
[4] According to Num. xxxiii. 38, 39.

takes us back to the same time. We cannot therefore doubt that this event ought to be assigned to the beginning of the third year. Thus the abruptness of the commencement of the history of the later period appears even more striking.

Through this mutilation of the narrative of the very book which certainly contained the fullest account of the whole forty years, every attempt now made to obtain a connected idea of that long period would fail, had we not, besides other accounts, two distinct auxiliaries, from which some light may be thrown upon the subject. The speaker in Deuteronomy gives a short but connected survey (chaps. i–iii.) of all the journeys and fortunes of the people of the desert from Sinai onwards: and since, judging from many indications (see above, p. 30), he employed for this purpose other authorities besides the written ones now extant, this survey, although short and written at a late period, is in some respects invaluable. Then we possess also the lists of encampments which have been already dwelt upon (pp. 21 sqq.); which, although consisting chiefly of dry names of places, yet, as being very ancient documents, should always be first consulted; and these bald names are of the greatest importance of all, where the other accounts either differ from them or leave a blank. Taking all these various authorities into full consideration together, the most likely view which we can obtain of the whole of this long period is the following.

1) Considering that Moses (according to pp. 67 sqq.) at first intended to lead the people by the very nearest way from Egypt north-east to Canaan (without touching Sinai), and only when compelled by unexpected obstacles abandoned this design in order first to establish at Sinai a new national organisation,[1] we need not be surprised if then, on the completion of this organisation at Sinai, he led them without further delay to the execution of his object. Now it is certain from the very words of the ancient exposition of the Fifth Commandment (p. 161), that this object was no other than the conquest of Canaan. Indeed all historical indications point to the fact, that Moses desired promptly to use the fresh enthusiasm and general exaltation of the period immediately following the deliverance and the giving of the law, for the attainment of the nearest earthly

[1] How necessary it then was on every account first to reorganise the people, is clear also (see p. 95 sq.) from the fact that Moses after the passage of the Red Sea did not take the straight road to the east, direct across the peninsula of Sinai towards Elah (though this route, recently described by Bartlett, was undoubtedly practicable also in those days), but first retreated southwards into the sacred fastnesses of Sinai.

object held out to his people. After the breaking up of the camp at Sinai, which according to the Book of Origins occurred in the second month of the second year, the Israelites, guided by Jethro and his Kenites, who were acquainted with the desert (pp. 44 sqq.), advanced exactly as if they were to force their way immediately into Canaan. The Tabernacle was brought by several stages[1] from the desert near Sinai into the desert of Paran.[2] The name 'Desert of Paran,' as used in the Book of Origins, is very general, denoting, like the present name *el-Tih*[3] (desolate), nothing more definite than the great desert to the north of the Jebel el-Tih—the mountain chain which rises higher towards the south, and culminates in Sinai, forming the southern half of the peninsula enclosed by the Red Sea.[4] And as this desert, intersected by some lower ranges, extends to the southern boundary of Judea, it was quite the natural order of things that Moses,[5] if he was preparing for an immediate incursion into Canaan from the south, should at once send out from thence his twelve spies to gain information on the routes and the inhabitants of the country to be conquered; as in similar cases when a hostile country is to be immediately entered.[6]

But the story already considered (pp. 175 sq.), with all its brevity on secular affairs, still allows the fact to peep through, that this second attempt of Moses to enter the Promised Land as soon as possible, was miserably frustrated through the guilt of the people. Just when the fruits of these wearisome journeyings were to be gathered, cowardly despondency first, and then an overthrow consequent on all ill-considered advance, threw the attacking party far back from the goal which seemed already within reach (see above, pp. 175 sq.). The Israelites

[1] Num. x. 12.

[2] Which are inserted in xi. 34,"35, xii. 16; compare xxxiii. 16–18.

[3] I.e. תֹּהוּ *desert, wilderness,* out of which was formed the Arabic التيه; see Sur. v. 29. This more general use of the name is found also in Deut. i. 1; but originally Paran must have been one distinct spot on the eastern border of the Great Desert, as appears especially from Gen. xiv. 6, 1 Kings xi. 18. The Valley of Feiran فيران to the north-west of Sinai (mentioned p. 99), although identified with this Paran as early as the time of the Fathers of the Church (on account of such passages as Deut. xxxiii. 2, Hab. iii. 3), undoubtedly was originally a very different locality; but we may well compare the Maranites in Strabo, xvi. 4. 18, and Pharnitis in the *Geography* of Moses Choren. p. 362.

[4] See especially the large map of Arabia Petræa which appeared in Paris 1834, as a supplement to the previously published Journey of Vicomte Léon de la Borde; and Berghaus's large map of Palestine, Gotha 1835. To these are now added the great map of the Peninsula of Sinai given by Robinson in his *Travels*, and C. Zimmermann's *Atlas of Palestine and the Peninsula of Sinai*, sheets 7–15 (Berlin, 1850). The newer maps, Vandervelde's (1855) and Robinson's (to his Later Researches) here contribute nothing new.

[5] Num. xiii, xiv.

[6] See similar cases in Num. xxi. 32, Josh. ii. 1–iii. 1, vii. 2–4.

were driven back by the Amalekites and Canaanites as far as Hormah,[1] a city which is at least known [2] to have been situated in the extreme south of Judah; from which we can infer how far the army must have penetrated northwards. We possess however, as it seems, a second and really more distinct tradition of this overthrow, in a passage which now stands quite isolated, but which was certainly derived from the Earliest Narrator.[3] In this account the Canaanitish King of Arad, a city [4] which lay not far from Hormah on the northern edge of the Desert of Judah, attacked the Israelites, and took some prisoners, as soon as he heard that they were advancing by the way of the 'Atharim,' which, though as yet obscure to us, is undoubtedly the true historical name for the direct way from Sinai to Judea. But when it is said (vv. 2, 3) that Israel then smote the Canaanites in return in the same district, and in accordance with a vow devoted them and their cities, i.e. devoted them to destruction (for which reason the place had the name of Hormah, *the devoted*), we must not thence infer that this requital followed immediately upon the defeat, since we find elsewhere [5] that a fierce contest raged at a later time between the Canaanites and the Hebrews for this very southern border-city, formerly called Zephath.

For this much is quite clear, that the frustration of this second attempt to push into the mountains of Judea from the south not only drove back the people for a long period from the visible goal of their wanderings, but what was much worse, dethroned them from the new and scarcely-secured elevation of their spiritual life; and that a long dark interval ensued, to which later ages gladly closed their eyes. The Book of Origins connects the threat of a forty years' sojourn in the desert directly with the insubordination which broke out there; and such open insurrections against Moses and Aaron as that of Korah, and others hinted at in the traditions preserved from that age (see

[1] Num. xiv. 45.

[2] From Josh. xii. 14, xix. 4.

[3] Num. xxi. 1–3.

[4] According to Josh. xii. 14; Judges i. 16. The site of this place has been found by Robinson (*Bibl. Res.* 2d ed. ii. p. 101) in Tell 'Arâd (where however no ruins are now seen), yet during the Middle Ages it was well known; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires de la Terre-Sainte* (Brussels, 1847), p. 244.

[5] Judges i. 16, 17. As Hormah, therefore, in Josh. xv. 30 was only the Israelitish name, it is conceivable that in الصفاة and its diminutive الصفي, names of places to the south of Tell 'Arâd, a trace of the old name of the city has been retained, as Robinson conjectures (*Bibl. Res.* 2d ed. ii. p. 101, 201); but these names, which are moreover not very uncommon in those parts, now denote merely narrow defiles, and we are as yet too little instructed in the topographical details of this region to hazard an opinion. Rowlands (in G. Williams's *Holy City*, p. 488) thinks he has found Sepâta much farther to the south.

pp. 178 sqq.), must surely have followed not long after the external misfortunes; since all history teaches how ready are all the reserved elements of internal discontent to burst forth after a disastrous campaign. The people could go neither forwards into the promised land of Canaan nor back again into Egypt; the thread of their secular efforts was broken; and history throws a veil over the sorrowful remembrance of a long period of humiliation which followed the surprising elevation only just attained. Therefore it is said elsewhere [1] that 'the people abode in Kadesh many days which could not be counted,' thus not giving in that passage their exact number.

In general, the fortunes of the people during those many years undoubtedly took very much the form presented in the Book of Origins. But if with the account of the wanderings given there we compare the ancient list of the encampments given in Num. xxxiii, which was indeed its own authority (see pp. 21 sqq.), we see that here the Book of Origins must have shortened and contracted much of the original history; as indeed has already been noticed, pp. 21 sqq. The task therefore which remains for us—to restore the whole as far as possible to its original clearness, by the help of this detailed list of encampments—is one of especial difficulty, because though the direct way from Egypt to Sinai has been very often described in modern times, the remaining parts of the peninsula have not yet been sufficiently explored in all directions by well-informed Europeans.[2]

The two first encampments on leaving Sinai are in the passages quoted above (p. 189) Kibroth-hattaavah (*Graves of Desire*) and Hazeroth (*Courts*): this last encampment[3] recent travellers subsequent to Burckhardt have traced not without probability in a place possessing a well, called El-'Hudherah, which lies to the north-east of Sinai.[4] Though it might appear from

[1] Deut. i. 46.

[2] I still let this remark stand, although since it was written many recent travellers, as J. Rowlands, J. Wilson, &c., have travelled through those parts; still the chief part remains to be done, especially so far as accuracy is concerned. The latest journey, also, described in the *Ausland* for 1851, p. 359, gives us nothing instructive on this point. Since 1856 however the great work by Lottin de Laval, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique et l'Égypte moyenne*, has been published, on which see *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 140, ix. p. 123 sq.

[3] In the pronunciation adopted by the LXX. Ασηρώθ repeated about the second century before Christ by Demetrius, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Eus. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 29. The plain of the same name farther to the west, which J. Wilson (*The Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 256–260) says he has discovered, and which he prefers, would in any case only be named from the well.

[4] On the other hand, I cannot with Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. p. 89) and Raumer (*Beiträge zur biblischen Geographie*, 1843, p. 6) see in Di-zahab, which is mentioned in Deut. i. 1 after Hazeroth, the Dahab which lies on the sea-coast directly to the east of Sinai; because in Deut. i. 1 a district in which Moses was speaking in the fortieth year, north of the Arnon, is evidently meant; and if Sûph be the same as Supha in Num. xxi. 14, then it is a question whether in agreement with this pas-

this that the march, having been first directed towards the north-east, must have so continued as far as Elah, the seaport at the northern extremity of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, especially as that would be a very slight deviation from the direct road to Canaan; yet we find in the names of the following encampments no proof of this. We meet next[1] with twelve encampments which are mentioned nowhere else in stories of these wanderings. As these are here left without explanation, and comprise not a single name well known from other sources, it is very difficult to determine their position.[2] Since, however, according to the foregoing views we must at all events look for the directest road to Canaan, the first place, Rithmah, appears to coincide with the present Wâdi Abu-Retemât, which name is only a modern Arabic form of one signifying 'shrubbery.' This place lies south of El-'Augeh (or El-Abde), and has plentiful wells in its neighbourhood.[3] It is situated, indeed, at a considerable distance towards the north; but this need create no difficulty, since smaller resting-places between the previous encampment and this may have been passed over. Among the following eleven names there are according to all appearance several which are elsewhere reckoned as belonging to the most southern part of Judah: Rimmon-parez, v. 19;[4] Libnah, or according to the pronunciation of the Septuagint, Lebôna, v. 20;[5] Hashmonah, v. 29;[6] possibly also Rissah, v. 21.[7] It results from this then, that the Israelites had already advanced a considerable distance into the mountains of the south of Judah; and we need have no further doubts on this point, because even the Book of Origins mentions that they had been driven back as far as Hormah in the extreme south of Judah;[8] which

sage we ought not to read והב for זהב, or (according to the Septuagint) the latter in both places; Hazeroth may be another place of that name.

[1] Num. xxxiii. 18–29.

[2] The names themselves appear to have been in general pretty faithfully preserved, since most of the variations in the Septuagint concern only the pronunciation of the vowels; Σελμωνά in ver. 29 is probably taken from ver. 41; but in ver. 26 Καταάθ guides us to the reading קחתה for תחת.

[3] Robinson was there (*Biblical Researches*, i. p. 192–194), but he did not think of the Biblical Rithmah (LXX. Ῥαθαμᾶ), because he views the entire wandering of the Israelites differently; but De la Borde had already referred to this place. It is true, places named from the desert-shrub Rithmah are not infrequent in those parts at the present day.

[4] Rimmon, assigned to the tribe of Simeon, lay to the south of Judah: Josh. xv. 32 (compare xix. 7), Zech. xiv. 10; the Ῥεμμοῦς in the Daróma, in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius; the epithet Parez, too, guides us (according to i. p. 365 sq.) to Judah; while Rimmon, obviously derived from the god of that name, worshipped from the earliest ages in Canaan, occurs very frequently as the name of a place.

[5] The Libnah mentioned in Josh. xii. 15 evidently lies in the south of Judah, to the north of Arad.

[6] Compare this with Heshmon in Josh. xv. 27.

[7] If Ῥῆσσα is the correct reading in Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 13. 9, xiv. 15. 2; *Bell. Jud.* i. 13. 8.

[8] Num. xiv. 45, and compare Deut. i. 44; the latter passage shows that in

implies that they had previously advanced much further than Hormah.

2) Thus repulsed, the Israelites may then first have sought a refuge on the north-western frontier of their kindred, the Edomites, in Kadesh, a place which emerges from the darkness of those times as especially important, and where evidently the community of Israel had their central station during a very long period. As the name Kadesh itself declares, and the remaining extant traces of its history teach, this place long before Moses was a sanctuary upon an oasis in the desert, in whose still solitude an oracle had its seat. As from Egypt pilgrimages were made to the near oracle of Ammon in the desert, so from Edom and other adjacent districts many oracle-seekers in the most ancient times undoubtedly came to Kadesh.[1] Around this sanctuary had long gathered a considerable city,[2] which with its surrounding territory appears then to have belonged to the Amalekites (pp. 43 sq., 100). From these Israel took it by several victorious combats. The exact position of this old sacred spot has not in modern times been discovered with certainty, indeed its sanctuary seems to have been already destroyed not long after David.[3] But it is more definitely described as being not in the desert of Paran, but in that of Zin,

the seventh century this extreme southern region belonged to Edom.

[1] The oldest name of this place was therefore the 'Well of Decision,' i.e. of the 'Oracle,' Gen. xiv. 7; where the word משפט stands in the same sense as above, p. 96.

[2] Num. xx. 16.

[3] This place seems to have retained its importance till the time of David (Ps. xxix. 8), though called by the Deuteronomist (Deut. i. 2 and Josh. x. 41), and sometimes in the Book of Origins, though only towards the end (Num. xxxii. 8, xxxiv. 4, Josh. xv. 3, and here possibly by a later addition), by another name—Kadesh Barnea. This can only be explained by supposing that a neighbouring place called Barnea had become of greater importance, so that Kadesh took its name as a distinctive epithet. But Barnea itself must have soon disappeared; for the Targums, Saadia, and the *Chron. Samar.* xxii, instead of Kadesh give *Rakim*, whose position indeed is not accurately defined in *Istachri*, p. 35 Möll., in the *Lex. geogr.* i. p. 479, and in *Abulfeda*, but which even Josephus in the *Antiquities*, iv. 4. 7, 7. 1, regarded as identical with Petra. Robinson believes he has found the site of Kadesh in 'Ain el Weibeh, and builds a great deal upon this identification (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 173–176); but his reasons are quite general, and might equally well apply to another spot; moreover el Weibeh appears to me to lie too far to the south. And in fact J. Rowlands, with the assent of J. Wilson and G. Williams, tries to find Kadesh much further to the west, not far from the Wâdi 'Arîsh, which pours its waters into the Mediterranean, and lies to the north-east of the Jebel el-Halâl,—this place being still called *Qudaes* by the desert tribes living there (see Rowlands's *Holy City*, pp. 487–492, ed. 1); but Count Bertou (in the *Bulletin de la Soc. géogr.*, 1839, p. 322) claimed to have discovered to the north-west of el-Weibeh on the Jebel Mâdarah, a place, Kadessa, whose position would in fact probably suit the best. Moreover, earlier still, Seetzen (according to his manuscripts quoted in C. Ritter's *Erdkunde*, bd. xiv. p. 340, and in his printed *Reisen*, iii. p. 48) discovered a Wâdi Kdeis, of which no further note has been taken. Besides, a tribe Kudairat has its settlements scattered over the same region, and there is an 'Ain-Kudairat. This entire question is therefore still in want of a final settlement: see also *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* v. p. 228 sq., viii. p. 142 sq.

and on the Edomite frontier.[1] From the fact that the desert of Zin stretched to the south-west from the Dead Sea, and during the independence of Israel bounded the tribe of Judah on the south-east,[2] and besides was evidently of less extent than the desert of Paran, we can form at least an approximate estimate of its position. To the south or more exactly to the south-east of it lay the not less ancient Paran,[3] which ultimately gave its name to the entire desert on the eastern edge of which it lay.

It now becomes easy to understand that the seat of power, which from the nature of that age was identical with the seat of the oracle, was provisionally established at Kadesh in preference to all other places.[4] But though the Israelites here were sufficiently strong and secure against the wandering Amalekites, yet their relation to Edom was obviously not yet settled, and should the mountain country of Edom behind them become hostile, their position might become a very serious one. Therefore we must repeat in this place the observation before made (p. 44 sqq.), that all the nations connected through Abraham's name must at that time have held more closely together and made common cause against the Aborigines, as well as against the Canaanites. From Edom especially, as the nearest of their kindred, the Israelites might then fairly hope for the readiest sympathy and protection. During those days of trial in the 'Desert of Paran,' they evidently obtained help and repose by keeping as

[1] This follows from the Book of Origins, Num. xiv. 25, xx. 1, xxvii. 14, xxxiv. 4, Deut. xxxii. 51, Josh. xv. 3, and compare with Num. xxxiii. 36 (see above, p. 23), and especially Num. xx. 16. This is not invalidated by the fact that on one occasion (Num. xiii. 26) the more general name Paran is used instead of Zin, especially as in this passage the word is on other grounds open to the suspicion of being a false reading, as will soon be shown. According to Deut. i. 2 it lay on the eastern route, eleven days' journey from Sinai.

[2] Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 4, Josh. xv. 3.

[3] This follows especially from Gen. xiv. 6, 7, according to which one turns from Paran to the north-west to go to Kadesh. The fact that the Shur, mentioned p. 98, is always described, in contradistinction to Paran and Kadesh, as the city which bounded on the west this great desert of the north of the Peninsula, and that all such topographical definitions were certainly adapted to the frequent communication maintained between Petra and Egypt, also furnishes a datum for determining the position of Paran. The *Phara* which Schubert (*Reise*, ii. p. 363) says he found in the plateau to the north of the Hazeroth mentioned p. 191, has not yet been noticed, so far as I know, by any other traveller. Feirân also (p. 189) is distinct, which in the age of the Fathers of the Church, and in the *Itiner. Ant. Mart.* xl. ed. Tobler, was called Paran, and in that of Edrîsî (i. p. 332, Jaub.), Aaron's Paran.

[4] Since the Book of Origins so greatly reduces the number of encampments as scarcely to name the first two, it is not surprising that it takes the Ark of the Covenant at once from Sinai to Kadesh, or at least does not describe it as being carried with the people into the mountains of Judah (Num. xiv. 44); yet it does not speak till later of the entire community as going to Kadesh (xx. 1). This contradiction would cease if Kadesh were omitted in Num. xiii. 26; and in fact it ought properly not to come till after Zin, xx. 1, 14, 22 (and compare with xii. 16). However, Kadesh was read in Num. xiii. 26, even by the Deuteronomist, as follows from Deut. i. 19.

near as possible to the western boundary of the mountains of Edom, thus, as it were, putting themselves under the protection of the older and then more powerful sister-nation.

If Kadesh was only the central seat of the community, it is obvious that the separate tribes would spread out from thence over the desert, when and where they could best find food and shelter. Notwithstanding the paucity of stories of that troublous period, we can bring forward one example which shows that this was the case. When the whole people came to Kadesh in the desert of Zin (so says the Book of Origins), the people quarrelled with Moses on account of the want of water, and even Moses and Aaron doubted for a moment of the divine aid, so that both had to be put to shame by Jahveh himself; therefore the well of water which was then opened and ended the difficulty and despair, was called the water of Meribah (*strife*).[1] This place, Meribah, therefore, lay near to Kadesh, whence it was also called Meribat Kadesh (i.e. Meribah near Kadesh);[2] and we gather from this that the people also spread themselves abroad around Kadesh. Another similar place was probably Taberah (i.e. *place of burning*), in which another Divine chastisement is located.[3]

But another peculiar difficulty arises in the consideration of this and all other stories of the residence of Israel in the desert during this long period. We possess in the Book of Origins an accurate enumeration of the tribes at the time of Moses. We have, first, in Numbers i, ii, an estimate of the number of the people at Sinai: in which the men capable of bearing arms in all the twelve tribes with the exception of Levi, from the twentieth year upwards, were 603,550. Next, in Numbers xxvi, we have an estimate made in the last days of Moses' life, after the people had suffered the defeat in the south of Judah,

[1] Num. xx. 1-13. Here the guilt of wrangling is ascribed to the people only (ver. 13), while the want of faith is charged upon Moses and Aaron also (ver. 12). In other passages also of the same Book of Origins this is dwelt upon as the special guilt of Moses and Aaron; as in them even a transient unbelief is a much greater fault than a more abiding incredulity in the people (Num. xx. 24, xxvii. 14, Deut. xxxii. 51). Since, however, a similar trial of the patience and faith of the people on account of the want of water had been placed by the Earliest Narrator even before the arrival at Sinai (Ex. xv. 25, 26), the Fourth Narrator was enabled to present at the last encampment before Sinai a story similar to that in the Book of Origins, and to pretend that close to the sacred mountain of Horeb itself the names *Well of Massa* (Trial), and *Meribah* had originated (Ex. xvii. 1-7, and compare the repetition of the same in Deut. vi. 16, ix. 22). A different view is, that the trial is to be regarded as a gracious allotment of God, because by withstanding it man cannot but grow in blessedness, which view, taken from the ancient passage Ex. xv. 25, 26, is in Ps. lxxxi. 8 [7] applied to Meribah, and in the poetical passage Deut. xxxiii. 8 at the same time restricted to Levi, in obvious connection with the history given in Ex. xxxii-xxxiv.

[2] Num. xxvii. 14; Deut. xxxii. 51; compare Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28.

[3] Num. xi. 3; Deut. ix. 22; see above, p. 176.

and had besides endured the many terrible privations of the desert during so many years; in this we find the collective number of the men capable of bearing arms not considerably diminished, but amounting to 601,730.[1] Even if we assume that from those capable of bearing arms beyond the age of twenty there were only excepted the very old men who were quite incapacitated, still the whole people at that time must have numbered about two millions. But all modern travellers, from Bonaparte to Rüppell, De Laborde and Robinson, state, in some instances from careful computations, that the entire peninsula of Sinai at present has not many more than 6,000 inhabitants, and that from its unfruitful soil it could not support a much greater number. How then could so many Israelites have supported themselves there for so many years, and this too while, as we have seen (p. 43 sq.), Midianites and Amalekites also dwelt there in mutual enmity, and by no means in small numbers? If we should try to obviate this difficulty by supposing that the Book of Origins has transferred to this period the computations of a later time, we should do injustice to that work. It is true, indeed, its historical statements are not to be interpreted so literally as to imply that the computation took place on the precise days indicated. The general plan of the work is opposed to this, as has been frequently shown, and a special proof to the contrary is contained in the fact that the census which took place several months earlier gives as many adult males as does the first computation of those capable of bearing arms.[2] Moreover, in the separate tribes the numbers very seldom descend even to the tens and never to units. But otherwise the numbers of the single tribes are evidently accurate, both among themselves, and upon a comparison of the two computations at the beginning and at the close of the journey, and must be held to rest upon old historical data; and the leaders assigned to each tribe in Num. i, ii, are equally historical. It cannot be doubted that the author possessed ancient census-papers, which he used in the composition of his work (see p. 27 note, and i. 94 sq.). We cannot therefore fail to see that then the peninsula must have supported a far more numerous population than now; in a condition of great privation and trial certainly, of which indeed in all the tradi-

[1] This number is given in ver. 51; but in special cases the numbers of the LXX. show a greater divergence, vv. 18, 25, 41, 50.

[2] Ex. xxxviii. 26, compared with Num. i. 1 sqq. That assessment is put in the first, and this enumeration in the second year of the Exodus. Comparing with this the round number 600,000, given in Ex. xii. 37 and Num. xi. 21 as that of the men who went out of Egypt, we see clearly that all these numbers must be taken from ancient tables of taxation.

tions there is frequent complaint, but still so that a frugal and laborious people would not absolutely perish, if only they made the trials themselves sources of warning and of strength. From the present number of the inhabitants of a country which has moreover been utterly neglected by the human hand, no certain conclusion respecting its earlier state can be drawn: and that peninsula is not the only country from whose present scanty population we should never have guessed the former density of human life. The most various causes, such as increasing idleness or barbarism in the inhabitants (which are indisputable in this case), destruction of good land by sand thrown upon it by the winds of the desert, a change in the temperature of the soil, may likewise contribute to produce the gradual desolation of a country. Which of these causes may have been in operation here, has been hitherto little investigated in recent times. This only we can already perceive, although the country has not yet been thoroughly explored in all directions by intelligent Europeans, that it is by no means one vast sandy plain, but possesses a multitude of hills and mountains besides Sinai; and the most recent travellers have repeatedly remarked that it shows clear indications of having been formerly much more extensively cultivated.[1] Moreover we cannot exactly know how far the various tribes may have straggled out from Kadesh to procure subsistence; for it is clear that Kadesh was only the resting-place of Moses and the Tabernacle, and the meeting-place of the community on appointed days.

3) Into this region of scarcity, then, the people were at first thrown by mere necessity. But we recognise the mark of a master-mind in the fact that then Moses sought to retain the people as long as possible in that seclusion and stillness, in order completely to transform them into another nation, physically as well as spiritually. The idea that as a Divine chastisement for their last presumptuous deeds a new generation must grow up in the desert, as the Book of Origins says, is in fewest words the exact truth concerning the history of these years: for although the people were already freed from Egyptian superstition, yet there still clung to them too much

[1] Comp. Rüppell (*Reise in Nubien*, 201; Bartlett, p. 121) and other travellers. The same observation may be made of many other regions in those parts—of Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, of North Africa, according to Shaw, Pelissier, and others, and even of the district about Mecca, according to Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, i. 240, ii. 63 sq. Seetzen's observations also (*Reisen*, iii. p. 121, 129, and comp. p. 100) have reference to the same subject. The doubts of the historical character of the numbers have been often repeated of late, being especially prompted by Colenso's work on the Pentateuch; but they have not been put on a sounder basis, nor have the real sources of the narrations been properly discriminated.

of the soft languid Egyptian character; and the best means to eradicate this effeminacy would naturally be found in a prolonged residence in the desert, with its terrors and its various and severe privations, at least for a people who were still accessible to better influences. If the Israelites, as they had just shown to their own great loss, notwithstanding the elevation to which they had raised themselves through the freedom they had attained, and through the improved religion and government they had established, were still too much accustomed to the effeminate life of the luxurious land of the Nile, and had been in Egypt too long degraded to dependence and weakness, to be able effectually to oppose any formidable enemy of a different character from the Egyptians; it could then by no means injure them to be powerfully impelled by the difficulties and privations of the desert to the use of their slumbering energies, and to be invigorated by the purity of that Arabian air, which has ever breathed into the sons of the soil courage to endure and to conquer. It was not without its value that the school of the new constitution and religion, which aroused all the highest powers of this nation during the early youth of their independence, was the Desert—the very region which at the same time strained and strengthened all their lower or bodily powers. These two fundamentally different incitements to culture—the new religion and the dangers of the desert—continued to work together for a considerable time. In the end we see the people who when first placed in their new position were querulous and cowardly, born again into a wonderfully powerful and courageous nation. And as the ancient tradition recounts, one single year, the fortieth after the Exodus, the original half-demoralised generation being now extinct, speedily retrieved all that seemed to have been delayed or lost during all the previous years.[*] Hence in the later traditions, next to Sinai, the mountains of Seir, the plains of Edom, and the desert of Paran form the hallowed grounds of ancient history, as places where in the midst of difficulties they had yet experienced wonderful deliverances, and Jahveh had displayed his glory, shaking the nations before them, as they advanced to victory.[1]

But in order to understand, as correctly as the means at our disposal render possible, the peculiar circumstances and possi-

[1] In the ancient song, Judges v. 4, 5; Hab. iii. 3 and Deut. xxxiii. 2, where for the unmeaning רִבְבוֹת קֹדֶשׁ we must read מְרִיבַת קָדֵשׁ both to preserve the structure of the verse and to accord with the similar passages mentioned p. 189 (compare ver. 8); the force of the מִן may continue from the previous clause.

bilities of this last crisis in the life of the great leader, it will be well first to call to mind the following points, most of which are established by scattered data already discussed. In the first place it is clear that Moses, when at length he thought the time had arrived for leading the people to Canaan, had to take a different route for the attainment of his object, from that formerly attempted; and since the path into Canaan from the mountainous country on the south was now certainly barred on every side, there remained only the far circuit around the Dead Sea, to the fords of the Jordan on the north-east. Besides the Aborigines scattered here and there and generally designated Amorites, there dwelt upon this circuitous route three nations related to Israel, namely Edom to the south-east of the Dead Sea, and adjoining them Moab to the east of that sea, and Ammon more to the north on the east side of the Jordan, and separated from Moab by a kingdom of the Amorites which had just risen into power. And since (as has been explained above, pp. 44 sqq.) the mutual relations of these kindred nations, which were united through their common forefather Abraham, were not so distant and even hostile as they became in the following centuries, especially after the supremacy of David, the Israelites under Moses might hope for an amicable arrangement with them; by which perhaps their passage through the land might be permitted, or at all events they might be secured against further molestation or hostility, or they might perhaps even obtain from one or other of them a friendly reception and alliance, on the basis of mutual aid against the Aborigines, if ever the case should arise. When we further reflect that when Moses decided upon this circuitous route, he stood some way towards the north, in the desert adjacent to the south of Judah, and the western boundary of Edom, it becomes clear to us how, as the oldest narrative relates,[1] he should ask the King of Edom for permission to pass through. The straight direction to the north-east across Edom to the boundary of Moab would in that case shorten as far as possible the circuit upon which they were entering. But the King of Edom refused the request of Moses:[2] what dangers the transit of even a friendly army may bring, needs no explana-

[1] Num. xx. 14–21.

[2] In Deut. ii. 29 it is asserted that Edom did not forbid, but kindly permitted his passage. This can only be regarded as an inaccuracy committed in the heat of discussion, in order to establish a similarity with the case of Moab, and especially because the Deuteronomist is always favourable to the nation in question (see especially xxiii. 8), and not as a deliberate contradiction of all other witnesses and of the necessities of the case; because the speaker himself had shortly before (ver. 8) given the more accurate account, which he evidently derived from his older written authority.

tion; and, besides, we have every reason to suppose that the kingdom of Edom was then very flourishing and powerful, and therefore had no need of the contingent help of a kindred people. Since then it was quite impracticable for Israel to force a passage, Moses was compelled to lengthen his journey by another circuit. In order to pass by desert paths from the north-western to the north-eastern boundary of Edom, there remained only the long circuit to the south, round the extensive mountain range named Edom or Seir: passing first to the south-east, on the west of the valley still named Arabah,[1] down to the gulf of Elah, and then past the seaports of Elah and Ezion-gaber in the district of the modern 'Akabah, and lastly bending round from this southern angle again to the north-east up along the eastern boundary of the Idumean mountains and the edge of the great Arabian desert, to the river and valley of Zered (the modern al-Achsâ), the most southern feeder of the Dead Sea from the east, which must then have formed the boundary between Edom and Moab.[2] Little as we know of the exact boundaries of Edom at that time, to enable us accurately to follow this long and irksome[3] journey of the Israelites, yet when we vividly seize and connect the meagre traditions and casual hints which still remain, we cannot doubt the general direction of the march[4] to have been that just given.

Besides the elevation of the Brazen Serpent, already referred to (p. 176), but few facts concerning this journey have been handed down. The serpent's image, both from the context and from the nature of the case, was certainly erected on the western boundary of Edom to the south of Judah. But here again, several names in the old catalogue of encampments (Num. xxxiii.) come to our aid, and help us to supply the deficiency. If we follow the series of these encampments from the place where we broke off (p. 176), the five next names

[1] The ancient הָעֲרָבָה had a much greater extension to the north also.

[2] The Zered appears distinctly as a boundary-river in Deut. ii. 13, 14, 18; and the probability is thereby enhanced that it corresponds not merely to the present Wâdi el-Achsâ, but also to the river elsewhere named נַחַל עֲרָבִים, and forming the southern boundary of Moab. (Is. xv. 7, with which compare Amos vi. 14). On the other hand, it is not mentioned at all as an encampment in Num. xxxiii. 44; and the encampment here mentioned as 'Ruins of the Abarim mountains' (Ije-abarim) forms the boundary of Moab, both in this passage and in Num. xxi. 11 (where the encampment on the Zered is not mentioned till after it). At all events these two places, the valley and the mountain, cannot have been far apart; and possibly the difference between עברים or ערבים and ערבה was only one of pronunciation.

[3] Num. xxi. 4; see Bartlett's *Forty Days*, p. 107, 109. 145.

[4] From the short notices in Num. xx. 21, xxi. 4, 10–12, Deut. i. 40, ii. 8 (the most important passage), 13; compare this with Num. xiv. 25, xxxiii. 37, 41–44.

(vv. 31–35) seem to designate the encampments of the march along the western side of the mountains. This is self-evident of the last of these places, Ezion-gaber;[1] the first, called Moseroth, or by another authority[2] Mosera, is also specified by this latter, who generally appends some comments to the names, as the place of Aaron's death. According to the Book of Origins Aaron died in the fortieth year after the departure from Egypt,[3] and was buried on Mount Hor, which must have stood on the west side of the mountain range.[4] These two divergent traditions may be most easily reconciled by supposing the two places to have been not far from each other; Hor lying strictly more to the north, but used, as the name of a high mountain easily might be, to designate a larger district. The next place, Hor-hagidgad (that is, the hill of Gidgad, also called Gudgodah), is probably identical with the Wâdi Ghudhâghidh,[5] supposing this name to have been formerly extended more to the east. The three next places after Ezion-gaber, Zalmonah, Punon, and Oboth, are then to be sought upon the east side of the mountains of Seir.[6] Next came the southern boundary of Moab.[7]

[1] See the still clearer description in Deut. ii. 8.

[2] Deut. x. 6, 7, a passage which now stands very isolated; in which four encampments are named, but Mosera does not come till after Bene Jaakan (or more fully Beeroth Bene Jaakan). The latter place is named by Eusebius in the Onomasticon as not far from Petra, and still known in his time as the place of Aaron's death. Nevertheless, though sedulously propagated and widely spread in later times, this opinion that Mount Hor, where Aaron died, lay near Sela or Petra, afterwards so celebrated a city (whence the mountain itself was called Jebel Hârûn, and the territory of Petra Wâdi-Mûsa), is a mere conjecture; and perfectly untenable when it is seen that Israel could not touch the territory of Edom, and therefore would not approach the mountains near Petra. I find no proof that the name Hor still lives in the mouth of the people, and the Moslem consecrated these places only because Aaron is mentioned in the Korân together with Moses. Even J. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible*, p. 294, 295) could not find Aaron's grave there.

[3] Num. xx. 22–29.

[4] Although in Num. xxxiii. 37–39 it does not now come till after Ezion-gaber.

[5] Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, i. p. 181 sqq.; the sounds do not differ too much. It would be less correct to identify it with the modern Gudyan (*Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* ix. p. 121). The following name, Jotbathah, sounds very like the ancient Jotabe, which at all events lay somewhere in that region (see *Rel. Pal.* p. 533 and Procopius *Bell. Pers.* i. 19. 7); and a trace of Ebronah, which then follows, immediately preceding Ezion-gaber, is perhaps found in a place to the north-west of Elah, called by the diminutive form Humairavat.

[6] The Onomasticon of the Fathers says distinctly that Punon or Phinon (Phænôn) lay to the north of Petra and south of the Zoar mentioned i. p. 314; and other ancient writers speak of a Φαινώ in that district (*Rel. Pal.* p. 961): but so far as I know, the place has not hitherto been identified, and the passages Gen. xxxvi. 41 and Num. xxxiii. 41–44 do not quite suffice to enable us to find the exact position of such places. (See Ritter's *Erdk.* xiv. 994.)

[7] Throughout his exposition of Num. xxxiii. no further assumption is made than that the encampment in the Desert of Zin (or as the author of the Book of Origins adds, of Kadesh) and that on Mount Hor (which according to Num. xx. 22 was the next following) are to be pushed back from vv. 36–39 to vv. 30 and 31, on the ground that they do not stand suitably after Ezion-gaber, since the high mountain of Hor is evidently placed by the Earliest Narrator (Num. xxi. 4) on the western side of the range. I conjecture

II. Last Period under Moses.

1. *His last activity.*

But with this wearisome journey the chief difficulties were overcome; so that following the authorities of Deuteronomy,[1] we may justly place here the end of the long affliction and the commencement of a new and victorious period. At first the Israelites marched only along the eastern boundary of Moab, and therefore still on the edge of the Arabian desert.[2] But the Moabites, then settled between the rivers Zered and Arnon, the latter of which flows into the northern half of the Dead Sea, soon granted them a free passage, at least through the country formerly occupied by them north of the Arnon; and the Israelites, coming from the desert on the north-east, settled down in many places in this fruitful land. This not only follows from the list of encampments,[3] but also appears as a recognised tradition in the story of Balaam,[4] in Deuteronomy,[5] and elsewhere.

that only later readers have transposed the order of these two encampments to bring Num. xxxiii. into closer agreement with Num. xx. 22 and xxi. 4–10, without reflecting that the actual author of the Book of Origins elsewhere also passes over many intermediate encampments. Hence also we may account for the insertion, from xxi. 1, of the irrelevant remark in xxxiii. 40, noticed above, p. 22. A similar transposition is found in Deut. x. 6, 7.

With this also falls to the ground the single plausible argument for the hypothesis of Robinson, ii. p. 175, 193–5, and of Raumer, p. 11, 12, that Israel was twice in Kadesh—a perfectly gratuitous assumption, and supported by no single valid argument. I do not mean to say that the causes of such cross-journeyings as from Kadesh to Ezion-gaber and back again are not at all hinted at by any of our authorities; but I do maintain that apart from the position occupied by Kadesh in Num. xxxiii. and xiii. 26, all the accounts and traditions are opposed to it. The expression in Num. xiv. 25, xxi. 4, 'in the direction of the Red Sea,' inasmuch as in that context the western or Egyptian gulf cannot possibly be intended, must mean merely 'towards the south-east;' just as in Deut. i. 2, the words 'toward Seir,' are intended to mean only 'towards the north-east.'

Léon de Laborde, however, in his *Commentaire géographique sur l'Exode et les Nombres* (Paris 1841), deals still more capriciously with nearly all the encampments. Let any one who would see the absurdities into which a slavish subjection to the mere letter of the Bible even on these questions may lead, examine this work. The position of Kadesh, moreover, is determined without any basis whatever. See my remarks on the fundamental defects of this work in Zeller's *Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1842, pp. 540 sqq. Moreover, to understand all the Biblical accounts with the requisite accuracy, far more investigation ought to be made on the spot than has been hitherto; but it is above all essential to comprehend the real difficulties which are encountered by every accurate reader of the statements in the Pentateuch; the true solution of which cannot be even attempted by one who wishes to remain enslaved to the mere letter of the Bible. Bartlett's work, *Forty Days in the Desert on the Track of the Israelites* (London, 1848), does not once touch upon these difficulties, and attempts no solution of any of these questions; and J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible* (Edinburgh, 1847, 2 vols.), does very little to enlighten the present obscurities, and some of the most recent and very lengthy works still less: see *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 257 sq., xi. p. 250 sq.

[1] Deut. ii. 14 sqq.

[2] Num. xxi. 11; Judges xi. 18, 19.

[3] Num. xxi. 11–13, 16, 18 end (where, according to ver. 16, for וּמִמִּדְבָּר we must read וּמִבְּאֵר, unless the name of one place has fallen out), 20, and the different enumeration in Num. xxxiii. 45–47.

[4] Num. xxii–xxv.

[5] Deut. i–iii.

We find indeed clear indications that the Israelites tarried long and willingly in this country, and contracted intimate relations with the Moabites; and that at a later period in Canaan they looked back with conscious pride upon the time which they had passed there. How powerfully indeed the memory of this exercising ground, which prepared them for their earliest manifestations of power and glorious victories, swayed the minds of the Israelites, is sufficiently testified by the few still extant old national songs,[1] which point entirely to this ground and to this time, the closing period of Moses' leadership, and also by fragments of ancient poetical stories[2] of deeds done there. How ardent a national feeling was then aroused, we may infer even from the short song of the water-drawers in Num. xxi. 17, 18; which seems to turn upon an insignificant circumstance, and yet betrays all the beautiful enthusiasm of the time:

'Spring up, oh well!' sing thus to it,
A well which princes digged,
Which the noblest of the people bored,
With the ruler's staff, with their sceptres.

This is indeed only an ordinary well-song, such as women may sing to excite each other in the alternations of the frequently laborious task of raising water from a deep well; with the aid of a hearty song to second their labours, the wish that the well would spring up, i.e. give water from its depth, is most pleasantly fulfilled.[3] But a well-song insignificant as this gains a peculiar charm from the fact that the singers know that they labour at a task in which the highest among the people have not disdained to render hearty cooperation; as if the well had been dug by the princes and the nobles themselves, though they might have no meaner implement to use than their sceptres of rule. And thus, in the fugitive stanzas of a song on a passing event, breaks out all the glad zeal of that period, springing from mutual trust between a helpful ruling class that condescended to the real wants of the people, and an industrious nation which

[1] Num. xxi. 17–30.

[2] Num. xxi. 14, 15, 20. See above, p. 23 sq.

[3] Judges v. 11, Gen. xxix. 2, 3, and similar passages enable us easily to realise the whole scene. And even should the threshing song which Champollion (followed by Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, iv. p. 88) thinks he has found in hieroglyphics on Egyptian tombs, rest upon an error, yet such songs are quite conceivable in any age. Remember also the designation of heavy labour by *ad puteum* and *ad molam*, Plaut. *Poen.* v. 3. 39. See Klausen's *Aeneas* i. p. 140. We find very similar examples of popular songs accompanying the alternate strokes of various kinds of hard labour in Virgil's *Moretum*, v. 29, 30; Athenæus, *Deipn.* xiv. 10; Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, i. p. 400, 401; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, iv. p. 74; *Journal Asiatique* for 1847, i. p. 236, 250; *Ausland* for 1852, p. 512; Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 223.

looked up to them with real affection. Is there a want of water in the desert, or of any other necessary? through their unanimous and vigorous cooperation a marvel may speedily occur to supply the need; and even an apparently trivial work, such as a new well, charmed as it were into being by such participation of the upper classes, will ever after strengthen and elevate the self-consciousness of the humblest labourer. This song dates undoubtedly from the earliest times, and is connected with an encampment in the ancient land of Moab, called Beer, or Well; which well there is no difficulty in believing to have been dug at that very time. Thus, learning from the living voice of the age the real elevation of the national life, and seeing the marvellous virtue of Moses' sceptre of rule exhibited in the desert (so to speak) before our very eyes, we can more easily understand, how, in the words of the ancient narrator,[1] Jahveh could say to Moses, 'Gather the people together, that I may give them water,' and how the Book of Origins could describe the sacred staff in the hand of Moses as striking water from the rock.

But to produce such a result, favourable external conditions must have been combined with the inner regeneration of the people, as is evident when we see how opposite is the relation into which the Israelites now entered with Moab, to that in which they had stood towards Edom. And in truth, if we give some attention to still extant traces of tradition, we need not leave the question respecting this secondary cause wholly unanswered. Especially if we weigh the full meaning of that song of victory[2] which gives utterance to the exultation of the age, and the ancient historical explanation appended to it,[3] we discover that Moab was then very differently situated from Edom. Under the predecessor of Balak, then king of Moab, whose name is wanting in our present records, the Amorites, the original inhabitants formerly subjugated by Moab, had successfully rebelled against both Moab and their brethren of Ammon, and subdued almost the whole country between the Arnon on the south and the Jabbok, which flows into the Jordan on the north, including the elevated and easily fortified city of Heshbon: a victory obviously all the more dangerous for the Moabites, because they were entirely separated by this new kingdom of the Amorites from their brethren of Ammon who dwelt to the north-east: while at the same time in the city of Jazer and the surrounding country at the south-

[1] Num. xxi. 16. [2] Vv. 27–30. [3] Ver. 26.

west border of Ammon, a similar but smaller Amorite kingdom maintained itself.[1] The presence and friendship of Israel therefore might be even acceptable to the Moabites: for these gained thereby a reinforcement against the victorious Amorites, while the Israelites could not reach the fords of the Jordan without their friendship and without first rendering harmless the Amorites, whose power then undoubtedly extended to the southern Jordan. The best alliances are those cemented by mutual need: and in this case the Israelites had not to wait long for the expected recompense. When Moses from the desert of Kedemoth[2] sent to Sihon[3] king of the Amorites at Heshbon, requesting permission to pass through and promising every possible forbearance, and was refused, nothing remained for the leader of Israel and the common enemy of Moab and of Israel, but an appeal to the sword, which we observe Moses to be generally desirous of avoiding. Sihon however advanced immediately against the Israelites, who conquered him in a battle at Jahez, and as conquerors took possession of the entire country between the Arnon and the Jabbok, with the important city of Heshbon near the still more important fords of the Jordan; while Moab and Ammon do not appear to have claimed the restitution of territories which formerly belonged to them. Thus the Israelites were for the first time the victorious possessors of a fruitful country, and we understand the emphasis with which henceforth it was repeated, that 'the Arnon was the boundary of Moab,' all that lay north of it therefore belonging to Israel.[4] The feelings that then crowded in upon this youthful and victorious people are seen most strikingly in the song in Num. xxi. 27–30, which, bursting forth in the midst of victory, taunts with the bitterest scorn the Amorites,—those proud warriors, who had shortly before been the conquerors and destroyers of Moab, but were now themselves utterly subdued and as if burnt up by fire on every side:

[1] This follows from Num. xxi. 24 (according to the correct reading of the LXX. יעזר for יע), 32; see xxxii. 1, 35; Josh. xiii. 25. The city Jazer, together with its ancient name, is certainly preserved either in the ruins of Seir south-west from 'Ammân, or in 'Ain Hazir close by Ssalt. It was so important in early times that it was elevated into a Levitical city, Josh. xxi. 39, and maintained its existence in later times also through every vicissitude, Is. xvi. 8, 9; 1 Macc. v. 8; see Seetzen's *Reisen*, i. p. 393, 398, 406. It is self-evident that the sister-nations Moab and Ammon may have been torn asunder from one another only through recent conquests by the Aborigines; and that Ammon experienced a like fate is shown Josh. xiii. 25, Judges xi. 13.

[2] Deut. ii. 26; Josh. xiii. 18, see p. 209.

[3] A high mountain on the southern edge of the Arnon is still called Sihan; so also another north of Ssalt. On the old ruins there see De Sauley's *Voyage*, i. p. 324 sq. See also Wetzstein's *Hauran*, p. 26 sq.

[4] Num. xxi. 13–15, 26, Deut. iv. 47, 48.

1.

Come home to Heshbon!
Let the city of Sihon be built up and restored!

2.

For fire went out from Heshbon,
A flame from the fortress of Sihon;
It devoured the city of Moab, the lords of the heights of Arnon.
'Alas for thee, Moab! thou art undone, O people of Chemosh,
Who hath yielded up his sons as fugitives and his daughters as captives
Unto Sihon king of the Amorites!'

3.

We have burned them—Heshbon has perished!—unto Dibon,
And laid them waste even unto Nophah,
With fire unto Medeba.[1]

Upon closer examination there is no doubt that this song of victory has a satirical introduction,[2] and is by no means a song of thanksgiving, such as, for instance, the Song of Deborah. 'Come home, to Heshbon'—the city which can no longer give you home and shelter; 'rebuild if you can that city'—which for you lies in ruins for ever, but which we now, unmolested by you, hold as our own new capital, and shall restore in our own way![3] Thus with loud mockery did the victors call to the conquered exiles who were never to return. But to announce more seriously the guilt of the vanquished, a second voice takes up the history: 'yet surely this is the same city of Heshbon, out of which once burst forth the devouring fire of battle against Moab—unhappy Moab, over whose fall and the powerlessness of whose God Chemosh, the most scornful triumphal songs of the Amorites then broke forth!—for Chemosh had suffered his sons to be expelled, and his daughters to be taken prisoners,' i.e. all his worshippers to be vanquished. But just when these Amorites, who destroyed Moab with fire and sword, deemed themselves most secure—thus returns the full chorus of the victors to the

[1] Verse 30, which in the Masoretic text is unintelligible, only becomes clear if we read with the LXX. אֵשׁ for אשר; and as the figure of fire in ver. 28 evidently still continues through the whole of ver. 30, וְנִירָם is to be derived from ירה = ארה = ورى (Sansk. *ush*, or even *ar*, whence *aranyâ* 'wood,' Lat. *uro*) 'to burn,' and וַנַּשִּׁים to be explained as Hipbil from נשה = נצה *to devastate* (see Jer. iv. 7), and in the later language הִשִּׁיא *to kindle*, מְשׂוּאוֹת *funeral pile*, M. Rosh Hashana, ii. 2, 3. Nophah is indisputably the same place as Nobah in Judges viii. 11 (compare Num. xxxii. 35), but not the same as Nobah in Num. xxxii. 42. With this comment the ancient song will be found quite intelligible; Dibon lay most to the south, Medeba to the north-east, Nophah probably most to the north-west.

[2] The historian himself undoubtedly intends to describe it as a satirical poem, in attributing it to the מֹשְׁלִים as composers or reciters of it; for these persons 'that speak in proverbs' may easily become Satirists, Ezek. xvi. 44, considering that a proverb which lashes folly or presumption borders closely upon satire: see Micah ii. 4, Hab. ii. 6, Isaiah xiv. 4, Ps. xliv. 15 [14].

[3] The best comment on these brief words is afforded by the ancient story that the Israelites themselves restored these towns and gave them new names, Num. xxxii. 38; and see something similar in the time of the Kings, 2 Kings xiv. 7.

first strain of the song—'then we burned and wasted them with the fire of battle, from Heshbon the chief and central place to all ends of the land;' and so Israel avenged Moab. That this song springs directly from the very first period of the conquest, is evident from the fact that Heshbon was soon afterwards restored by the tribe of Reuben and remained ever after an important city.[1]

The possession of the rich pasture-lands on the eastern side of the Jordan is very alluring to nations which, like some at least of the tribes of Israel, prefer great herds of cattle to mere agriculture. The Book of Origins[2] assigns this as the reason which induced the two tribes of Reuben and Gad to settle down in this region, contrary to the original intention of Moses. And as the occupation between new neighbours of a single strip of land readily leads to more extensive conquests, the Israelites soon took possession of the Amoritish Jazer to the north, and then after the battle of Edrei, of the Amoritish kingdom of Og, lying to the north of the Jabbok in Bashan as far as Hermon, i.e. as far as the foot of Antilibanus (i. p. 227 sqq.). On this occasion however they carefully spared their brethren of Ammon, as the ancient account relates.[3] Since Edrei lies very far to the north-east over against the sea of Galilee,[4] the war which was then carried on must have been decisive in the extreme: but unfortunately we do not possess any ancient authorities enabling us to follow it in its details; unless from the iron bed of this Giant King, which at a later age was shown in the chief city of the people of Ammon,[5] and which must have been a trophy of victory, we may conclude that the Ammonites joined Israel in the war against Og, a relic of whom they thus laid up in their chief city. The position of the Ammonites also favours the idea that they took part in the war. But it is doubtful whether Moses lived to see the diffusion and the settlement of the two-and-a-half tribes on the far side of the Jordan, since the northern and eastern territories are kept quite in the background in the narrative of Num. xxxii.

At all events, the Book of Origins speaks of the camp of Moses, which was of course the centre of the activity of the people after the conquest of the territory between the Arnon

[1] Num. xxxii. 37.
[2] Num. xxxii. 1.
[3] Num. xxi. 31–39, see Book of Origins, Num. xxxii. and Deut. iii. 3 sqq.
[4] On the ground of the modern D'raa (Seetzen's *Reisen*, i. p. 384). This town in the Grecian age was called Adraa; it is different from Ezra, the ancient Zorava, which lies to the north-east of it. See *Lex. Geogr. ed. Juynboll*, i. p. 39, for other places in this district with names of similar sound.
[5] Deut. iii. 11.

and the Jabbok, as still remaining in the low lands, named from their former possessors 'Plains of Moab' not far from the embouchure of the Jordan into the Dead Sea on the bank opposite to Jericho; not far removed from the place of his death.[1] To this region accordingly must be assigned the seduction of many of the people to partake in the orgies of the Midianites already mentioned (p. 181), as well as the attack upon the Midianites which followed, and their conquest by Israel.[2] The Book of Origins expressly calls this act of war the last in the life of Moses.[3] But certain as is the fact of this defeat of Midian, even the five conquered and executed princes being mentioned by name, we have to regret that in the Book of Origins (so far as its extant remains extend; for in Num. xxv. the introduction, as we have seen (page 181, note), is wanting) neither the relation of Midian to these countries and nations, nor the place of the battle, is given. In the fuller narrative of the overthrow and booty in Num. xxxi, this book has moreover mainly a legislative object. From another brief and ancient account[4] we may assume a close connection between these five Midianite princes and the Amorite king in Heshbon, perhaps a connection which entitled the king to call them in for his defence after his defeat.

While national songs and the records of victory thus testify to great movements in the last days of Moses, we meet also with accounts of the encampments of the people derived from a twofold source. But since the districts beyond the Jordan have been hitherto but little investigated by intelligent Europeans, the greater number of the names here also are at present more obscure than we could wish. Meanwhile the mere comparison of the two authorities is instructive. According to the one,[5] the nearest encampment from Zered (p. 200) was immediately on the opposite (or northern) side of the Arnon (the modern Mojeb): Israel therefore without much delay marched on northwards, along the whole extreme eastern border of the kingdom of Moab, which was at that time much weakened, thus keeping always on the edge of the Arabian desert; the same reasons doubtless which (according to pp. 199 sq.) decided Moses to pass round the land of Edom holding good also of Moab.[6] Here, not far from the sources of the

[1] Num. xxii. 1, xxvi. 63, xxxiii. 50, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13, Deut. xxxii. 40, xxxiv. 1, 8; see Num. xxxiii. 48, 49, xxv. 1.

[2] Num. xxxi.

[3] Ver. 2.

[4] Josh. xiii. 21.

[5] Num. xxi. 13–20: on the river Zered see Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 350; but the Suph in Seetzen, i. p. 387, lies too far to the north for that mentioned p. 191.

[6] According to the narrative in Judges xi. 17, Moses had addressed the request

Arnon, and therefore near the territory of the Amorite kingdom which had then forced itself in between Moab and Ammon, was the desert named Kedemoth from the neighbouring Amorite city,[1] from whence Moses sent to beg a free passage from King Sihon (p. 205). The city of Jahaz or Jahza, where Sihon was conquered (p. 205), cannot have lain very far from this,[2] and not till after this victory does Israel appear to have occupied the camp at Beer (p. 203 sq.), still not far from the edge of the desert, as this place is elsewhere reckoned as belonging to the habitable country.[3] From hence probably the expedition against Bashan (p. 207) set out. The two next encampments Mattanah (*Gift*) and Nahaliel (*Brook of God*) are mentioned nowhere else: since however we know from other sources the names of the ancient cities of this region more accurately than those of many others,[4] it seems probable that they were merely open spots well supplied with water, where the Israelites had been long accustomed to encamp. Assuming therefore that Mattanah may correspond with the present ruins of Tedûn at the source of the Lejum, a tributary of the ancient Arnon, and Nahaliel with the present Wadi Enkhaileh of similar sound[5] (which name is interchangeable with Lejun), the next encampment, Bamoth, must be the same as Bamoth-baal (*Hill of God*), which city is elsewhere[6] introduced between the more southern Dibon and the more northern Baal-meon (now Ma'în near Heshbon) and was therefore apparently near the high mountain now called Attârûs. The next and last encampment, 'The Dry Valley,

> Which in Moab's land begins with Pisgah,
> And looks far into the waste desert,'

must according to all indications have been an elevated valley which stretched downwards from the mountains opposite to the most southern point of the Jordan into the desert which here

for permission to pass to the king of Moab also as soon as he reached Kadesh, but without effect. And certainly he could not at that time have exactly wished for a direct passage through Edom alone.

[1] It appears from the occupation of this town by Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18, 1 Chron. vi. 64[79]) that it was not then Moabitish.

[2] It is coupled with Kedemoth in Josh. xiii. 18; and also in Is. xv. 4 it is implied that it lay near the frontier. The modern Jezia probably does not lie too far to the south-east of 'Ammân.

[3] Beer-elim (*the Well of the terebinth or turpentine tree*) in Is. xv. 8, which lay on the frontier, may very well be the same place; especially as, according to Num. xxxiii. 9, there were twelve wells and seventy palms at Elim. This need not however invalidate the assumption that this place, like Gilgal under Joshua, was at first only a military camp of the Israelites. The same place is meant in Judges ix. 21.

[4] Especially from Num. xxxii. 34 sqq., Josh. xiii. 16 sqq., Is. xv, xvi, Jer. xlviii.

[5] Burckhardt *Syr.* p. 635, 636, and De Saulcy's *Voyage* i. p. 329. On the other hand Burckhardt conjectured on p. 632 that Nahaliel was identical with the Waleh, the great north-western tributary of the Arnon.

[6] Josh. xiii. 17.

surrounds that river; for these lowlands around the Jordan are elsewhere often called the steppes ('Arboth) of Moab, and here also lay a spot with a similar name Beth-jesimoth[1] (*house of the desert*). And with this place is easily connected the last encampment mentioned in the second enumeration,[2] 'in the steppes of Moab at the Jordan of Jericho,' where Israel encamped spreading out 'from Beth-jesimoth unto Abel at the Acacias;'[3] so that we cannot doubt that this designates the last encampment but one. Whilst in that first enumeration five or six encampments, reckoning from the southern boundary of Moab, precede this last but one, which was not far from the Jordan, we find in the second only three named before the last, and these three have perfectly different names; Dibon, Almon near Diblathaim, and the mountains of Abarim east of Nebo. Dibon was an important place north of the middle course of the Arnon, whose ruins still bear the same name;[4] Diblathaim, whose exact position we do not yet know, lay apparently more to the north. Since then Dibon was not far from the assumed position of Nahaliel, and Nebo according to all other accounts lay opposite the southern Jordan upon the mountain range here described by the general name 'Abarim,' it follows that the two accounts describe the same journey, which accordingly proceeded first straight to the north, from the sources of the Zered to those of the Arnon, then through the region north of the Arnon westwards to Dibon, and again from thence northwards till opposite Jericho. But it is also evident that the two lists of encampments had distinct origins, as also that the enumeration of Num. xxxiii. passed over smaller encampments, and preferred to describe localities by a reference to well known cities and mountains; of which we have already seen an example (p. 201). But according to all these traditions, the district close to the Jordan at that time belonged not to Moab but to the kingdom of the Amorites; Israel stood therefore finally by the Jordan upon land which had only formerly been Moab's. From this camp by the Jordan was prosecuted the last war of Moses, that with Midian (p. 207 sq.); and at the close of his life he retired from hence eastward to Mount Nebo, the highest peak of the Pisgah range, whence, as stated in the Book of Origins, Jahveh showed him all the Holy Land to the Mediterranean Sea.

[1] Num. xxxiii. 49, Josh. xii. 3, xiii. 20; perhaps Βησιμώθ in Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, iv. 7. 5

[2] Num. xxxiii. 45–48.

[3] Compare Num. xxv. 1 and Micah vi. 5 with Num. xxxi. 12, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 13.

[4] Burckhardt's *Travels*, p. 372.

This locality however does not seem as yet to have been specially explored.[1]

But although we possess more ample information respecting the last actions and journeyings of Moses, their chronology is no more certain. We must therefore now content ourselves with the certainty of his great deeds, and with the generally well-ascertained sequence of the events of his life. This may satisfy us the more readily, that the essential features of his whole life are still sufficiently recognisable. At all events every attempt and every conjecture which has been made subsequently to the time of the Greeks towards the restoration of a more accurate chronology of the life of Moses has been wasted labour founded more upon error than upon truth.[2]

2. *His Death. Balaam's Blessing.*

Here therefore we stand at the close of this great leader's life, and may calmly survey it as a whole. Doubtless it became evident even during the rule of Moses, that the new principle he had established could not in its immediate development maintain that purity and elevation in which it dwelt in the leader's breast, and had been distinctly realised during a short period. The new life for the present seeks a secure abode only among this one people: Jahveh becomes the banner under which this nation, springing into existence amid all the cramping necessities of life, strives for position and repute among the peoples of the earth; war and victory over other nations are the emphatic watchwords of the time; and since thus immediately upon the foundation of the higher religion the lower problems of national life are urgently felt, the higher and purer truths run the danger at their earliest dawn of being again beclouded and repressed.

[1] See the mere conjectures in Robinson's *Bib. Res.* i. p. 569–70 and E. G. Schultz's *Jerusalem*, p. 43; also Seetzen's *Reisen*, ii. p. 318 sq. and *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* x. p. 165. The name Phöshga (or Phöscha) is now given to a mountain on the north-western shore of the Dead Sea, almost opposite the ancient Pisgah. Mount Nebo has at length been more carefully investigated by Tristram (*Land of Israel*, p. 535 sqq.) On Jazer (יַעְזֵר) mentioned p. 205, see ibid. p. 532. sq.

[2] As e.g. the view of Eupolemus as early as the second century (reported by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30) that he fled from Egypt and became a prophet at the age of 40 years (see page 46). In the *Seder 'olam* c. viii–x. an early attempt is made to assign the length of the several periods of his life, but only by capricious and idle imaginations. Thus from the expression in Deut. ii. 14 (which as a brief summary is obviously to be interpreted in accordance with i. 46, ii. 1), it assumes that of the thirty-eight years the Israelites journeyed during nineteen and remained quiet in Kadesh during the remaining nineteen. Lysimachus, and other similar writers already mentioned (p. 86), who narrate that Israel journeyed six days and on the seventh conquered Canaan, must originally have assumed that the forty-two encampments mentioned in Num. xxxiii. corresponded as 6 × 7 with the working days, and the conquest with the sabbath of a great divine week.

This change in the national life, which in the succeeding centuries grows continually more decided until it reaches its culmination, commences in a less perceptible and weaker form even under Moses. But yet, as far as these overpowering necessities of a time of national newbirth did not interfere, Moses, contemplated from the close of his career, stands before us as a great and perfect hero. No danger, no obstacle, either before or after the liberation of the people, broke down his courage or chilled his pure enthusiasm during the long and weary time of probation. Himself the type and pledge of an ever youthful power and a Divine energy,—so that according to the words of the Book of Origins even at his death in extreme age 'his eye was not dim, and his moisture (i.e. humour, freshness and animation of spirit) was not abated,'[1]—he sees at the very close of his life a new generation growing up strengthened by an inward transformation and a steadfast faith, and going forth victorious to meet its further earthly destiny. Once only, as the Book of Origins strikingly relates, had he suffered himself to be carried away by the murmuring of the people against Jahveh to a momentary despair; but on account of his very elevation at all other times, this one slight fault was heavy enough to bring upon him the Divine decree, that he should not live to see the entire fulfilment of his desire for the people's safety and assured repose. He was ordained to meet his death upon Mount Nebo, opposite to Jericho, enjoying only the consolation that before his departure he could from that height at least cast his eye on the broad and beautiful lands on the nearer side of the Jordan, and over the entire circuit of the fruitful regions on both banks of the river, the appointed possession of his people. Thus in his last moments he had at least a foretaste of the future glory of his nation; that glory which the author of the Book of Origins rejoiced to see completely realised in his own day.[2] Nor assuredly could the Book of Origins have concluded the biography of the great hero of the revelation of Jahveh either more simply, or more truly and beautifully.

[1] Deut. xxxiv. 7.

[2] Num. xx. 2–13, xxvii. 12–23, Deut. xxxii. 48–52, xxxiv. 1–5, 7–9. We must conceive that some words have dropped out before Deut. xxxii. 48, because the day there indicated is not clearly defined, and the Book of Origins is marked by accuracy and fulness in such statements. We undoubtedly find a later addition in Deut. xxxiv. 6, because the Book of Origins distinctly states that Moses should die upon Mount Nebo, and the account of his death is similar to that of Aaron's (Num. xx. 28. 29), who throughout this book stands almost upon an equal elevation. To this must be added that neither in the case of Aaron, nor in the preliminary arrangements for Moses' burial is the interment specially mentioned, to say nothing of its being elsewhere than at the place of death. And since vv. 10–12 are also derived from a later hand, and point in style to the Deuteronomist (comp. ver. 12 with iv. 34, xxvi. 8), we must refer ver. 6 also to him, and not to the Fourth Narrator; compare iii. 29.

But the importance of a nation's spring-time of glory, dawning and gradually rising to its full splendour, meets with an ever higher appreciation from succeeding ages the longer its vast results are present to their rejoicing eyes. That the Fifth Narrator therefore should employ this concluding section of the Mosaic history to depict in a separate narrative the glory of Israel as the true community, already existing in its mighty germ in Moses' time, and bearing within it (as the narrator knew partly from his own experience) the happiest fruit for all the future, is in harmony alike with the age in which he lived and with his own character. Undoubtedly his design was merely an attempt to present this truth in a new and characteristic dress, and attach it to older traditions. We have discovered this Narrator to be generally in the main a creative moulder of old traditions to new forms: and here too he can be proved with tolerable clearness to have maintained his usual character. In describing this last division of the Mosaic history, the author found himself in the camp in the 'steppes of Moab' on the further side of the Jordan: but this very ground would best serve for the confirmation of his view, because the power of Israel ever since the time of David had shown itself gloriously in the repeated conquest and holding of Moab. And if it were desired to introduce a prophet as acting at the close of Moses' life upon this very soil, and consequently as entitled, on any occasion arising there, to prophesy the future of Israel in its later period of development, such a one was found to his hand in the Book of Origins, and possibly in yet older sources:—viz. Balaam (otherwise pronounced Bileam) the son of Beor,[1] of whom that book must have furnished a full account. Although the chief part of this is now lost to us, together with the original commencement of the narrative concerning Midian in Num. xxv. (see p. 181 sqq.), yet we see clearly[2] that according to these older accounts Balaam belonged to Midian, and as a prophetical leader of the people, in the ancient sense of that word, enjoyed among the Midianites who invaded these lands as great consideration as their five princes who are mentioned by name. As to his external influence, he may have borne much the same relation to them that Moses bore to Israel; and since the Midianites are to be placed generally far eastwards and belong to the so-called 'Sons of the East' or 'Saracens,'

[1] It is mere chance that the name of the first King of Edom Bela, son of Beor (Gen. xxxvi. 32), agrees so nearly with that of the Midianite Prophet; besides the LXX. here read *Balak*. The pronunciation Βοσόρ, in 2 Peter ii. 15, probably sprang from ΒΟϢΡ, only by a misreading, although in our ordinary manuscripts of the LXX. ΒΕΩΡ is found.

[2] From Num. xxxi. 8, 16, Josh. xiii. 21 sq.

i.e. the tribes who extended as far as the Euphrates, and lived along its banks (see i. p. 315), it becomes intelligible how, in a narrative undoubtedly derived from the same old sources, he could be represented as coming from Pethor on the Euphrates, or, speaking less definitely, from Aram.[1] Thus far he is a true historical personage, and from his example we may see in how high esteem the prophetical dignity was then held in its most ancient exercise, even in the distant East. We also know[2] that he seduced Israel (we cannot see exactly how) to participate in the licentious festival of Baal-Peor, Num. xxv.

However, the remodeller of the ancient traditions respecting him immediately encountered two difficulties arising from these facts. In the first place he was not, properly speaking, a prophet for Moab, but for Midian; and it was Moab and not Midian who at that time warred against Israel. But this innovating author was precluded from employing the Midianites in his version, because in his own day they had already lost all importance. Since however, even according to the Book of Origins the Midianites fought against Israel upon the ancient territory of Moab, the writer could at least represent the then ruling king of Moab as becoming alarmed at the extending power of Israel and seeking help from Midian and Balaam: and if this version of the story were once allowed to pass, Moab might then in the further course of the narrative, be insensibly made to assume the whole importance.[3] In the second place Balaam was properly the prophet of an idol and a great enemy of Israel, as indeed he was regarded in the ancient tradition, according to which he was at last slain together with the five princes, when the Israelites conquered the Midianites. Nevertheless this reviser of the history needed him as a prophet, foreseeing and predicting the greatness of Israel and the fall of Moab and the other heathens. But to a profounder view of

[1] Num. xxii. 5, xxiii. 7. On the contrary, all that the Rabbinical age imagined respecting Balaam, and even wrote in his name, is mere inference, founded primarily upon the few words about him in the Old Testament: see Origen *in Cels.* i. 12; 1, 3, and *Liber Jos. Samar.* c. 3–5, 41. The confusion between Balaam and the sage Lokman probably did not arise until the latter, whom tradition connects rather with the Himyarites, had been mentioned in the Korân, Sur. xxxi. 11 sq., where however he is not called (as he is later, through the confusion in question) *Son of Beor*. With the exception of a slight similarity of sound in the two names and their apparent derivation from the synonymous roots בלע and לעם *to devour*, no real identity or similarity of person can be proved.

[2] From the passing observation, Num. xxxi. 16.

[3] It is remarkable how at the beginning the compiler without any intimation leads the narrative away from the Midianites, Num. xxii. 4 sqq., and finally returns to them in the words of the Book of Origins xxv. 1–5; wherein we clearly see that it is the compiler only who brought Moab into this context.

prophecy the reviser justly felt this second obstacle to fade away so completely, that he was able to found upon it a plan of representation, which furnished at once a most exciting complication, and a fitting though surprising solution of his problem. For in the Prophet (according to the view which pervades all the earliest antiquity) the God stands above the man; and according to this popular view, even an inferior prophet might be so carried away by a higher influence, at least in the sacred moment of the commencement or during the flow of his discourse, as to declare the truth contrary to his own will. This is not the place to discuss the degree of truth involved in such an idea. It suffices that if it prevailed in that age, and there was added to it the special faith of a Hebrew, that Jahveh was above all gods, and therefore also above the prophets of all idol deities, and from time to time made himself felt by them as the alone Omnipotent, it then became possible upon such a basis to build up a narrative, unparalleled in effectiveness, and, as it now stands in Num. xxii. 2–xxiv, unsurpassable in artistic finish. Balak king of Moab invites Baalam by an embassy to come to him, that he may see the Israelites, and by a prophet's curse accomplish their destruction. 'As a man he might have wished to go, but his God forbad him;' this is his first answer, perfectly simple and straightforward, xxii. 2–13. Upon a second and more pressing invitation Jahveh permits him to go, because he had not at once rejected this second request, and Jahveh does not wish to take away man's freedom; but he warns him to speak only that which was given him, vv. 14–21. Since he still undertakes the journey notwithstanding its equivocal character, he is conducted on his way not by a favouring but by a terrific angel. This angel first thrice affrights the ass on which he rides, and which perceives the danger sooner than the now blinded prophet (for a beast is often more sagacious and foreboding than an obdurate man),[1] and finally he so terrifies the prophet himself, that he loses all desire to speak otherwise than as Jahveh wills, 22–35. Thus arriving, after the careful preparations made by Balak, he begins to prophesy, but the curse which he is to speak always turns in his mouth to a

[1] It is scarcely necessary to recall here other examples of beasts endowed with the power of speech, occurring elsewhere than in the Old Testament. See, besides what was told of Silenus' ass, *Il.* xix. 404 sqq., Ælian's *History of Animals*, xii. 3, Virgil's *Georgi s*, i. 478, Qirq Vezîr, p. 117, 3 sqq., Wakidi's *Egypt*, p. 193, *Journal As.* 1843, i. p. 216. Even rivers were endowed with a similar faculty by heathen imagination; compare the *Life of Pythagoras* by Porphyry, c. xxvii. and by Iamblichus, c. xxviii. (134). But the example before us in the Old Testament is not merely perfectly original, but also highly instructive, viewed in its true connection and import.

blessing, increasing in strength and fervour the oftener Balak attempts to draw from him a different declaration, xxii. 36–xxiv. 9; until after the third blessing, each having been sublimer than the former, Balak loses all patience, and wishes to drive away the seer. He then of his own accord begins to announce to Moab and to all the heathen the fate which impends over them from that community to which, as perfectly righteous and worshipping the true God, no curse could cleave, and which must for ever advance from victory to victory, and could not be injured even by the extremest and most pressing dangers, xxiv. 10–24. Now this is the genuine praise and the true blessing which even enemies—be they prophets or kings—must involuntarily speak or hear: and the Fourth or the Fifth Narrator, both of whom delight to put such prophetic words into the mouth of the Patriarchs, could not better close the history of the Mosaic age, (as he scrupled to put such words into the mouth of Moses), than with prophecies which promise duration and development to the true community as established in the last days of Moses.[1]

III. Ideas on the Grandeur of Moses and his Age.

If the history of the long leadership of Moses closed thus triumphantly, we can easily understand how, although a few dark blots always marred the memory of that time, the Exodus from Egypt and the interval of sacred repose at Mount Sinai, and indeed the entire period of the guidance of the people by Moses, naturally shone in the after-memory of the Israelites as the brightest portion of their history. Of any extraordinary period of history some few ideas, brief and easily repeated, but all the more expressive, gradually form themselves in the memory; attaching themselves to special objects characteristic of the age, in themselves insignificant, but which thus become the bearers of grand and comprehensive thoughts; and when the peculiar grandeur of such an age is for ever gone, and the enthusiastic desire to revive it can no longer accompany the memory of its vanished glories, these standing symbols of recollection become more spiritualised. Such ideas, in which all that is remembered of the essential glory of such ages is concentrated, and which we therefore consider most suitably in this place, do not properly form a part of the history itself, but have their place wherever a short notice of the wonderful nature of the age in question suffices; but in course of time they become a more integral part of the history, as the original

[1] See my article on Balaam's prophecies in *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* viii. p. 1–41, x. p. 46 sqq. 178.

story gradually loses its details, and has to supply their place by more general ideas.

The free elevation of a people towards the Divine grace, which is in reality ever coming forth to meet man, but yet at favoured moments calls to him with especial power, and the fruitful cooperation of human action with Divine truths and powers, are the sources of all true nobility of character among men, and therefore in an especial degree of the nobility of the Mosaic age. So perhaps the most beautiful idea concerning this age is that of the great Prophets of the eighth century, that Jahveh found Israel young and helpless in the desert, and in pure love adopted him as his son, and Israel then responded to this great and prevenient love of Jahveh and willingly submitted to his guidance.[1] But yet those ages were not always so peaceful as they might appear from this conception: towards without, against other nations, the permanence of this new and unique community could only be rendered possible through the most violent convulsions of the world. Looking back upon those times, the Israelites knew that it was only through the newly-felt power of Jahveh in their midst that they had won this position amidst the other nations of the earth, and thus it would appear to them as if Jahveh when leading his people, had made the opposing world to tremble so that even mountains like Sinai shook before him, until the new nation, and with them the new law, had won a firm resting-place among the nations. This conception would occur most naturally in times of war, when the people were again fighting as they had done under Moses.[2]

Consolidating all that here is disjointed, the Earliest Narrator sets up the beautiful image of an Angel of God, invisible and yet powerful, preceding the host of Israel and leading it securely on all its ways: the simplest idea here possible, and prevalent on other similar occasions in the same age.[3]

But when the historical spirit required something more short and tangible, the idea sprang up, that the glory (majesty) of Jahveh was in the Mosaic age actually cognisable in a physical phenomenon, and as it were personally present among the people.

[1] See the passages above, p. 111.

[2] Its prototype is found in Deborah's song, Judges v. 4, 5, in a short form, and at greater length in the equally ancient Paschal Hymn, Ex. xv. Afterwards the same images were sometimes verbally repeated, Hab. iii. 2 sqq., Ps. lxviii. 8 [7] sq., in similar warlike times; Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxxvii. 14 [13] sqq. cxiv. 3 sqq.; also 4 Ezra i. (3) 17, 18, and elsewhere.

[3] See passages from the Earliest Narrator already brought under consideration, p. 26 note 6. We are fortunately able to compare with these the passage in Deborah's song, Judg. v. 23, and thus to see still more clearly how vivid such conceptions were at that time even in respect of events of the day.

The Angel whom the Earliest Narrator described as present among the people or going before to guide them, was gradually corporealised into a more visible appearance and a more tangible form. We find this more corporeal conception first in the Book of Origins. Here, although the idea is already very fully developed, its origin is still very easily recognisable. Indeed it is in general a characteristic feature of this book, while following the popular tendency of the times in elevating the fragmentary reminiscences of the Mosaic age into the region of the supernatural, still to allow the original more tangible and visible forms of an antiquity hardly yet felt to be gone beyond recall to peep through here and there. According to this new conception, the visible image of the Majesty then present in the people to protect and guide was a bright cloud which floated above the earthly sanctuary (the Ark of the Covenant or the Tabernacle), as if the heavenly cloud of fire in which Jahveh descended upon Mount Sinai[1] (according to the Earliest Narrator also) had so descended as to form a permanent cover to the earthly sanctuary built according to his plan, and from thence to protect the entire people who faithfully gathered around it. Now in ordinary times this bright cloud covered the Sanctuary only lightly, and was scarcely visible from the outside. Strictly speaking, during the most sacred moments it occupied only the Ark of the Covenant in the mysterious darkness of the innermost Sanctuary, into which therefore the priest must only enter with a thick cloud of incense to meet and evoke,[2] as it were, the Divine cloud. In a wider sense the cloud is said to fill the whole inner Tabernacle,[3] and in the widest sense of all, even the outer one.[4] Just at the first blazing up of the flame it so completely filled the innermost sanctuary that even Moses could not enter there.[5] In extraordinary cases, however, it rose up high and was seen far and wide. Thus when the people were to start upon their journey, it appeared, and remained visible as a light[6] to guide their steps, until they reached their night's encampment. Thus, too, in still more exceptional cases, it suddenly burst forth with terrific glory to menace the refractory, and to afford to Moses or Aaron protection and shelter from their rage.[7] It is added that by night this sacred

[1] Ex. xix. 16, 18.

[2] Lev. xvi. 2, see my *Alterthümer*, pp. 402 sq. The entire passage, Lev. xvi. 3–13, is merely an exposition of the few brief words in ver. 2, where the cloud being regarded as a sacred apparition, is first mentioned quite apart.

[3] חמשכן.

[4] Ex. xl. 34; Num. ix. 15 sqq.

[5] Ex. xl. 35; see 1 Kings viii. 10 sq.

[6] Ex. xl. 36, 37, Num. ix. 17–23, x. 11, 12, 33, 34.

[7] Num. xiv. 10, xvi. 19, xvii. 7 [xvi. 42] sq., Ex. xvi. 10; instead of המדבר, which would be wholly without meaning here, it is necessary to read אהל מועד, as in the

cloud became fire, especially during journeys.[1] If we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is clear that in so far as this idea is due to the memory of any actual phenomenon occurring during the journey in the desert, we are driven at length to think of the sacred altar-fire alone. At the sanctuary an eternal fire must burn. Such a fire actually was kept up even in a comparatively late age,[2] as we see from certain evident indications. But upon journeys through the desert, and especially by night, this fire must have been kept up with especial brilliancy, on account of the great importance of holding together the extensive caravan by a visible token around the sanctuary as a centre; so that it would appear by day as a moving cloud, and by night as fire. But at the time of the composition of the Book of Origins the things real and apparent belonging to the desert and to the migratory life in general were already removed from the province of distinct memory. This obscured recollection, and the natural desire of forming a visible image of the Divine glory then present, might then easily combine to produce the above-described conception, which is certainly not a simple but a highly complex one. It is easy to see what particular points of this conception do, and what do not, rest upon real facts of experience. But the conception which had thus arisen was treated again differently by the Third Narrator; and again upon a nearer survey we discover that this newest version is separated from the former by a great interval in the development of the age. The cloud, being no longer regarded as subject to the variations in altitude alluded to above, is now termed a Pillar[3] of cloud, and regarded as wholly unconnected with the Ark of the Covenant and the Tabernacle, and as being in itself the visible covering of Jahveh. Now therefore the cloud itself guides the people, or freely comes to and vanishes from the sacred Tabernacle, as only Jahveh himself can freely appear in kindness or retire in wrath; and especially it tarries at the sacred Tabernacle in front, and is adored by the people whenever Moses goes out of the camp to speak with Jahveh in the Tabernacle, and obtain

parallel passages in the Book of Origins. It is obvious that especially after the preposition אֶל one word might be readily mistaken for the other.

[1] Ex. xl. 38, Num. ix. 15, 16; compare Num. xiv. 14.

[2] See above, p. 126 sqq.

[3] By this characteristic expression, wholly foreign to the Book of Origins, we are able to recognise the Third Narrator even apart from other indications, Ex. xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 19, 24, xxxiii. 9, 10, Num. xii. 5, xiv. 14, Deut. xxxi. 15. Such passages indeed in their present form are for the most part quoted by the Fourth Narrator; still I believe that the Third Narrator is the real author of this conception, because the chief interest of the Fourth Narrator turns rather on another point, namely the staff of Moses,

counsel (an oracle).[1] The conception of the cloud has here imperceptibly become confounded with the originally very different one of the Cherubim (i. p. 322), and has become in reference to Moses only a tangible sign of his Divine appointment, a heavenly glory surrounding the sacred place of his oracle appearing and disappearing there as Moses himself comes and goes. And whilst in the conception found in the Book of Origins it is self-evident, as well as expressly stated, that the cloud never appeared till the sacred Tabernacle was raised and dedicated,[2] the Third Narrator can without difficulty represent his so-called Pillar of cloud as appearing long before from the very beginning of the Exodus, now guiding the Israelites, now with terrible forms of fire scaring away their foes.[3] Many similar conceptions might then without difficulty attach themselves and become amalgamated with this.[4]

Moreover, even the apparently unimportant things and events of daily life must undoubtedly have been regarded in a peculiar manner, with reference to an age whose spiritual life was conceived to have attained such an elevation. When once the seeing eye and the grateful heart of a nation are opened for the recognition of the true God, the nation sees, even in the daily gifts and blessings which it enjoys and through which it lives, more than mere physical matter. But in all alleviations of present trouble and privation, which come unexpected and undeserved, it feels far more inwardly and deeply the hand of the Infinite and Invisible God, whom even independently of this experience it had already begun to recognise. Now the desert, like the sea, seems as if created on purpose to remind man, whose spirit is so easily overwhelmed and corrupted by the luxury of some regions of the earth, of his bodily helplessness and frailty, and in this very contrast to teach him to esteem more truly and highly those remarkable alleviations and deliverances which surprise him often, even in the desert. And as we speak of seamanlike bluntness and honesty, so, even at the very earliest time known to us, the example of the Arab of the desert proves the desert

[1] Ex. xxxiii. 7–11, Num. xii. 4, 5, 9, 10.

[2] Ex. xl. 34, Num. ix. 15, x. 11 sq.

[3] Ex. xiii. 21, 22, xiv. 19, 24. According to this conception also Prophets spoke, as Is. iv. 5, 6, Rev. xxi. 11 sqq. and with it was bound up the entire feeling of the living energy and glory of God's presence (see my *Alterthümer*, p. 379 sq.). Thus there were formed from it the Rabbinical expressions of the שְׁכִינָה i.e. dwelling, presence, manifested glory of God; and this word in the form سكينة has even passed into the Korân, *Sûr.* ii. 249, and thence into Islam poetry. (*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, ii. p. 204, v. 49.)

[4] The ancient Hebrew conception, e.g. of the appearance of the God of heaven in the heavenly fire, p. 105; or those derived from the aspect of volcanic mountains. See Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages* (Paris, 1845) i. p. clxi.; Hanno's *Peripl.* c. xvi.; Dio Cass. lxvi. 21.

capable of educating its children to be an upright, generous, and grateful race. The sudden appearance of manna, of birds of passage, and of drinkable water, must have made a powerful impression upon the Israelites, especially as upon them, who had only just left a land of luxury and opulence, the terrors and privations of the desert had fallen with double weight, and as moreover they had immediately before had the most living experience of the presence of the true Redeemer and Deliverer among themselves. The profoundest doctrines and sublimest exhortations might easily be founded upon such a theme. All this is tolerably self-evident, but is also clearly indicated by the Earliest Narrator.[1] Besides, this lofty spirit, once awakened, will certainly be more likely to discover the scanty and infrequent supports of life supplied by the desert, and to use them cleverly; as in the case mentioned in the earliest narrative, of a piece of wood found by Moses and seeming to be shown him by Jahveh himself in answer to his earnest entreaty, by which he made the bitter water sweet;[2] and as in the case of the manna and the various methods of preparing it described by the same Narrator.[3] But the longer the nation was established in Canaan, the further removed would all such recollections of the desert become: and of the full circle of memory it was natural that only one half should be retained, the more interesting to the devout and thankful heart, the recollection namely of the wonderful preservation in the very midst of the waste unfruitful desert. The prophet Hosea[4] deals with the intrinsic truth of this memory in the freest and most apposite manner, indicating that what had formerly happened might happen again, in the same or a different form. And so, even in the Book of Origins, it was Jahveh himself who sent Manna, the Bread of Heaven, to be the constant food of the desert, and birds of passage occasionally, to be the concomitant meat to it, and who caused Moses to strike the rock with his sacred staff and bring forth the streams of water to satisfy man and beast.[5] In fact the region occupied by the wonders of the desert is by the writer of that book already so far removed from the inspection of any mere historical eye, that he can inseparably combine with these views his chief object, viz. the explanation of the law, and represent the manna the pure food of heaven[6] (in whose production man cannot aid, as in the case of corn), as always appearing in

[1] Ex. xv. 24–26.
[2] Ex. xv. 25.
[3] Num. xi. 7 sq.
[4] Hos. ii. 16 [14] sq.; compare xi. 1–5, xii. 10 [9].
[5] Ex. xvi. Num. xi, xx. 1–13.
[6] It is named 'angels' food' as early as Ps. lxxviii. 25; compare Ps. cv. 40, Wisd. xvi. 20, 4 Ezra i. 19.

precisely the right quantity to supply not only the ordinary wants of the people, but also the double quantity required to render possible the observance of the Sabbath in the desert.[1] The Deuteronomist finally goes further,[2] and says that the raiment and the shoes of the wanderers (things which it appeared impossible to procure in the desert) did not wax old during the forty years. This idea, derived from such figures as the Prophets often use,[3] was in fact only the widest extension of the idea of the exalted inner power of the Mosaic age, asserting itself even in external things.

And finally, as we have already said, it is not easy to realise how great and holy was the actual power of that man upon whom rested the entire elevation and glory of that age, so far as it can be referred to man, whether we regard its source or its effect—the man who first made the amazing attempt, as national leader and commander, to act upon mind by mind alone, and to whom, if to any one, the staff of command was given and maintained by God himself. But even the Book of

[1] Ex. xvi. 15–36. The question respecting the real nature of this manna, and whether it is identical with that found still, though in smaller quantities, in that region, can only receive a strictly scientific answer from men who like Ehrenberg of Berlin have carefully investigated the manna in all parts. It is clear from Ex. xvi. 32–36 that even when the Book of Origins was written manna was regarded by the nation as a sacred memento of the glorious age when the community was founded; and therefore a basket-full (doubtless renewed from time to time) was brought from Sinai, and preserved in the Ark of the Covenant. It was regarded therefore by the ancient community somewhat as Christians view baptismal water from the Jordan; and as water from the Jordan does not differ from water elsewhere, but all depends upon faith, and the faith in this case is directed towards a fact of past history, so with regard to the manna little depends upon its external form, when the question is restricted to its religious aspect. But hence it follows undoubtedly that the manna was an ordinary natural substance and not something possible only then. Indeed it is still found upon certain trees among the mountains of Sinai, and collected and distributed by the monks of the adjacent monasteries; and it may have been much more abundant in former ages than at present. If however this alone does not suffice to render intelligible all the various accounts of the manna given in the Old Testament, we must not forget among other considerations that edible gums are still to be found in those regions, as also many rarer kinds of such 'heavenly food;' see the collections in Ritter's *Erdkunde* Band xiv. p. 665–695; C. Galton's *Bericht eines Forschers im tropischen Südafrika*, Leip. 1854, p. 65; *Zeitschr. d. r Deutsch. Morg nl. Ges.* iv. p. 224; Seetzen's *Reisen* i. p. 323, iii. p. 75–80, 129; Burckhardt's *Syria* p. 738; and that most recent striking example reported from Algeria in the *Literary Gazette*, Sept. 22, 1849, and in the *Athenæum*, Oct. 6, 1849, not to mention stories like Riculf's in Laurent's *Peregrinatores medii aevi* p. 123. Diodorus Sic. i. 60, relates how quails appeared in surprising multitude at Rhinocolura; and similar traditions are not very uncommon, even the locusts of the desert sometimes appearing as a 'food of God;' see *Le Grand Désert*, par Daumas et Ausone de Chaucel, Paris 1851, compare this with my *Alterth.* p. 167; also Porphyry *de Abstin.* i. 25.; Paroemiogr. Gr. i. p. 143; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.* 1864, p. 466. Moreover, respecting the water of the desert see similar instances in Tabari's *Annals* i. p. 190 sqq.; W. Roth's *'Oqba der Eroberer Nordafrikas*, *Gött.* 1859, p. 37, 59; *Notices et Extraits* xii. p. 461, 552, 631; *Journal Asiat.* 1843, p. 190, 195; Seetzen's *Reisen* iii. p. 13; Olympiodorus in Photius' *Bibliotheca* lxxx. p. 191, Hösch.; Klausen's *Æneas* i. p. 10; Brugsch's *Hist. d'Égypte* i. p. 153.

[2] Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 4.

[3] See Is. v. 27.

Origins regarded this staff as a mere external power, described its origin,[1] and made Moses by its efficacy draw water from the rock.[2] Then in the hands of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, it became 'as the staff of God'—a mere outward sign of the great divine power then revealed upon earth under Moses and Aaron. By its instrumentality, even before the advent at Sinai, Moses drew water from the rock;[3] and by raising it, as if it were a general's bâton, during the same period he conquered Amalek, since the host under Joshua pressed forward or retired according as it remained firmly raised up in his hands or not, wherefore Aaron and Hur came finally to support his hands on either side;[4] and by means of this same staff, even in Egypt before the Exodus, Moses and Aaron accomplished all their noble achievements (see p. 61 sqq.). Thus even here, in the case of the staff, one simple telling image becomes the current coin for the expression of the recollection of a very manifold spiritual agency, like a new technical term adopted to describe a newly-discovered natural agency.

But on the nature of Moses' relation to the people, after his influence had been long firmly established among them, the extant fragments of the Third Narrator contain some ideas, as peculiar as they are significant. This Narrator tells how the countenance of this greatest of all Prophets had, without his knowing it, become shining, through discoursing so long with God face to face. Returning from Sinai to the people with the tables of the Law, he had around his head a bright reflection of the pure eternal Light, to which he had approached nearer than any before. Aaron himself and all the elders of the community were so surprised at this unexpected appearance, that none ventured to approach him until he encouraged them to come on and hear the word of God by him. Not to affright them again in the same way, he ever afterwards covered his shining countenance with a mask, which he only laid aside when he entered the Sanctuary.[5] Nothing could declare more express-

[1] Num. xvi, xvii. See above, p. 180.

[2] Num. xx. 1–11; compare Apollod. *Bibl.* iii. 14. 1; Paus. *Perieg.* iv. 36. 5.

[3] Ex. xvii. 1–7.

[4] Vv. 8–13. Indeed among the Romans also, the ascent or descent of the Eagle was the signal for the attack or retreat.

[5] Ex. xxxiv. 29–35; מַסְוֶה, which Onkelos has best rendered by בית אפין *mask* (in Arabic it is called simply وجه *πρόσωπον*), is properly *similarity*, and hence *mask*, from סָוָה = שָׁוָה and شبه, which may mean either to *shine* (to appear, to be like) or to *rejoice* and to *desire*. The LXX. render the word somewhat too loosely by *κάλυμμα*. On other occasions also the ancients often speak of a shining countenance, but it is undoubtedly only as an imitation of the Old Testament that these images recur in Islam (see Reinaud's *Description des Monuments* i. p. 137, ii. p. 71. 163), and that in the second century of the Hegira the so-called Moqanna in like manner put on a mask (see *Ibn-Challikan* i. p. 441

ively[1] both the peculiar elevation and glory of the life and work of Moses in its final transfiguration, and the wide interval which gradually separated him from the rest of the nation (as was observed on p. 178 sqq.). Nothing shows more clearly both the timid awe, increasingly felt by the community, of the Divine power shining forth from him, and their own incapacity to cast an undimmed and undazzled eye upon that glory which now rose as never sun rose before, to be perfectly and permanently manifested in Moses. And whenever Moses passed through the camp to the sacred Tabernacle—so says the second of these traditions—all stood up and followed him with reverential eyes; but only when the pillar of cloud, described p. 219 sq., rested over the sacred Tabernacle, did they fall down and worship.[1] In this act however is embodied the whole truth of genuine religion, which even in the highest Prophet can only see and honour the man, and not directly the Divine itself.

But if the exaltation of Moses was already distinctly expressed in such symbols of supernatural transfiguration, it was only consistent to invest the close of his life with equal mystery. There is little probability (even from the remarks on p. 133 sqq.) that in the earliest times the graves of the leaders who died beyond the Jordan, such as Aaron or Moses, were much visited; and the precise spot of the death of Moses must early have become uncertain. Thus the Deuteronomist[2] says that he was buried at Hag-gai in the land of Moab, i.e. (according to pp. 209 sqq.), at a place which may be regarded as the last encampment during the wanderings, but that no one knew his grave—as if it were more suitable that his grave should not be like that of another man. From this rudimentary conception grew many later ideas respecting the mysterious end of this unique being, whose life had not been less miraculous.[3]

But in general, even in the Book of Origins, Moses was the

ar, Slane). Iamblichus related that even Pythagoras appeared with a cover before his exoteric disciples: *Life of Pythagoras*, c. xvii. cod. lxxii.

[1] Ex. xxxiii. 8–11; compare p. 29 *note*, and my *Alterthümer*, p. 316.

[2] Deut. xxxiv. 6, see above, p. 213.

[3] Subsequent writers went further in the same direction; but the most utterly incongruous account is that given by Josephus (*Antiquities*, iv. 8. 48), who introduces a cloud which at the last moment made him invisible *on an abyss*, as if וַיִּקְבֹּר could bear that meaning! Besides וַיִּקְבֹּר is certainly indefinite; see my *Lehrbuch*, § 274 b. The first further allusion to this point is found Deut. xxxiii. 21. The Rabbinical notion that Moses died in consequence of a kiss of God is seen in its germ in Philo (*on Cain's Offering*, in *Opera* i. p. 165), and in Ev. Nicod. c. xvi. in the idea that he died *by the word of God* (*ἐν ῥήματι Κυρίου*, for the LXX. had at all events in xxxiv. 5 already translated עַל פִּי יְיָ by *διὰ ῥήματος Κυρίου*. By degrees therefore Moses was associated with Elias: Philo, *Quæs. in Gen.* v. 24 (in Aucher ii. p. 59 sq.); Matt. xvii. 3; Ev. Nicod. c. xvi. compare Rev. xi. 3. Similarly he came to be described as *ἀναθής*, Clem. *Hom.* xix. 22.

type of the Prophet, Aaron of the Priest: with whom was associated, to form the third member of a typical circle, their exalted sister Miriam (or Mariam, according to the Hellenistic pronunciation), as type of the position of highest dignity to which woman could aspire under Jahveism. In this religion the sacerdotal dignity could not be held by a woman; but the prophetical, as being freer and bound by no external conditions, might. It would in fact be most readily conferred on women who, like the Prophetess[1] Miriam, restricted their controlling energy to the female portion of the nation. The later narrators carry still further this idea of the typical significance of the greatest minds of that age. Thus even in this region, as in that of the Patriarchs, mere abstract types, not historical characters, would have been left us, had not the historical recollection of the characteristics of those minds and the age to which they belonged been previously committed to writing.

The exalted veneration for Moses, which in the centuries immediately before the Babylonian captivity received an immense impetus, after that period gradually passed all reasonable bounds, both with the Jews and still more with the Samaritans. After the time of Ezra this veneration was extended to the Pentateuch as his abiding work. This excessive veneration cared less and less for the real facts of ancient history, and took an eccentric pleasure in pursuing the strangest conceits. Among the known writings of this winter-season of the nation, the most honourable place is occupied by Philo 'on the Life of Moses.' Philo here treats of Moses in the four capacities of King, Lawgiver, High-Priest and Prophet,[2] and writes his history strictly and solely from the Pentateuch and with his characteristic refined taste throughout; but quite freely as regards the manner, with the extreme of rhetorical adornment, and with an attempt at artificial restoration of the circumstances of the Mosaic age

[1] The expression 'Prophetess' in the ancient reference to her, Ex. xv. 20, cannot by any means be equivalent to 'poetess,' as has been seriously maintained. Neither נביא nor חוזה (compare my *Propheten des Alt. B.*, vol. i. p. 12 note) is ever thus employed. Besides, according to Ex. xv. 1, Miriam is by no means to be regarded preeminently as the composer of that song. Micah vi. 4 rightly coordinates the three members of this exalted family. It is however obvious that in the original accounts respecting the noble sister of those glorious brothers far more was related than has come down to us in the extant records.

[2] Hence in printing this work it ought to be divided into four instead of three Books; the fourth beginning with iii. 23 (T. ii. p. 163 Mang.). Moreover this Sermon (to give it its right name) is not a complete Life of Moses, since Philo passes over many particulars as superfluous for his object, or possibly as not intelligible to himself; he does not e.g. give any account of the speech of Balaam's ass.

rather in the language of the pulpit. Nevertheless, besides his figurative interpretations (allegories), he introduces many of the scholastic opinions then current, and takes the idea of a Sacred Book in so inflexible a sense as to teach that Moses historically described his own death, with all its circumstances, before the time. But though Philo held so strictly to the Pentateuch, there were others even in that age who used this sacred territory with much greater freedom. The Book of Jubilees (i. p. 201 sq.), written about the last century before Christ, pretends that the contents of the Pentateuch were communicated by God to Moses during his forty days' fast upon Mount Sinai. But especially the mysterious youth of the hero (see p. 88 sq.), as also the close of his life, which also had very early been drawn into the region of mystery (see p. 224), were tempting fields to fill up with inventions and fictions:[1] just as the two extremities of the Gospel history ultimately became the chief subject of the Apocryphal Gospels. One of the most innocent conceits in which that age indulged was that Moses on account of his high dignity and incomparable excellence had various widely differing names.[2] The better part of the nation in its best ages had however been wise and modest enough to distinguish him only by one name—which in its original fulness of meaning was the most expressive and beautiful possible—the *Man of God*.[3] As far as we know, this name was given first to him, and long borne by him alone, being applied to him even at the time of the Book of Origins long after his death only rarely, and therefore with all the greater emphasis. But much wilder

[1] The passage Jude 9, which is certainly quoted from some work extensively known in the very first century after Christ, shows how early the attempt was made to describe exactly the final moment of the life of Moses, and to weave into this description a complete answer to the questions which arose concerning his highest glory, and his guilt or innocence. A fragment of this 'Ascension of Moses' in the old Latin translation has now been rediscovered and published. In the *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1862, p. 4 sqq., I have discussed its exact age. Probably it was this work which, subsequently undergoing repeated modifications, finally assumed the full Rabbinical form, which under the name *Petîrath-Moshe* it has retained in two widely differing elaborations. Both of these have been made known chiefly by Gilb. Gaulmyn, 1627, and subsequently (but without the Hebrew) by J. A. Fabricius, 1714. To these two books is prefixed a smaller one on the Life of Moses, which is chiefly devoted to the history of his youth, but treats it differently from that already described p. 88 sq. It may indeed have originated in the early Rabbinical age as a supplement to the work on the Death of Moses, but it has been preserved in an older and simpler form than the two versions of that book. A saying of Moses not now found in the Pentateuch may be read in Theoph. *ad Autolyc*, ii. 50; compare also Justin *contra Tryph.* ch. xc. 111 sqq.

[2] E.g. that after the ascension to heaven he ought to be called Μελχί (*kingly?*) Clement. Alex. *Strom.* i. 23 (p. 343); other names again are found in the work edited by Gaulmyn, pp. 9, 10.

[3] According to the Book of Origins, Josh. xiv. 6, he is first so called in solemn language under Joshua; and in fact in the Pentateuch it is only the Last Editor (see i. p. 130) who calls him so, Dout. xxxiii. 1; as is also done in the title to Ps. xc.

and more presumptuous fictions, which in the end almost overturned the true history, were sanctioned by some writers, after the 'Man of God' as such was said to have risen up a second time in the world, without being again recognised in his true historical form. Thus some one produced the fable, that the two high mountain-ranges which surround the Wadi Maujeb, i.e. the Arnon (mentioned p. 202 sqq.), had formed an arch to make a firm bridge for Moses and his host.[1] How freely these fable-makers could act when once in their element, raised far above all historical restraints, is yet very clearly to be seen in the stories of Moses in the Korân.[2] But since among these there are absolutely no new sources for the history of Moses brought to light, we may here pass them completely by.

But all such later glorifications and embellishments of the history of the great founder of the true community are the less needed by us, because the further course of the history after his death brings us new and not unimportant evidence of his true greatness. For, different as was the form assumed by the history of Joshua as an independent leader from that of his predecessor, yet in its main points it is only a direct continuation of all the aspirations first and powerfully aroused in the Israelites by Moses, and now developed in the form they naturally assumed in the age immediately succeeding his personal agency. All then that appears great and glorious in the history of Joshua is ultimately only one of the first fruits of

[1] A short notice of this is still found in Chron. Samar. c. 42 msc. p. 206, compare i. 19. But what inventions must have existed when such a one could be publicly brought forward! The same author fabled that the kings of Ammon, Moab, and Midian were destroyed in order that the Israelites might plunder their flocks! On a par with this is the story that God himself guarded his people by tents from the heat of the sun, whereby at the same time the origin of the Feast of Tabernacles was explained, 4 Ezra i. 20, and the story that he bent the rocks of Sinai over them for a shelter, *T. 'Abôda zara*, p. 2b, which must be borrowed from an *Apocryphon*, and yet is there professedly only derived from Ex. xix. 17; see also 4 Ezra iii. 18 sq. We are told by Hermas i. 2. 3 of a book belonging to the same age on Eldad and Medad, the prophetic non-prophets known from Num. xi. 26 *sq.* The Epistle of Barnabas also (ch. xii.) alludes to an Apocryphon on Ex. xvii. 11.

[2] Moreover these are generally derived with but little change from Rabbinical legends: see G. Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (Frankfort, 1845) p. 126–191. Connected with the great freedom used by the Arabs in the repetition of these and many other of the earliest histories, we find a great change in the pronunciation of many names. Thus they said Shu'aib for Hobab, p. 44 sq., Hârûn for Aaron, and in like manner Qârûn for the Korah mentioned p. 178. This Korah was then always depicted as the most determined opponent and rival of Moses, and therefore as a true Egyptian magician, alchemist, and treasure-collector (see *Sur.* xxviii. 76–82 and also Baidhâwî), just as the artisan who made Aaron's calf (p. 183) was, from the notorious hatred of the Jews towards the Samaritans, stigmatised as 'the Samaritan,' *Sur.* xx. 96. But many new names of places also emerge; the sacred valley of the calling of Moses, e.g., is here named Tuwâ, *Sur.* xx. 12, lxxix. 16; comp. i. p. 316 note. B. Beer's *Leben Moses nach Auffassung der Jüdischen Sage* (in the *Jahrb. für die Geschichte der Juden*, iii. p. 1–64, 1863) is left unfinished.

the activity of his greater predecessor. And though the latter had to depart from the visible scene before the national efforts of Israel had reached the goal of even the first and most pressing necessity, still he had so thoroughly transformed the inner character of the people, and especially of the strongest and boldest spirits among them, and so filled them with the lofty spirit of true religion, that even while dying he created the entire glory of the age of Joshua. Thus one glory rises out of another glory, one victory out of another victory. In the second great stage of the history of Israel, from the soul of the departing Samuel, the true restorer of the Mosaic Theocracy to his age, the glory of David arose, perfecting the external realisation of what already existed as an inner principle through him. So here the true greatness of the real glory of Moses is now seen most evidently in this, that immediately out of it Joshua arose to bring the secular task of Moses to its final completion in a manner equally glorious. For it is everywhere the sign of true historical greatness, that it cannot die out, but propagates itself; although upon one elevation which is the highest attainable in its age, another equally lofty cannot immediately follow.

C. The great Victories, and the New Home, under Joshua's Leadership.

I. Authorities respecting Joshua.

Joshua (or, according to the later pronunciation, Jeshua)[1] was honoured by the ancient world as Completer of Moses' work—not indeed the inner, but the outer work—so far as completion was possible in those early days. The best proof of this is the fact, that all the important historical works which have come down to us respecting Moses, follow up his life immediately by the career of Joshua; thus closing with him the cycle of Mosaic history. This is capable of demonstration from all the authorities which have been described at p. 15 sqq. in reference to Moses.

As the principal portion of our history now passes over to a country whose inhabitants had already attained a high degree of culture and literary power, we might hope henceforward to obtain Canaanite or Phenician, as well as Biblical, records. And if indeed (to say nothing of Sanchoniathon) we still possessed the histories of Theodotus, Hypsicrates and Mochus, which Asitus translated into Greek, and which appear to have comprehended even the very earliest times;[2] or had Josephus, instead of commencing his extracts from such writings with the reign of Solomon, allowed us also to participate in the information given by them respecting antecedent periods; we should doubtless find invaluable memorials of an event which stood alone in its influence on the whole destiny of the Canaanites. But of all these treasures, nothing now remains to us. We might indeed still retain one memorial of the mighty convulsion produced by the first violent irruption of Israel on the Canaanites, could we place dependence on a very late account,[3]

[1] This appears first in Neh. viii. 17; but the LXX. have always Ἰησοῦς, as also Heb. iv. 8 and the Christian Fathers. Ἰασοῦς, Sibyll. ii. 248, is a curious modification, which has been retained only in Ethiopic.

[2] Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* x. 11 and Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. The two first Greek names must, therefore, be translations of Phenician names, such as *Mutumbal.*

[3] In Procopius' *History of the Vandal War* ii. 10, where he explains the origin of the Moors. He also says that Phenicia then extended to the borders of Egypt, and that, according to the testimony of all writers on its earliest history, it had originally but one king. What an extraordinarily early period these historians must surely have been speaking of! What Suidas says s. v. Χαναάν is derived from the same authority; and Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18 expressly says that he had met with this statement nowhere but

according to which the Phenicians, when they found Joshua's warriors irresistible, migrated first to Egypt, and then, finding the country too densely peopled for them, went further, and overspread the whole of Libya (i.e. Africa) as far as the Pillars of Hercules, retaining everywhere their own language; and built in Numidia a fortress Tigisis (or Tingis); where, as late as the sixth century after Christ, were discovered, near a great well, two pillars of white stone bearing in Phenician the inscription: 'We are those who fled from before the robber Jeshus son of Naue.' But, however intrinsically probable it may be that the Canaanites, forced back upon a narrow strip of sea-coast, should be driven to think of emigration, yet the inscription itself, and consequently the whole narrative (for all hinges upon the inscription), bears so evidently the colour of fiction,[1] that it is impossible to found anything upon it. Similar narratives of a simpler character [2] are indeed met with in somewhat earlier writers; but these, though referring to quite different regions, are very deficient in special details, and may have originated only in vague general conjectures, such as abound in late works. Our authorities on this portion of history are thus virtually limited to the Biblical records.

On examining these, we are struck, in the present Book of Joshua, with a number of narratives which, notwithstanding

in Procopius. Moses Chorenensis, *Hist. Arm.* i. 17, however, gives the same account, and also the Talmud *Jer. Sheb.* vi. in a briefer form.

[1] How could an inscription possibly have been composed in this form? In any case, this must be allowed to be only the general purport, not the full and literal expression. But this concession deprives the account of all reliability for us who are unable to compare the inscription for ourselves; especially when we reflect that even in Procopius' days the reading of early Phenician inscriptions was no easy matter. And, in addition to this, not only does the entire story, on closer examination, point to a Biblical source, but even the forms Ἰησοῦς for Joshua and Ναυή for Nun in the inscription are taken simply from the LXX. This Ναυή of the LXX. does not seem to have arisen from a mere slip of the pen, *NAYH* for *NAYN*; for Josephus also writes Ναυήνου, and therefore must have pronounced the Hebrew word נָוֶה like Γάδηρα, Josh. xv. 36; and נוֹן, now found only in the Hagiographa 1 Chron. vii. 27, comes very near to this pronunciation. The final letters of non-Greek names at that time underwent many mutations: *n*, *m*, *s*, were gradually dropped; thus Φινεεῖ as dat. of Φινεές פִּינְחָס in Philo's *Life of Moses* i. 55; Καΐς as nom. of *Cain* in Josephus *Ant.* i. 2; as likewise Σουνῆ from *Sunem*, ibid. vi. 14, 2, and Δασή for דָּסָן LXX. Gen. x. 12; Βηθσαμῆ from *Bethshemesh* in Jos. *Ant.* vi. 1. 3. It is true that Josephus and others formed also such proper names as Σιλωάμ from שִׁילֹחַ, Νοῆμος from נֹחַ, Βασανός, Ἀσανός, from בְּעֶשַׁא, אָסָא, Μαχανή from מַעֲכָה; not to speak of such forms as Γιττηνός *a man of Gitta* (Gath) Θεσβωνής from תִּשְׁבִּי; but we have no proof that the *n* in נון did not originally belong to the name.

[2] As the brief account that Tripolis in Africa was founded by Canaanites who fled before Joshua, in Eusebius *Chron. Gr.* ed. Scaliger p. 11 (wanting in the Armenian translation). Also a noble race in Armenia claimed a similar origin; see Moses Chorenensis i. 19 (pp. 91, 145, 158). *Zeits. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* i. (1837) p. 251.

their brevity, are entitled to rank very high for perspicuity and historical antiquity. They are now scattered pretty freely through the whole book, from the fragment respecting the renewal of circumcision and the first Passover in the Holy Land,[1] to that which relates the arrogance of Joseph's descendants.[2] The first fragment belongs clearly to the same early narrator who elsewhere[3] employs the same expressions in speaking of circumcision (whereas in the Book of Origins (Gen. xvii.) such subjects are treated in a very different tone); and the scattered passages in ch. xv–xvii, which for the most part recur in Judges i, belong certainly to the same ancient work, as will be yet more evident as we proceed. The fragments of this ancient record interwoven with ch. x–xii, relating to the history of Joshua's victories, are the most difficult of recognition; but a key to their correct interpretation is found in the catalogue in xii. 9–24 of the thirty-one royal Canaanite cities conquered by Joshua: a record of remarkable interest in many ways. Its distinctive antiquity would be sufficiently evident from its enumeration of cities which in those early days were great and powerful, but which afterwards sank into absolute insignificance, or were never heard of again;[4] and yet the general style of this catalogue is not that to which we are accustomed in the Book of Origins. But if we compare this document with the previous accounts of Joshua's victories (ch. vi–xi), we find a perfect correspondence in the course of the narrative. From Jericho and Ai, ver. 9, the enumeration passes to the southern cities, vv. 10–16, and then returns from Bethel northward, vv. 16–24, without however adopting the order habitual to the Book of Origins. From this circumstance, and from the very nature of such a dry catalogue of royal names, it is further obvious that the list had no ulterior aim, but was merely designed as a concluding retrospect, winding up the history of Joshua's victories with a recapitulation of the many kings whose subjugation had been previously narrated at greater length. And we see in fact, from x. 1, 3, 33, xi. 1, that the author himself was acquainted with the names of those kings, whom for brevity's sake he omits in the list; while later historians have doubtless not thought it worth while to particularise such old-world names.[5] But though this ancient document is plainly intended only as a supple-

[1] Josh. v. 2–12.
[2] Josh. xvii. 14–18.
[3] Ex. iv. 24–26.
[4] As Madon xi. 1, xii. 19; Shimron-Meron xii. 20. Even were the last-named place identical with Shimron in the tribe of Zebulon, xix. 15, we still could not regard the Book of Origins as the original source.
[5] Comp. vi. 2, viii. 1 sq., 14, 23, 29; the similar passage ix. 1 is, on the other hand, from the Deuteronomist.

mentary review of all the kings previously mentioned, we find in the present accounts in ch. vi–xi. many, but not nearly all of the thirty-one royal cities[1] enumerated; the original histories of Joshua's victories, of which we have here the concluding summary, must therefore have been of a different, and sometimes more detailed, character than those which we now possess in ch. vi–xi. On the other hand, by comparing this summary of the thirty-one conquered kings with the accounts in Judges i. derived from the same old record, we learn that it comprehends only a certain number of Canaanite kings, but not all those who were conquered in old times, and partially after Joshua's day. Neither the mighty king of Bezek,[2] nor the princes of Gaza, Askelon, or Ekron,[3] swell this list of thirty-one; which must inevitably have been the case, had not the historian maintained a strict distinction between those conquered by Joshua himself and those subjugated later. The faint traces of mythic story, combining with these more accurate reminiscences, as when the final rout and overthrow of the Amorites is ascribed to a supernatural descent of stones showered down upon them from heaven,[4] point to a primitive age, when the conception of great epochal events is very vivid, but as yet unfixed and unsettled. All thus combines to identify the record so happily preserved to us, as the original basis of the accounts extant in ch. vi–viii, x, xi. which retain besides, even in their later form, many vestiges of the modes of thought and expression[5] by which the ancient document is characterised. A very important monument of that old-world history is in fact

[1] The important royal cities in the north especially are very briefly noticed in ch. xi.

[2] Judges i. 4–7.

[3] Judges i. 18.

[4] Josh. x. 11.

[5] The expression לְפִי־חָרֶב *according to the edge of the sword*, i.e. *without sparing*, which is very characteristic of these passages: viii. 24, x. 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39, xi. 11, 12, 14, Num. xxi. 24, and which not infrequently recurs in later books, is foreign to the Book of Origins; for the only passage which might be adduced to the contrary, Josh. xix. 47, may be based upon earlier authorities. Equally foreign to the Book of Origins, and characteristic of these passages, is the phrase לֹא הִשְׁאִיר לוֹ שָׂרִיד *he left none over to escape from it*, x. 28, 30, 33, 37, 39, 40, xi. 8 (comp. viii. 22), Num. xxi. 35, although the Deuteronomist may often have repeated such antique expressions on his own account; further, the unusual expression חֵרֶם, of the divine, i.e. irresistible expulsion of an enemy: x. 10, Ex. xiv. 24, xxiii. 27. In the subject-matter likewise, there are many peculiarities; as in the command, not elsewhere mentioned in such a connection, to hough the captured horses of the enemy: xi. 6, 9; see also 2 Sam. viii. 4; whereas the later narrator (vi. 8) gives different directions about the booty; also in the mention of 'the barren mountain that rises towards Seir,' as the southernmost point of the Holy Land (xi. 17, xii. 7), where the Book of Origins would probably have spoken of the desert of Zin. The following are also uncommon words: עָבוּר *produce, fruit*, v. 11, 12; תּוֹצָאוֹת, as *growths, fruits, advantages*, xvii. 18; and אָזַר *to be narrow*, xvii. 15; חֲסִית xv. 18, Judges i. 14.

rescued to us therein; and these disjointed fragments are important in precisely inverse proportion to their small bulk and narrow scope, as compared with the mass of other authorities.

From the Book of Origins many important sections have been interpolated, distinguishable by all the characteristic peculiarities above explained, and especially by the pervading aim—to invest the abiding realities of Law and Duty with the charms of picturesque and appropriate incident. The story of Achan, fraudulently possessing himself of certain articles out of the accursed spoil of Ai, then speedily overtaken by exposure and retribution through the judgments brought upon the whole community by his sacrilege; and that of the Gibeonites, who by fraudulent devices obtained the safety of their lives in a subject condition, and were held to be legally entitled thereto because the oath of alliance had been already taken by the rulers of the nation,—are exquisite specimens of this author's historic method, which everywhere exhibits in real life the principles sanctioned by the Mosaic legislation; even here, after Moses' death, we seem to be still listening to the selfsame voice, expounding and illustrating by captivating narrative the duties and rights of the community. Thus the accounts given by this historian towards the end, respecting the partition of the land among the twelve tribes (always with due regard to the special claims of Caleb and Joshua), xiii–xix; respecting the appointment of priestly cities and cities of refuge, xx. sq.; and the position, as auxiliaries, of the two and a half tribes beyond the Jordan, xx; and respecting the death of Joshua and Eleazar, xxiv, xxix. sq., xxxii. sq., are but the necessary completion of what has been already commenced and anticipated in the earlier portions of his great work; and whenever it here becomes possible to represent with somewhat freer touch the feelings and motives of the actors in this stirring drama, as in the splendid picture of the struggle between the tribes on either side of the Jordan (ch. xxii), the large heart of this historian shows itself in sublimest touches.

From the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Narrators proceed those detailed accounts which are obviously only an amplification and rehabilitation of some earlier and briefer record. To the Third is probably due the story of the spies and their adventures with the harlot Rahab in ch. ii; to the Fourth, that of the miraculous fall of Jericho in ch. vi, and the account of the stratagem by which the fortress of Ai eventually fell before Joshua in ch. viii. The Fifth Narrator here heightens the effect of the picture by the introduction of an entirely new

figure—that of an angel of war,[1] who appeared to Joshua at Jericho; and it was doubtless he who first collected and combined the fragments of the earliest record with the later authorities, and thus prepared for the Deuteronomist an ample treasury of materials.

And finally, the Deuteronomist introduces sometimes passages of considerable length, and still more frequently short additional notices, all designed to present in Joshua's history a living example of the power and victory which might accrue to a popular leader acting in accordance with Deuteronomistic ideas. In this sense he prefixes in chap. i. a sublime prelude to Joshua's public entrance on his career, and closes his public life with similar, only fuller and more urgent exhortations from the mouth of the aged leader in ch. xxiii and xxiv.; and even at the beginning of ch. xxii. he adds something of his own. In the middle of the work also some passages have been inserted and others recast and described in his peculiar style; and many indications tend to show that the portions viii. 30–ix. 2 and x–xiii. 14 owe largely to him their language and arrangement, though not much of their subject-matter.[2]

But, however long the interval and wide the discrepancy

[1] Josh. v. 13–15; a passage which might be supposed to be an imitation of Ex. iii. 1 sqq., and to spring from no earlier writer than the Deuteronomist; but it has obviously been curtailed by that writer at the end, since there can be no doubt that fuller particulars were here given of the unexplained holy place mentioned in ver. 15, accompanied by such admonitions from the Deuteronomist as we now find in ch. i.

[2] It is evident that the passage about Mounts Ebal and Gerizim in viii. 30–35 was interpolated by him. From him is also derived the extant elaboration (iii. sq.) of the earlier and much simpler account of the passage over the Jordan, as is clear from the mention of 'Levite priests' (iii. 3; comp. viii. 33), and from other indications; we might thus be induced to attribute to him also the mention of the priests and the Ark of the Covenant at the conquest of Jericho in ch. vi, were it not that no further trace of his hand is discoverable there. As the Deuteronomist in this book often tacks on his own words to the thread of the earlier narratives, it is often difficult to distinguish and separate them with any certainty; but we shall scarcely be wrong in ascribing to him the following scattered interpolations: the perpetual exhortations to take courage, so characteristic of the Deuteronomist, viii. 1, x. 8, 25, and similar admonitions to keep the Law, as vv. 1–8, forming the whole introduction to the narrative in ch. xxii, which have been greatly altered by him; the reiterated assertion that the tribe of Levi had no inheritance among the tribes, but that the two and a half tribes beyond the Jordan were included in Moses' scheme, xii. 6, xiii. 8 (where the thread of the discourse is broken and the original connection wanting), 14 (just as in Deut. xviii. 2), 33, xiv. 3, 4, xviii. 7; the too general statements respecting the extent of Joshua's conquests, x. 40–42, and similarly xi. 20 (comp. Deut. vii. 2); the disposal of the booty, and the annihilation of 'every breath,' viii. 2, 27 sq., xi. 11, 13–15, (comp. Deut. xx. 14–16, xiii. 17 [16], where also תֵּל עוֹלָם corresponds); the legal regulation that the corpse of the crucified must be taken down before sunset, viii. 29, x. 27) comp. Deut. xxi. 22, 23); and the constant appellation 'Servant of Jahveh' for Moses or Joshua (comp. Deut. xxxiv. 5). The same traces may be distinguished even in single words; as for instance the Book of Origins uses the word אֲחֻזָּה, for *inheritance, possession*; while the Deuteronomist in Deut. and in Josh. i. 15, xii. 6, 7, prefers יְרֻשָּׁה

between the first and the last of these Narrators, it is demonstrable even within this narrow range, that far earlier memories of Joshua's great deeds must have preceded even the Earliest. In ch. x, in the middle of the narrative, vv.12–15 have been interpolated by the latest hand[1] from the ancient 'Book of the Upright,' which transports us back into the old days of Joshua far more vividly than all the rest of the narrative, comparatively early as even this was written down. The passage in which sun and moon stand still at Joshua's bidding, considered apart from the additions made by the Last Narrator, is indisputably a valuable memorial of the earliest conception of a great day of battle and victory under Joshua's leadership; clothed indeed in poetic colouring, but with a distinctness and reality which only contemporaries could assign to it and perpetuate in an historical song. But even from this sole remaining fragment we have a right to conclude, that an age which could produce such traditions must have been one of extraordinary grandeur. Combining now the manifold scattered traces which may help us to a comprehension of its character, so far as they appear to afford any certain guidance, we obtain the following picture:—

II. Joshua, and his Victories as a whole.

Joshua the son of Nun sprang from an ancient illustrious family of the tribe of Ephraim; twelve generations carried back his genealogy to the Patriarch Joseph, and the incidental way in which this fact is mentioned[2] makes it certain that much more than has come down to us was formerly told of him and his family. His first appearance in the Book of Origins occurs at that critical moment in the life of Moses, when, at the southern frontier of Canaan, the people rebelled against him, just when he was about to lead them on to the accomplishment of their own most cherished wishes.[3] He had at that time been chosen to represent his own tribe as one of the twelve pioneers deputed by the tribes to reconnoitre the land. He must therefore have been already a man of mark; but this trial first

[1] That the verses in Josh. x. 12–15 are a later insertion, is evident, both from the complete break which they occasion in the narrative, and from the compiler having obviously only borrowed ver. 15 from 43, as if he contemplated a summary conclusion, though he afterwards went on at length from 16 to 43. The only possible doubt would be whether the passage was interpolated by the Fifth or by the Last Narrator; but the nature and the language of the additions afford preponderating evidence in favour of the latest compiler of the work.

[2] 1 Chron. vii. 23–27, comp. with Num. ii. 18, is our only extant authority for this. On the number of generations comp. i. p. 402.

[3] Num. xiii. sq.

showed him, conjointly with Caleb of the tribe of Judah, as the undaunted leader, who remained firm and collected amid pusillanimity and perversity on the part of the people, and bewilderment even on the part of their leaders. It is a fine conception of this book to represent him as then for the first time receiving from Moses himself the name which he subsequently rendered so illustrious, and Moses as recognising the hero's true greatness, and bestowing on him his rightful designation. Instead of Hosea, i.e. *Help*, as he was still called when deputed by his tribe, Moses entitled him on his return, with little change of sound, but with significant heightening of meaning, Joshua, i.e. *God's help*.[1] In the same sense, and in this same Book of Origins, we find him, together with Eleazar the priest, solemnly instituted by Moses himself shortly before his death as the true leader (or Duke) of the people, and accepted as such by the community.[2]

To the Third and Fourth Narrators, on the other hand, Joshua is from the first the indispensable attendant and 'servant of Moses;' a recognised character resembling a lesser star revolving round a greater, which at the time of these writers was as inseparable from the idea of Moses as the greater leader, as the 'Servant' or 'Disciple,' and the followers, of a great Prophet from that of the Prophet himself.[3] We no longer know whether these Narrators mentioned any special occasion which led to a more confidential connection between Joshua and his master; but they certainly assign this position to him before the arrival at Sinai and during the sojourn there.

Even from the earlier narrative we see clearly, that at the moment of Moses' death Joshua was the right leader to carry

[1] Num. xiii. 8,16. The account (ver. 16) in its present position appears certainly somewhat unconnected; but there can be no doubt as to its correct meaning. This bestowal of a new name has the same significance as in the cases of Abraham and Israel in this same Book of Origins, Gen. xvii, xxxv; and both there and here the distinction between the two names is scrupulously preserved in the composition and orthography of the book itself. In actual use, the name Hosea as the ordinary abbreviation, and Joshua as the dignified appellation, stood in much the same mutual relation as Abram and Abraham, although it is certain (p. 156 sq.) that *Joshua* was in Moses' time an entirely new name, of exalted meaning.

[2] Num. xxvii. 16–23, xxxii. 28; the former passage with the preceding verses 12–15 is obviously placed too early in the present text, if only from the circumstance that Moses gains the victory over Midian without Joshua, and accompanied only by Eleazar, Num. xxxi.; its proper place seems to be before ch. xxxii. It is however a great mistake in Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 7. 2) and other later writers, to suppose Joshua to have been equal to Moses, even in the prophetic character. On the contrary, according to the Book of Origins, he was only appointed military chief of the people, and was referred for direction to the oracles of the High Priest. And, indeed, unless this is borne in mind, the whole subsequent history remains obscure.

[3] Ex. xvii. 9–13, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, xxviii. 11, where he appears always as the 'disciple' or 'pupil' (Gen. xxxvii. 2) of the great master.

on to completion the purpose which had taken full possession of that age. For all historical evidence goes to prove that ever since the deliverance from Egypt the one earthly object held in view by the people, including both Moses and Joshua, was the conquest and occupation of Canaan. This has been already remarked, p. 161, but a further consideration of its grounds is here incumbent upon us, especially as the Bible itself does not disdain to adduce several such. Now the principal ground which it alleges for the invasion is the Divine Will: the promise, given in old time by Jahveh to the Patriarchs, and again more explicitly announced to the people through Moses, that Israel, when delivered out of Egypt, should again possess the land of their fathers, he now redeems by Joshua; who thus receives from him the command to combat the Canaanites without fear. And such is in fact the true religious aspect of this event, as it would necessarily be regarded under the higher religion, and within the community of Israel; though from this very religious character its full meaning far transcends this special application, and embodies a universal truth. For it is an eternal necessity, that a nation such as the great majority of the Canaanites then were,[1] sinking deeper and deeper into a slough of discord and moral perversity, must fall before a people roused to a higher life by the newly-wakened energy of unanimous trust in Divine Power. Should it not fall in the first encounter of battle, it must eventually succumb, imperceptibly yet surely, even amid apparent peace; as we see in the case of many a nation of modern Europe. Israel under Joshua now experienced this truth in relation to the Canaanites, as strongly as any nation can possibly experience it to its own advantage; and Israel not only experienced it, but was compelled by its peculiar religion to recognise it in all its force. If from the very beginning it must have powerfully felt that not by its own weapons, but by a great over-ruling Power, the wondrous conquest had been achieved, an historian somewhat removed from the time of these events might ascribe them to a direct command from God to Joshua. But then this elevating view is counterbalanced by a rightful fear of losing this possession received from God, through causes similar to those which had occasioned the grant; and the Prophets in succeeding centuries constantly threaten the nation, that it, again becoming like the early Canaanites, will be driven forth by Jahveh out of the fair

[1] See i. p. 240 sq. A later description of this depraved state of morals is given succinctly in the Wisdom of Solomon xii. 2–6.

land, just as they, abandoned by their deities, formerly fled trembling before Israel.[1]

This higher view of the conquest, which pervades the Bible, obviously by no means interferes with our consideration of its temporal and national bearings, and we are not only permitted, but indeed compelled, to enquire more closely why the Divine judgment was directed so especially against Canaan. Here then we must needs look back upon the general relations between those countries, the main force of which had subsisted for centuries. If the Hyksôs, the rulers of Egypt, were the peoples with which they were identified at i. p. 388 sqq., then the non-Israelite Hebraic nations, repulsed from Egypt some ages before the Exodus, must have established themselves in those regions of Asia where we find them to have been long settled before the time of Moses: principally Midian, Moab-Ammon, and Edom. The nations comprehended under the name of Canaanites, formerly free to spread in all directions (i. p. 232 sqq.), now retreated before this returning tide into the land between the Jordan and the sea,[2] and there maintained their footing more tenaciously for whole centuries, up to the time of Moses. They also undoubtedly took possession of all the places vacated by the ancestors of the present people of Israel in their gradual movement towards Egypt. Now when Israel, the youngest Hebraic nation, on its departure from Egypt, returned upon the track of the other Hebraic nations, desirous (as we have already seen, p. 199 sqq.) to avoid any direct collision with these; the question immediately arose, whether to remain satisfied with a nomadic life in the desert, compelling the remnant of aboriginal inhabitants there scattered, such as the Amalekites, to tolerate their presence, or to seek out a land suitable for a settled life. But for a desert-life Israel manifestly felt herself already too far advanced in civilisation. Though as yet by no means so attached to a quiet industrial town-life as the Egyptians and the Canaanites; desiring a life of greater freedom and movement, and fewer ties to the narrow house; they had yet felt from time immemorial[3]

[1] Amos ii. 9–16; Hosea (see above, p. 221), Isaiah xvii. 9, and elsewhere.

[2] In the Old Testament the name Canaan in its strict sense is confined to the country on the western side of the Jordan and Dead Sea, as is particularly shown by the boundaries mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 12.

[3] We have already seen (p. 5) that in Egypt Israel was an agricultural as well as pastoral people; and if its origin as a nation was due to Canaan, as shown in vol. i. p. 381 sqq., it can never from the very first have been a mere wandering tribe like the Arabs of the Desert. The distinction between the nomadic and the agricultural tribes of antiquity goes back beyond all known history; but many nations fluctuate for a time between the two modes of life, and the districts on the borders of the Arabian deserts favour such fluctuation; indeed there are even now tracts in Hauran where any one may sow at his pleasure. The allotment of cul-

the value of a combination of agriculture and pasturage, and the recent legislation under Moses only strengthened the bias towards a quiet settled existence.[1] Agriculture and pasturage, coupled always with the power of easy and prompt movement in making war and camping out, were then clearly the demands of the national life. Even the two tribes Reuben and Gad, which as we have seen (p. 207) preferred the care of flocks and herds to the tillage of the soil, were by no means disposed to live as Arabs of the desert. Thus an encampment in the desert could be regarded by such a people only as a temporary necessity: which is precisely what we gather from their early legends. And desiring, as we have already said, to leave the cognate races of Edom, Moab, and Ammon, undisturbed in the districts where they had been so long settled, Israel actually found no land but Canaan for occupation. It was indeed the natural progress of national relations that the Canaanites should now at last be assailed even in the land of the Jordan by an Hebraic nation. Such struggles between great nationalities, especially in times when mutual ill-will has produced violent hostility, are not to be judged by the laws of ordinary proprietorship; and the return of Israel out of Egypt into Canaan, was plainly but the last link of a chain of similar movements, somewhat like the movement of the Franks in relation to those of the other German tribes. But the old traditions of the Patriarchs' residence in Canaan, and of their venerated sepulchres there, must now have acquired for their descendants a new importance. And this justifiable feeling of the importance of the remotest historical claims accounts for the fulness with which the extant narratives respecting the Premosaic period note the possessions, and especially the burial-places, of the Patriarchs in Canaan; much as the Germans in the Middle Ages could look back upon the countries then occupied by the Western Slavonians, as their own original possessions.[2]

This fruitfullest, but hardest of conquest, of all the lands in those parts was thus to become the possession of the youngest Hebraic people. Worthy was it to be dearly won, the hard-earned prize of forty years' wanderings, toil, and struggle. That on this goal the gaze of Moses was ever rivetted, has been sufficiently proved in the foregoing pages. Yet here also

tivable lands in settled hereditary possessions forms the real transition from nomad to settled life; and this began in the people of Israel with Joshua.

[1] Even the very earliest legislation assumes the existence of agriculture, Lev. xix. 10, 19.

[2] And thus the ancient theological dispute, whether Israel possessed Canaan by divine or human right, comes to nothing; but so long as 'divine right' was understood as simple caprice, a solution was impossible.

he shows himself a great and true prophet, in that he abstains strictly from offensive warfare, and fights only when attacked. And as if an overruling Providence saw fit to spare him, even at the last, what he had ever shrunk from, he dies upon the frontier-shore of the Jordan; and some tracts on the other side were actually conquered by the younger generation while their aged Prophet was passing to his rest. But now, in full sight of their last earthly goal, it was impossible, after the last outbreak, any longer to restrain the people, impatient at last to conquer and possess. Now therefore Joshua—not a prophet, but a mere warrior—stands at their head. The fire of conquest, kindled beyond the Jordan by hostile attacks in the last days of Moses, now spreads across the river; and Jahveh becomes, even more than then, the God of Battles. Yet, amid the ever-darkening picture of the increasing savagery of an age of war, there still shines many a ray of the spiritual grandeur called into existence by Moses; and thus, even after the most searching scrutiny, the age of Joshua must ever appear to us a bright afterglow from the setting sun of the Mosaic age. Islâm, in like manner, had no sooner taken firm root and understood its position in the world, than it rushed with irresistible force of arms beyond its first bounds. A certain similarity there undeniably is between Jahveism and Islâm, in the fresh heroic zeal with which both inspired their early adherents. Of what a nation is capable, when it first feels perfect satisfaction in a new and sublime idea, when old grievances and dissensions and the petty aims of common life disappear before an all-elevating yet all-equalising truth, when one powerful will inspires all to strive after the same lofty aim, is seen in both these Semitic nations, at the moment when the first glory of a higher religion dawned upon either. And again, as in Islâm the mighty outward impulse first awoke during the latter days of Mohammed, after his religion had triumphed in its home-circle, and was rather unloosed than impeded by his death; so Jahveism only girded itself for foreign conquest at the very end of Moses' life, and then, so far from being deterred by his death, pressed forward the more eagerly to its next earthly aim, strengthened and confirmed by its forty years' ordeal. But these points of resemblance are counterbalanced by disparities quite as great. For Islâm, its fundamental idea not being really superior to the Judaism and Christianity which it opposed, is less calm and clearly defined than Jahveism; and hence its external efforts were directed to no clearly recognised and attainable

object, but wasted an apparently immeasurable force upon cloudy impossibilities. Jahveism, on the other hand, standing in no such antagonism to an earlier religion, sought only some spot upon earth where it might take root and develop itself freely, in the first instance in the bosom of one nation consecrated to that end. It therefore impelled the people of Israel to seek some land of permanent possession, where they might have free play for the growth of that higher civilisation which is impossible in the desert. For the time this only was their one definite, indispensable object; and now, in the flush of unaccustomed victory, their eyes were still fixed on this single indispensable earthly aim. That goal was reached, after forty years of desert-wandering had ripened their spirits to appreciate the higher blessings of religion, and hardened their bodies to every form of toil and privation; whereas, had the conquest of Canaan been achieved in the second year of the Exodus, for instance (p. 188 sq.), while all was still untried and untempered enthusiasm, they would probably have enjoyed but a temporary possession of the beautiful land of promise.

That this first irruption into Canaan under Joshua was decisive for all future time, and that the Canaanites were never able in succeeding ages to rally permanently from the losses and disasters which they then underwent, is unquestionable. But if we look to the means by which such great results were achieved, we may probably marvel as much as on beholding the weapons with which the Ditmarschers and the Swiss of old defended their native land. The Canaanites (as shown at vol. i. p. 240 sq.) had then attained their highest point, not only of general culture but of warlike skill too, and were distinguished among the nations by their wealth in horses and chariots, their numerous fortresses, and the frequent confederacies of their kings. The Hebrews, on the other hand, were not defending a country of their own, but were themselves invaders, and therefore doubtless far inferior in local knowledge. Unequal in arms and tactics, they could oppose to the Canaanites only courage and confidence; armed still with the rudest weapons, such as they had brought with them from Egypt, fighting only on foot, and proud of this mode of warfare, they houghed (says the First Narrator) the horses and burnt the chariots captured from the enemy.[1] By such primitive weapons, indeed, must the entire conquest have been accomplished; for down to much later times the same rude arms, and the same repugnance to horses, chariots, and fortifications,[2] maintained their hold over

[1] Josh. xi. 6, 9, comp. xvii. 15–18. See p. 155.

[2] Comp. Josh. x. 20.

the people as traditions consecrated by antiquity. The same contrast between Hebrew and Canaanite warriors still existed in the times of the Judges, the great men riding asses rather than horses, according to the picturesque description in the song of Deborah,[1] to say nothing of Samgar's and Samson's weapons. Even David still follows the military usages of the earlier national heroes.[2] And when at length Solomon introduced some innovations, the memories of their ancestors' simple military greatness still floated at least before the eyes of the Prophets down to the time of Isaiah and Micah.[3] But from this one clear indication we may easily infer the infinite courage and pure confidence that inspired the victorious multitude under Joshua's leadership. We thus understand how the walls of Jericho fell before their mighty trumpet-peal; how, in Isaiah's words,[4] bush and tree, high and low, became desolate before the advance of the children of Israel; or how, according to the Deuteronomist, the Canaanites could fly before the light van-guard of Israel, stung and scattered as by swarms of hornets.[5] The singular strictness of discipline, illustrated in the Books of Origins (Josh. vii.) by one striking example, is another proof of the strong national feeling, which ensured the willing submission of every warrior—that is, of every man capable of bearing arms.

A great historical event, like this conquest and permanent occupation of Canaan by Israel, must indeed be initiated in every case by a fortunate concurrence of very various impulses and circumstances. But among all the motives by which the nation was influenced, none thrust more home than the struggle

[1] Judges v. 8, 10, comp. 22, where סוּס (*Lehrb.* § 176 b) must signify the *horses* of the Canaanites, and the following אַבִּירָיו therefore *their* (the horses') *most powerful ones*, or the strongest and most enduring horses.

[2] 2 Sam. viii. 4; comp. Ps. xx. 8 [7].

[3] See p. 130 sq. That riding upon asses' colts was in the early ages after Moses a particular distinction of the nobles, is also seen from Judges x. 4, xii. 14, Josh. xv. 18; and if the use of the ass instead of the horse thus distinguished Israel from the Egyptians and other heathen, this would explain the origin of scoffing sayings respecting Mosaic antiquity, such as those already mentioned at p. 87, which doubtless originated in Egypt.

[4] Is. xvii. 9.

[5] This image is employed in Josh. xxiv. 12, in a perfectly simple narrative, without any figurative embellishment; so that the literalists of our day must take it as an actual occurrence, just as they take the falling of the walls of Jericho. The Deuteronomist also (Deut. vii. 20) borrows the image from the words of the First Narrator, Ex. xxiii. 28, where it is used in a passage of prophetic tone. But an image of this nature has always its foundation in history, that is, in experience; for in hot regions noxious insects of this nature, when in monstrous swarms, did often drive before them a small people; as Ahriman sends flies to punish a country, in the Vendîdâd ed. Olshausen i. p. 3, 9 sq.; and a similar account, *Journal Asiat.* 1838, ii. p. 207; *Bull. de la Soc. de Géographie* Apr. 1853; *Ausland*, 1856, p. 65 sq.; among the Greeks, the Apollo Smintheus, Ipoktonos, &c. Even the pleasantry in Bartlett's *Forty Days in the Desert*, p. 82, 90, bears on this subject.

for very existence. It is amazing of what a people is capable when in mortal extremity it keeps before its eyes one fixed goal, to be attained at all hazards. Israel could not and would not return to the fertile lands of Egypt; and as little could it submit to be flung back on the desert regions, and become like its Arabian kindred. Thus the people's gaze was more and more concentrated, and their deepest desire more and more singly directed on the fair land, whither old home-memories as well as their great Prophet's glowing words of promise and exhortation now called them. The growing pressure of need in the desert, after so many years of disaster, of expectation, and of hope, had at last inflamed to the utmost their burning desire to attain at length the first object of their life; and the victories, which had formed a halo round the head of their dying Moses, cast a fresh glory on the prospect of Canaan, the unceasing burden of his prophecy. Thus at last, under their new leader Joshua, the all-kindling desire for a fitting home burst forth into action; and a land worthy to be the prize of the hardest struggle became their new home. Many nations may boast themselves the aboriginal inhabitants of their country—a boast rendered possible in most cases only by historical obscurity. Israel had at least this advantage over others, that it had long learned from its own history that *habitation* in a beautiful home of one's own is a great Divine blessing, which may be won, but may also be easily lost again. Thus alone can we fully understand the emphatic sense in which the Bible so often speaks of *inhabiting* and *inheriting* the land.

But in Joshua, the leader of the people, we must not picture to ourselves a mere rough soldier; we have a very ancient story respecting him,[1] which exhibits quite a different side of his character. On one occasion, it is said, the sons of Joseph, the double tribe of Manasseh and Ephraim, settled in the central territory of Canaan (whose possessions even later ran much into each other, and appeared to them too small), took him to task for assigning but one portion and one lot to their numerous and prosperous tribe; in other words, for giving them but one territory instead of two for their inheritance. But Joshua, at no loss for an answer, replies: Are ye so numerous? (and Mount Ephraim too small for you?) then go into the wood (that is, the thickly planted and peopled plain)[2] and take the trouble

[1] Joshua xvii. 14–18. This ancient passage, rendered obscure by its biting scorn, was not understood even by the LXX., and the moderns have still less grasped its meaning.

[2] 'Wood' may, in Hebrew, as in any language, be used for a dense multitude, if the context renders the meaning as certain as in vv. 15, 18; after which the play on the word is exchanged for literal language

to cut down the high fruitful trees, in the plain surrounding their mountains, still peopled by numerous hordes of hostile 'Perizzites and Rephaim,' whom they should long before have annihilated, and thus doubled their inheritance, instead of envying other tribes their portion. But when they made answer to this taunt, 'No, the mountain must suffice for us, for the Canaanites of the plain have the terrible chariots of iron,' Joshua carries on the image of wood and mountain to its climax, and dismisses the importunate suitors who crave much, but shrink in idle fear from the effort to attain it, with the yet bitterer mockery: Ye are a great people, and have great power; ye shall not have one lot only; no, in addition to the mountain which ye already possess and yet not fully possess, ye shall have another, even the wood, to cut down and cultivate—that is, the Canaanites, whom to subdue and make subservient, notwithstanding the strength of their equipment, was the second lot, the prospect of which was held out to them; a biting jest worthy of a Samson. The oldest tradition, then, as embodied in this story, represents Joshua as a hero whose wit could rebuke effectually the presumption of his own countrymen; as the true popular leader in the best sense of the word. We here feel the very same air blowing, which we breathed in from the oldest national songs (see above, p. 203 sqq.); whereas the later historians see in Joshua only the great and victorious leader.

III. Joshua's Victories in detail.

Of Joshua's various campaigns and victories but little can be said to be fully known on the authority of the oldest writers; but we can follow up many hints with a high degree of probability, and at least form a correct estimate of the general result.

1. The eastern shore of the southern Jordan had in Moses' lifetime (see p. 205) already fallen into the hands of the Israelites, who crossed the river not far from Gilgal, a place on the western bank to the north-east of Jericho.[1] Here in Gilgal the

in ver. 18 b. With equal facility may such a word as *mountain* be used to designate the object of strenuous effort. It must be observed that *mountain* in ver. 18 is indefinite, not definite as in ver. 16; and ver. 18 b serves also to explain words in ver. 10 which would otherwise be too obscure. In ver. 16 לֹא ought, contrary to the Massora, to be separated from the following words, so as to signify *No!* and יִמָּצֵא to be pronounced according to the meaning given in i. p. 99 note, or at all events to be thus understood; comp. Zech. x. 10.

[1] According to Josh. iv. 19 and Judges iii. 19, comp. 13, 26, 28. According to the exact data in Josephus *Ant.* v. 1. 4, *Jewish War* iv. 8. 3, it was 50, and Jericho 60 stadia from the Jordan. Another Gilgal, however, according to Deut. xi. 30, lay near Shechem, but probably too far north-

conquering army first obtained a secure footing in the land; and as this town is not named in connection with any earlier times, and was clearly not a fortress at the time of its occupation by Joshua, it probably grew out of the camp of the new conquerors, being built as a rival to the almost impregnable Jericho. For by the earlier authorities in particular it is spoken of as the appointed place of assembly and the permanent camp, during the whole time of the conquest of the land under Joshua;[1] and if in that early period the meetings of the community were held there, with the yearly festivals and other sacred observances, as appears plainly from the account of the reestablishment of Circumcision and the Passover-feast,[2] we can well understand how this city remained, even in the days of Amos and Hosea, as it had been under the Judges, one of the sacred places of favourite resort.[3] Not only would Joshua's offerings there be held in remembrance, but an altar and other ancient monuments would be pointed out to the men of later days; and indeed the very name Gilgal may signify a 'cairn' or 'monument of stone.' In like manner among the Arabs, an important town often arose on the site of the first camp pitched by them in a newly-invaded country; as Kûfa, Basra, Fostât.

The best proof of this is afforded by the extant account of the Passage of the Jordan;[4] singular as it appears in its existing form, which is however only an elaboration of earlier and more intelligible traditions. Much of it is old, and derived in fact from the Book of Origins: as the placing the passage of the river on the 10th day of the first month[5] (on this see p. 186), which, as the Day of Preparation, seems unquestionably connected with the approaching festival of the Passover;[6] the number of 40,000 armed men of the two and a half Transjor-

ward to be the present Jiljilia, south-west of Shiloh; it also appears to have been regarded as a sacred spot, and was probably a settlement thrown out from the first Gilgal, see Judges i. 26. One might even conjecture that this northern Gilgal is meant in 2 Kings ii. 1 sqq., as Elijah goes from thence to Bethel, and then to Jericho; and certainly the passage is unintelligible, if Gilgal, as commonly assumed, lay south-east of Jericho. And in the description of the boundaries in Josh. xv. 7, although in xviii. 7 Geliloth interchanges with Gilgal, it must be our Gilgal which is meant. That the valley Achor lay north of Jericho, is also proved by the *Onom.* of the Fathers.

[1] Josh. v. 2–12, x. 6, 7, 9, 15, 43, ix. 6, xiv. 6.

[2] Josh. v. 2–12.

[3] Amos v. 5, Hosea iv. 15, ix. 15, Judges ii. 1, 1 Sam. x. 8 sqq. According to Robinson (*Journey* i. p. 557, ii. 243) no trace of Gilgal is now to be discovered; of Ai also he found no certain remains, i. p. 574 sq. The passage Josh. v. 13–15 begins to describe the peculiar sanctity of the site of Gilgal, see p. 234.

[4] Josh. iii. 1–v. 1.

[5] Josh. iv. 19.

[6] Josh. v. 14, comp. Ex. xii. 3 and the *Zeits. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* iii. p. 430 sqq., also my *Alterthümer* p. 397 sq.

danic tribes, who accompanied the rest to war;[1] and especially the erection at Gilgal of a monument of twelve memorial stones, brought from the Jordan by the twelve tribes.[2] That such stones, perhaps surrounding an altar, were actually erected there by the twelve tribes, and were still shown in the time of the Earlier Narrators, admits of no question, whether we regard this particular case,[3] or the analogy of others.[4] These stones would preserve a living remembrance of the successful passage of the Jordan; and undoubtedly formed a portion of the sanctuary which attracted many pilgrims down to a late age. For although the people no doubt availed themselves of the fords, practicable at certain points and at a favourable season,[5] yet a passage so prosperous, and followed by such great victories, might well remain from that time forth a worthy subject of thanksgiving to Jahveh. But the Deuteronomist, to whom more than to the Earlier Narrators the occupation of the land on the west of the Jordan must have appeared one of the most important moments of early history (as the general plan of his book shows), takes up the threads of their shorter descriptions, and produces a far more elaborate picture. According to him the mere appearance of the Ark of the Covenant, carried by the Levites, divides the waters of the Jordan, swollen high in harvest-time; and thus only does the passage become possible. All the great images of the dividing of the Red Sea (Ex. xiv. sq.) are here repeated, to heighten the effect. And in the view of the Deuteronomist, the twelve stones were taken from that very spot in the bed of the Jordan where the bearers of the Ark stood still till the whole people had passed over. In his account, indeed,[6] other twelve stones

[1] Josh. iv. 12 sq., comp. xxii; Num. xxxii.

[2] Josh. iii. 12, iv. 3 (with the exception of the words ממצב רגלי הכהנים, comp. ver. 9), 4, 8, 19–23; comp. Num. xiii. 2, Ex. xiii. 14. Seetzen also mentions stone ruins in this region, *Reisen* ii. p. 378 sq. The old author of the *Itiner. Burdig.* even pretends to have seen the identical twelve stones (*Revue Archéol.* July 1864, p. 107); and travellers during the Middle Ages, such as Burchardus vii. 34–57 Laur., Odoricus p. 156 also in Laur., and Fel. Fabri ii. 75, 76, may have regarded these as Gilgal, as they also believed themselves to have discovered Ai.

[3] Comp. also Judges iii. 19.

[4] Comp. Ex. xxiv. 4, and i. p. 347.

[5] The existence of such fords is presupposed in ii. 7; and those in question are in Judges iii. 28 called more definitely the Fords of Moab; they are the southernmost, not far from the Dead Sea; see on this subject Hahmann's *Quæstiones Palæstinenses* i. ii. sq. 1837. It appears from iii. 15 and the entire context of the narrative, that the passage took place on this occasion at the time of corn-harvest, i.e. in the first month of the year; and at that season, as is indeed intimated in the history, the Jordan is generally exceedingly high; but we have a still more particular account of another passage of the Jordan at Easter in David's time, which is also reported as a miracle, 1 Chron. xii. 15. Compare besides, Lynch's *Narrative* p. 255 sq., Osborne's *Palestine* p. 419 sqq., Seetzen's *Reisen* i. p. 400 sq., ii. p. 301, 320, 321, 375–377, 381, Tobler's *Topographie von Jerusalem* ii. p. 674.

[6] Josh. iv. 9.

were also set up in the Jordan itself: which might guide us to the idea of the building of a dam, and thence perhaps, in accordance with an ancient phrase,[1] of a bridge over the river.

That from this camp was effected the conquest, first of Jericho in the immediate neighbourhood, and then of Ai, a strong position to the north-west, and therefore more in the heart of the country, was the natural course of warfare; and according to many sure indications (e.g. ch. vii.) such was the account given by the earlier authorities. But the later historians adhere to their accustomed method of marking the commencement or the earliest events of a new period by a more impressive or fuller account, by prefixing the long story of Rahab. The early records had no doubt related how Rahab the harlot, and all her house, were spared at the taking of Jericho; a nation's gratitude long preserves the names of those who by opportune information open for a besieging host the path to victory.[2] This Rahab, too, was afterwards received into the community of Israel, as trustworthy records bear witness;[3] and, harlot though she had been, yet the stain or shame of a former life may be wiped out by entrance through faith into the community of the Living God, especially when this community is so perfectly pure as then; a truth even more powerfully brought out in the New Testament. Nor can it be questioned, that this must be the same Rahab[4] who is numbered among the ancestresses of the Davidical line. But the original account was probably not longer than in a similar case;[5] it was the Third Narrator who first thought it worth while to picture in detail this first entrance of spies into the Cisjordanic land and their meeting with Rahab, foreshadowing by this introduction the future fortunes of the whole invading host (ch. ii.). In like manner we have every reason to assume, that the early authorities represented the instantaneous fall of

[1] As is shown by the use of the Greek γέφυρα.

[2] See also Judges i. 22–26, and also a very similar incident related of the Dorian spies (Pausanias *Perieg.* iii. 13. 2), and at the capture of Alexandria under Amru; see the accounts of this in the *Zeits. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.* iii. p. 348. It is however only in the case of Jericho that the keys of the city are given up by a prostitute; but Jericho, on a site as hot as Egypt, was doubtless extremely licentious at that early time, as it now is (Robinson's *Travels* i. p. 552 sq.); and so the original meaning of the legend may well have been that the strong city fell partly through the consequences of its licentious manners: so among the Greeks Aphrodité Porné appears as the Betrayer of Cities (Klausen's *Æneas* i. p. 81). It is however quite possible, consistently with this, that Rahab actually lived, and although at first a prostitute, repented in the end. But the occurrence as here related is in any case quite as historical as a similar story in the Islamite history, *Journ. As.* 1857, i. p. 403 sq.

[3] Josh. vi. 25, comp. 17.

[4] Matt. i. 5.

[5] Judges i. 22–26.

the walls of Jericho as the result of the first war-cry or serious assault on the part of the conquerors, after the opposing hosts had stood face to face inactive for a week, i.e. for a certain time.[1] That the city was to be *doomed*, i.e. utterly destroyed, is declared even in the Book of Origins;[2] but the Fourth Narrator makes this first conquest the occasion for a more glowing description. Jahveh himself announces to Joshua, that the well-guarded city, after being compassed about for six days by the Ark of the Covenant and seven[3] priests sounding trumpets, with the whole host in profound silence, and being thus imperceptibly drawn as it were into their sacred net, should, after being six times compassed round, on the seventh day, at the seventh time, to the joint sound of the trumpets and the shouting host, instantaneously fall,—its walls laid low before the invaders. And all things happening as predicted, the underlying truth, that before Jahveh's will and his people's courageous obedience, the strongest walls must fall, is here enfolded in a palpable and tangible dress.[4]

That the attack upon Ai[5] failed at first, but was afterwards brought to a successful issue by means of a skilfully planned ambuscade, had been related by the Book of Origins (chap. vii.), and by the Earliest Narrator too (viii. 22; see above p. 232); but on the manner in which the stratagem was carried out,[6] the narrative sounds very confused; probably because the Deuteronomist, whose hand and ideas are here occasionally perceptible, found some short passages from the earliest history, especially verses 12 and 13, already interwoven with the words of the Fourth Narrator;[7] and this not without alterations. According to the earlier of these two narratives, Joshua, having placed 5,000 men in ambush westward of Ai, himself advanced with the whole remaining force under cover of the darkness into the valley lying north of the city, and passed the night there. At break of day he opened the attack, calculating that on his feigning a retreat the enemy would rashly

[1] The account in the earlier writers may probably have been much the same as the very similar description in 1 Kings xx. 29 sq.; comp. Klausen p. 693 sq.

[2] See Josh. vii. especially ver. 25, compared with vi. 18 sq.

[3] This number is here used as in Gen. vii. 2 sqq. by the same Narrator.

[4] Josh. vi.

[5] Some moderns, as Vandervelde, think this may be identified with the present *Tell el hajar* (which indeed signifies only *Stone-heap*), eastwards from Bethel.

[6] Josh. viii. 1–29.

[7] Vv. 12, 13 most obviously break the connection; and עָקֵב in ver. 13 is found nowhere else in the sense of *ambush*. Near the beginning of ver. 13 אֲשֶׁר should probably be omitted, and for וילך, וילן (as in ver. 9) is the only correct reading; in ver. 9 העמק must be read for חעם. It would hence appear that the Fourth Narrator must have derived many of his words in vv. 9 and 11 from an earlier source.

Erratum.

Vol. 2, p. 249, fifth line from top, *for* reduces *read* increases.

pursue him, and leave the city open to the force in ambush; whereby he would put the enemy between two fires, as soon as he suddenly returned to the assault. The later historian makes no change in the essential features of this narrative; but he reduces the number of the ambuscade to 30,000, and here again seizes the opportunity to glorify Joshua in his peculiar fashion. As, according to him, Moses' uplifted staff decides the victory over Amalek, and remains unmoved till the victory is won, so here Joshua, by Divine command, stretches out his spear over Ai till her destiny is decided by the success of the ambuscade, and does not allow it to sink till all is certain. By the Book of Origins the failure of the first assault on Ai is attributed to Jahveh's wrath against Achan of the tribe of Judah, for taking and concealing for himself a portion of the spoils of Jericho, which, being accursed, were to be wholly destroyed. Now we need not doubt that this Achan was an historical character. The people, it is said, stoned the detected criminal, and threw a great heap of stones, in token of everlasting detestation, on the spot where he suffered; and no doubt this spot was still shown in later times. The scene was the valley Achor (i.e. Troubled[1]), elsewhere mentioned; and Joshua is reported to have said to Achan before his execution: 'Why hast thou troubled us? Let Jahveh now trouble thee!' But yet, in treating all these events so fully, the Book of Origins has obviously, according to its wont, a directly legislative purpose; on which aspect of the narrative we can better speak farther on in the present work.

These two strong cities of Canaan, the first conquered, were undoubtedly destroyed by Joshua, as the histories relate; and such severity was certainly (from p. 154 sq.) quite in keeping with the old war-usages of Israel. Yet it could not be, indeed it plainly was not, Joshua's real intention to devastate beforehand the entire land which Israel was henceforth to inhabit.

From what motives of policy, not revealed by the historians, did Joshua doom these two particular cities to destruction? It can only have been from the desire to make an example of the

[1] Here and in Josh. xv. 7: evidently the valley in the desert region near the southernmost ford of the Jordan, hence named 'Mournful,' which signification is alluded to, with a reference to Joshua's time, in Hosea ii. 17 [15], comp. Ps. xxiii. 4; Josh. xv. 7. Some later writers, as 1 Chron. ii. 7 and the LXX. (with the exception of the Cod. Al.), change the man's name עָכָן into עָכָר, to make it answer better to the name of the desert, and to Joshua's address in vii. 25, comp. vi. 18; but this is evidently not done in earnest, for they ought to go further, and make the man's name Achor, instead of Achar, to support the conjecture that both the man and his name were originally derived from the place. But we cannot assume this with reference to the Book of Origins.

first-fruits of conquest, and to render easier the defence of Gilgal, his first strong encampment in Canaan. Gilgal on the Jordan was thenceforth to be Israel's abiding foothold in Canaan, whence to subdue the whole country, and whither to retire in time of peril. It ought at the same time to be taken into consideration, that this south-western shore of the Jordan, with its mostly desert, but here and there very fertile lowlands, possesses a soil very similar to that with which Israel had become familiar during the forty years in the Desert. No hostile fortresses, therefore, could be left standing in this region near Gilgal. We find in early authorities no mention of the destruction of the many other cities conquered by Joshua; only Hormah, in the extreme south (mentioned p. 190), and Hazor, the chief city of the confederacy of northern princes, were afterwards destroyed in a similar manner;[1] doubtless for equally special reasons, which we can trace in most instances with tolerable certainty. And when we reflect that Gilgal long retained its peculiar importance for Israel (according to p. 244 sqq.), we can understand the growth of a deep-rooted belief in the popular mind, that these two fortresses, Jericho and Ai, must never be rebuilt; for although in later times Joshua's early prohibition was not observed with sufficient strictness,[2] and the two cities rose again from their ruins,[3] there was a disposition, even after the lapse of centuries, to regard any extraordinary misfortune befalling a Hebrew about to settle in Jericho, as the working of Joshua's harsh but just imprecation;[4] proving the deep impression which that leader's strong rule had left behind him in this region.

2. The next ensuing scenes of the campaigns, as condensed by the book of Joshua from the First Narrator, have generally probability in their favour; they are moreover based upon old authorities exhibiting clear historical features.

After the subjugation of these two fortresses, and the peaceful submission (hereafter to be discussed) of the great neighbouring

[1] As expressly stated, Josh. xi. 13.

[2] In the same way as Carthage, in spite of the bitter curses denounced against its reerection by its Roman destroyers, was very soon rebuilt upon nearly the same site, Liv. epit. LX., App. *Pun.* ch. cxxxvi. Plutarch. *C. Gracchus* xi.

[3] Jericho is often mentioned later; Ai reappears as Aiath, Is. x. 28, Neh. xi. 31, and as Ai, Ezra ii. 28, compared with Josh. vi. 24 (26), viii. 28. Possibly the עַיִּים mentioned in Josh. xviii. 23 as near Bethel, is also the same, if we may adopt the reading of the LXX; for Ai lay not far to the east of Bethel.

[4] In Ahab's reign, Hiel of Bethel lost both his first-born and his youngest son during the rebuilding of Jericho, we know not exactly how; but Joshua's ancient imprecation was very naturally remembered and specially applied to the event, in 1 Kings xvi. 34, Josh. vi. 26; see also i. p. 114 note.

city Gibeon, and its Hivvite territory,[1] the king of Jebus or Jerusalem forms with four neighbouring kings the first alliance against the invaders and their new subjects the *Gibeonites*. At the appeal of these Gibeonites for help, Joshua with his whole force hastens in one night from the camp at Gilgal to their relief. There, on the west of the walls of Gibeon, begins that long and critical but decisive battle, in which Joshua, when towards close of day the victory still hung in suspense, returned undismayed to the assault, exclaiming in the words of the old song:[2]

> Sun, stand thou still in Gibeon,
> And Moon, in the valley of Ajalon!

and, as the same popular song of triumph pursues the tale:

> And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
> Until the people were avenged on their enemies.

Not in vain then was this mighty effort of Joshua at the last moment of the decisive day; when, vehemently renewing the encounter, and only fearing that night might too soon separate the combatants and render futile all previous exertions, he commanded the sun, sinking in the west, and the moon, rising in the east, to *stand still*, only till the victory should be decided, and the enemy driven to flight. For of a truth, from this moment of extremest effort, which seemed to contend with powers of heaven as well as earth, victory inclined to his side; sun and moon seemed to wait till it should be fully assured; and the end of the long laborious day rewarded the indomitable resolution of the closing hour.[3] But if the final crisis was so sudden and so overwhelming, who can wonder that the routed foe, flying in wild haste beneath a bursting thunderstorm,

[1] Josh. ix. 17.

[2] Josh. x. 12 sqq.; see also *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 155.

[3] As one who dreads the approach of day or of night wishes all the heavenly bodies to stand still, so to him who is anxiously desiring the end of the day or the night, they seem to move too slowly: see *Iliad* ii. 413 sq., *Odyssey* xxiii. 243–6; Plaut. *Amph.* prol. 113, sc. i. l. 119 sqq., Liv. vii. 33, Imrialkais' *Mo'allaqa* vv. 45 sqq., and Tarafa's *M.* ver. 99, Hamâsa p. 490, ver. 10; Abulf. *Ann.* iii. p. 74; Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru* ii. p. 170 sqq. No long explanation is needed to show how widely the Deuteronomist has departed from the true spirit of the significant old legend, in his additions in ver. 13 sq. The image, not infrequent in heathen antiquity, of sun and moon going back, as if recoiling in horror at some deed of unheard-of cruelty, is foreign to this passage. The valley as well as the city of Ajalon may have been situated in the tribe of Dan, and therefore west of Gibeon, where Robinson (ii. 253 sq.) has found a place Yâlo at the present day; but according to the meaning of the parallelism of the verse, we must not tear asunder these two names of places, one of which attends the sun, and the other the moon, but understand them as locally inseparable. It was only because Joshua stood east of Gibeon, and because it was still day, that he mentioned the sun and Gibeon first. (This has been overlooked in the essay in the Bonn *Monatsch. für die evang. Kirche*, Aug. 1849, p. 68.)

along the western and south-western sides of the mountain-range towards Beth-horon, Azekah, and Makkedah, should have fancied themselves pursued by Heaven itself in a rain of great hailstones, as is said in verse 11, doubtless from the First Narrator's description?[1] Such was the great victory in Gibeon, which remained even in Isaiah's day proverbial as one of the most tremendous victories of high antiquity.[2]

At Makkedah, the old tale continues, the five kings at last halted and hid themselves in a cave, and this was reported to Joshua. An ordinary general would have contented himself with the capture of his principal enemies, and the instantaneous wreaking of his wrath upon them. But Joshua, says the legend, only bade them roll a stone before this cave, and follow up the pursuit of the flying foe to the very utmost; and had then the satisfaction, after fully accomplishing all the rest of the day's work, to capture the five kings in their cave. Then follows the conquest of several other cities, southwards to Hebron[3] and even[4] to Arad and Hormah (mentioned p. 190), which then first atoned for the overthrow inflicted long before upon the people under Moses. That Joshua utterly destroyed all these cities and massacred their inhabitants, is only said by the Deuteronomist. And[5] when mention is even made of a permanently decisive subjugation at that time of the *Lowland* by the sea, and of the whole land 'from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza,' i.e. of all the Judah of later days in its widest extent towards the south and west, allowance must be made for the very generalising language of the Deuteronomist; as that assertion clearly contradicts the accurate list of thirty-one conquered cities in ch. xii, as well as the old tradition, 'that the children of Anak were not destroyed in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod.'[6] This will however be further considered hereafter.

3. How the great plain of Galilee, on the possession of which so much depends in the fortunes of Palestine, fell into Joshua's hands, we have no intimation remaining. However, he certainly did subdue it, though apparently (from the early tradition already referred to, p. 243 sq.) not quite fully or permanently. For his conquests extended yet farther north; although his last campaign, as described in our present book of Joshua, is very indistinctly brought before us. It was in this expedition

[1] This figure, not unusual in the Old Testament, obviously would not have arisen apart from experience of tremendous devastations by hailstorms, such as are described in the *Oriental Journal*, Sept. 1837, p. 47; comp. Job xxxviii. 22 sq., Ps. xviii. 13 [12], lxviii. 14 [13] sq.

[2] Is. xxviii. 21.

[3] Josh. x. 36–38.

[4] According to Josh. xii. 14.

[5] Josh. x. 40–42.

[6] Josh. xi. 21 sq.; comp. xiii. 2 sq.

against the extreme north, that a great victory was gained near the little lake Merom, over Jabin king of Hazor, 'the former capital of all the northern kingdoms,' and the kings in league with him.[1] The existing account no doubt preserves many early recollections on special points. Even the circumstance that the city Hazor, which according to vv. 11–13 was then burned down, reappears[2] in a later age as the capital of a king likewise named Jabin, does not prove a previous conquest by Joshua impossible, since such royal names are frequently perpetuated, and we have now no means of deciding whether the king in Joshua's time, or the one at the time of the Judges, or both, were so called. But, so far as we can determine from the short extant traditions, these northern conquests were effected somewhat as follows. When the army of the numerous kings, whom the Prince of Hazor had united into one great league, had been routed, he and all the rest promised obedience, and were received as vassals. But while Joshua was following up his success and pursuing his victorious march still farther to the north, subduing the sea-coast on the west, and the great fertile valley between Lebanon and Hermon (Antilibanus) on the east, and pushing on even to the northern slopes of Lebanon,[3] the proud king of Hazor, deeming himself safe on this side of the mountains, must have again revolted. But instantly, from the farthest north, Joshua returned upon him; and if, as is farther expressly recorded, he now visited him with utter annihilation, and even burned down his city, while he left uninjured the many other cities 'standing on their hills,' i.e. well-fortified, his exceptional severity in this particular case can hardly excite surprise.

That the Canaanites had thus been already driven back by Joshua far to the north and held in subjection for a time, admits of no question as a general statement; the traces of early tradition are too distinct for doubt. And that Joshua, from his stronghold in the heart of the country, should carry his victorious arms northwards as well as southwards, now attacking and now attacked, is the inevitable course of events. This first entrance of Joshua on the western side of the Jordan must have been most decisive in its results; and it is impossible to

[1] Josh. xi. The ruins of Hazor ought probably not to be looked for in Ain el Hazuri to the north-east, but in Azur, north of Kadesh and north-west of the lake Merom; at all events, the most recent travellers have discovered there such a locality, which from every indication would correspond well to the city often mentioned in the Old Testament, which was rebuilt soon after its destruction by Joshua. See *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 192, iv. p. 33, vi. p. 83, vii. p. 123.

[2] Judges iv. 2–7.

[3] Josh. xi. 8.

exaggerate its overpowering effect. But it is evident that earlier and far more circumstantial accounts of these northern campaigns must have been fused down into that which we now possess. When in the existing narrative we read that Joshua here too lays utterly waste all the cities, lets no single Canaanite anywhere escape, and finally extirpates all the children of Anak, in both north and south,[1] we recognise the hand of the Deuteronomist, who paints Joshua the destroyer of the Canaanite as the typical destroyer of heathendom, such as he wished the king to be in his own day.

The result, then, of these investigations is briefly this: that all the older writers, even (as far as we see) the Fourth Narrator, tell nothing of Joshua's victories but what is quite probable; but that the Deuteronomist, in subservience to his special aim, generalised far too much his achievements as conqueror and extirpator of the Canaanites, so as to lose sight entirely of many details of the tradition.

IV. Conclusion of Joshua's History.

Division of the Land, and the New Community.

The most obscure portion of Joshua's history, however, is its conclusion; and one immediate cause of this difficulty is seen at once to be a very serious mutilation here occurring in the Book of Origins, which, if perfect, would have been our principal authority.[2] One great gap is discovered in the chronology. How truly characteristic of this book is a continuous, and as far as possible accurate, chronological thread, has been shown, vol. i. p. 81 sq. Now in Joshua's case the length of his life is indeed given;[3] but the duration of his government would also certainly have been recorded, as is done in the case of Moses. Josephus[4] gives twenty-five years as the length of his rule, which

[1] Josh. xi. 21; comp. on the other hand Judges i. 10.

[2] For instance, the catalogue of the places where for the time the main camp was pitched, must have been continued; for there Israel must then have still maintained a fortified camp as her central point. The words 'from Shittim,' p. 210, 'to Gilgal,' Micah vi. 5, are evidently taken from an ancient book, where they formed the commencement of a regular continuation to Num. xxxiii.

[3] Josh. xxiv. 29; comp. Judges ii. 8.

[4] *Ant.* v. 1. 19, 28, 29; that is, five years before the division of the land, and twenty to his death. But other authors of these later ages always assign twenty-seven years: see Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii. 24, Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, Eusebius *Chron.* i. p. 160, 170 of the Armenian translation, and Georgius Syncellus *Chronog.* p. 284, ed. Bonn; Eupolemus indeed, in Eusebius *Præp. Evan.* ix. 30, x. 14, says thirty years. The number of years given by different authorities varies from twenty-five to thirty, and we cannot at once decide which is the most reliable; but we shall show presently that twenty-five is the most probable. The Chron. Sam. Arab. actually gives him in ch. xxxix. forty-five years' rule, though in other places (ch. xxi. and xxv.), only one-and-twenty. The other names and numbers occurring there are also very unreliable.

statement may be derived from some authority to which this deficiency was still unknown. At least if we reflect that the Book of Origins ascribes to Joshua 110 years of age, to Moses 120, including forty years of rule, and to his elder brother Aaron 123,[1] thus shortening the term of human life in Joshua's case in conformity with general principles, the period of twenty-five years for Joshua's government will scarcely appear out of harmony with the rest of the chronology of the book. This view is corroborated by the incidental notice respecting Caleb's age;[2] if this contemporary of Joshua was eighty-five at the conclusion of the wars (whence it may be presumed that their duration was estimated by this narrator at only five years), Joshua himself can hardly have been much older then.

Between Josh. xiii and xxii, however, so considerable a portion of the Book of Origins' description of Joshua's later years is preserved, as to enable us to form a clear general idea of that narrator's views. According to him, the High Priest Eleazar and Joshua called a solemn assembly after the complete conquest and pacification of the land, and there portioned it out to the twelve lay tribes by the consecrated mode of lot, the boundaries of the territory of each tribe, as well as its towns and villages, being carefully defined. Or rather, as Moses had already given away the land beyond the Jordan to two and a half tribes, there remained only the land on the western side to be divided among nine and a half tribes. In fact, however, only Judah, Joseph, and half Manasseh, took immediate possession of their lots or appointed portions. Such was the dilatory inertness of the other seven tribes, that Joshua had to content himself with having the rest of the country mapped out by three experienced men of each tribe, divided into seven portions, and then distributed by lot among these tribes, so as to mark it out as rightfully belonging to them, and to be occupied at some future time. This distribution of well-defined territories to the tribes, and the accompanying separation of the Levitical cities and cities of refuge, would thus be Joshua's last great public work—the peaceful key-stone to his numerous conquests.

A careful examination of this view, with regard to the whole character of the Book of Origins, leaves no doubt as to its meaning. For we have here again the great object of this book, a picture of the historical origin of the legal condition of the people, only applied to one special instance. Even the territorial

[1] This follows from Ex. vii. 7 and Num. xxxiii. 39; but is wanting in Num. xx. 28. as it now stands.

[2] Josh. xiv. 10.

boundaries, within which, at the time this book was composed, the tribes had for centuries felt themselves at home, are naturally invested with a certain sanctity and attributed to a Divine appointment. Not only the Holy Land in the gross, but even the condition of its parts and their distribution among the tribes, appear guarded by the sanction of a Divine will, and the legal tenure of each part finds in this its true justification. Though the territory held by each several tribe or family in permanent hereditary possession may appear, humanly speaking, to have become his only by chance, yet the holder has every reason to be content with his portion, be it what it may, seeing how long and peacefully it has been enjoyed. He therefore naturally sees in the casting of lots a Divine sanction, and thankfully regards the property as Divinely decreed to him.[1] Such a view has certainly some essential truth, though this must be differently understood at different times. For if, when this Book of Origins was composed, the separate tribes had already lost their importance and independence,—as could not but be the case under the monarchy, and especially after the division of the Davidical kingdom,—such a view would have had no proper vital meaning, but doubtless the tribal constitution still subsisted in tolerable integrity. The accurate distinction of the possessions and boundaries of each tribe might still appear of great importance, and in fact this section of the Book of Origins preserves to us most valuable documents respecting the intersecting boundaries and scattered territories of the tribes. We have only to regret that many descriptions of territories and boundaries are so unavoidably obscure to us, as to deprive the view in some parts of its clearness. But if in the most prosperous period of the entire kingdom the old sanctity remained attached to these separate territories after the lapse of centuries, each tribe regarding its own portion, endeared by long possession, as a lot bestowed by the God of the entire community, then we can understand how the historian can treat these territorial descriptions just like any other laws, and refer them immediately to the Divine will. One step farther leads to the attempt to conceive of this last great hero of the Mosaic age, who moreover as conqueror of the land was best fitted to be its divider, as the instrument of this division, effected by Divine lot. And this closes the great series of lasting and sacred institutions, which, according to the view of the Book of Origins, received their first life in that grand

[1] Hence the beautiful figures in Ps. xvi. 5, 6. But also among the Greeks and Romans the words κλῆροι and *sortes* are used to denote the shares of the individual citizens in the common property of a new settlement.

birth-time of the community of Israel. Whereas Moses is to this historian the instrument of all regulations respecting the internal affairs of the nation, the conqueror Joshua is the organ of all directions on its conduct towards the other nations in Canaan; while according to the true feeling of the Jahveh-religion both laws are nevertheless regarded as flowing from one common source.

But this narrator did not mean to assert literally that all the tribes were in Joshua's time already established in their later possessions; for he depended on far earlier and strictly historical records. This is made sufficiently obvious from his admission that for seven of the tribes the lot was cast over districts only surveyed, but not yet taken into possession. No thoughtful ruler would willingly allow the lot to be cast for districts yet to be conquered. The account we are considering cannot possibly mean to assert that Joshua did so, since it gives an exact description of each tribe's future possession, even to its precise boundaries, quarters, and cities. We are thereby obliged to investigate further, and especially to enquire whether there are any other and even earlier authorities that may help to dispel the obscurity.

Now some accounts have fortunately been elsewhere preserved, which give us an occasional glimpse into the busy, restless life of those early times. The principal portion of these accounts is derived (as shown at i. p. 64 sqq.) from the often-mentioned work of the Earliest Historian; it is found very scattered and mixed up with much other matter in our existing books—principally in the first chapter of the Book of Judges, and in those supplementary descriptions of the territories of the tribes in the Book of Origins, which in all probability were among the many contributions from the Fifth Narrator to the life of Joshua; and which often agree even verbally with the former.[1] These scattered and mutilated remnants of a primal

[1] In the Book of Joshua, beginning from ch. xv, the following passages occur: (1) The account of Caleb's and Othniel's possessions in xv. 13–19; for here it entirely spoils the original connection, and on the other hand recurs in substance in Judges i. 10–15; and all that the Book of Origins had to say of Caleb's possession had been brought forward in ch. xiv. 6–15. (2) xv. 45–58, the inclusion of the three Philistine cities Ekron, Ashdod and Gaza in the territory of Judah; which is in itself foreign to the context (because in all the other ten circles of Judah the total number of the cities is given at the end) and contradicts the description of the boundaries given in ver. 11; also the use of בְּנוֹת *daughters* for villages is unknown to the Book of Origins. This interpolation must be derived from some account conformable to Judges i. 18. (3) The passages which speak of original inhabitants not yet extirpated, and herein differ totally from the Book of Origins, xv. 63, comp. with Judges i. 21; xvi. 10 comp. with Judges i. 29; xvii. 11–13 comp. with Judges i. 27, 28: all of which for various other reasons cannot originally belong to the place where they now stand in the Book of Joshua. In like manner xiii. 13; and respecting xiii.

document of which we have already so often felt the value, now help to elucidate our difficulties. The picture of that transition-period, as these and other records enable us to discern it, is briefly somewhat as follows:

1. There is no doubt that Joshua, during the first years of the entrance into Canaan, subdued the country on every side, and received the submission of all the Canaanites whose lives were spared. It is very possible that in the first terror of surprise the Philistines and even the men of Sidon and the rest of the Phenicians may have paid homage (although these last could never again be subdued); for the memory that the whole land between Egypt and Lebanon belonged properly to Israel, was never wholly lost.[1] But the comparative rapidity with which, according to the ancient account, this was accomplished, within about five years, must have operated rather injuriously than advantageously upon the Israelites in their then position.

For the real rule of Joshua must thereby have seemed concluded. Up to that time all capable of bearing arms must undoubtedly have followed him willingly; not only because he had been entrusted by Moses with the leadership in war, but because one great common purpose had united all. Now that they had subdued the land, and attained the single earthly object, which then (see p. 236 sqq.) floated before the eyes of the people, Joshua's leadership could but cede to the pure Theocracy—the new constitution, as yet perfectly inviolable and holy, which, while sanctioning the delegation of all human authority into one hand in certain cases (see p. 150), as when a great prophet wins for himself universal reverence, or when a great war is to be waged, forbids it in time of peace or under ordinary circumstances. The time for delivering back into the hands of the community that exceptional authority (Dictatorship) and acknowledging Jahveh in the strictest sense as only

26 see below. (4) The passage xvii. 14–18, of which we have already spoken, p. 243 sq. To see how simple and slender were the original descriptions in the Book of Origins, look at ch. xviii. and xix, where no such additions occur, though from Judges i. 30 sqq. it is evident that they were quite possible there also. But that the Book of Origins itself, in these descriptions of the country, has suffered great and serious damage, is also unfortunately undeniable on a closer examination. For the description of the districts assigned to the twelve tribes is evidently so planned, that in each case the boundaries, the quarters, and the cities belonging to each quarter, should be accurately given, and the cities constituting one quarter be always enumerated together. As this plan was carried out in the case of Benjamin (xviii. 11–28), and other small tribes, as well as Judah (xv), there is no conceivable reason why in the important tribe of Ephraim (xvi) the quarters and cities should be entirely omitted; and it is evident from this and similar indications that much of the old work must now be lost.

[1] Not without significance is Sidon spoken of in Judges i. 31 (where Tyre is not even mentioned) as falling properly within the dominion of Israel; although even the Book of Origins, in Josh. xix. 28, 29, excludes Sidon and Tyre from the borders of Israel.

Lord and King over his peaceful people, was now arrived; and the duty would certainly not be questioned by a chief who had lived through the grand days of Moses, and had acquired by living experience the true meaning of pure Theocracy.

That this change, however, was not made in undue haste, and that the great successor of the still greater national leader would strain every nerve to carry it out most effectually, may be taken for granted. After great victories, or other startling changes in the national condition, the creation of new institutions is the primary necessity; and how vast and important was the work then required in Israel, when the people were to take up their permanent abode in a land perfectly new to them! That at this crisis, immediately upon the subjugation of Canaan, much of permanent importance was actually done, cannot on examination be doubted.

In the first place, the partition of the conquered land among the twelve tribes must at this time have been carried out, at least in principle and in its main features, and quite apart from the peculiar views of the Book of Origins. That it was also carried out upon a well-considered plan,—which is still more important,—will be more fully shown hereafter. But as the settlement in all its details, as it subsequently endured for centuries, was not fully established till the period immediately following the time of Joshua, this is not the suitable place for discussing all points connected with it.

Secondly, at the very time when the tribes could thus separate, and each occupy its allotted portion of the conquered country, arrangements must have been made to preserve a certain unity in the state of the twelve tribes. Indeed, as there was to be no human ruler over the whole state, some such arrangements were especially necessary to hold together as far as possible the now separated elements of the nation. The national or popular Assembly, therefore, whose commencement may be traced back to far earlier times (see i. p. 370), now became more necessary than ever, for considering and resolving upon points of common concern. Its president must in ordinary times be the High Priest, in virtue of his permanent and uninterrupted tenure of office; and for like reasons, its place of meeting must in ordinary cases be determined by the station of the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Covenant, where the High Priest would usually fix his abode. And since there must always be the possibility of some final appeal for every point of dispute among the people, and as the Oracle was then universally received as such, the power of such decision by

means of the oracle was committed to the High Priest; though it could only be voluntarily sought, never enforced. But as the centre of gravity of the kingdom of Israel now lay on the western side of the Jordan, and only two tribes remained on the other, Gilgal was no longer a suitable position for the Tabernacle and the Assembly (see p. 244 sqq.). A sacred spot it could not but continue to be, so long as the altar there erected, and so many other memorials, remained to bear witness to the great days of the first passage of the Jordan;[1] but the Tabernacle must obviously be transferred to some more central site of the region on the western side. How it happened that the Tabernacle, when thus moved, did not in succeeding centuries always remain at one fixed station, will be hereafter explained: it is sufficient now to remark, that Shiloh was at first, and prevailingly continued to be, this important centre; and that the Book of Origins represents this entire great change as long accomplished in Joshua's later years.[2] That the territory of this chief and central place was regarded as sacred above all others, and as appertaining rather to the whole nation than to any one special tribe, is not difficult to understand;[3] and we still see floating before the eyes of Ezekiel the Messianic image of a most holy domain, distinct from the territories of all the twelve tribes, and lying in the very midst of the Holy Land.[4] But this new central place was at first, like Gilgal before it (p. 245), little more than a camp,[5] where the nation's sacred things were kept well guarded, and where all still wore as warlike an aspect as in the previous history of the race. The city itself, though near the middle of the country on this side Jordan, lies somewhat to

[1] The twelve stones by the Jordan, which were plainly erected by the twelve tribes in conformity with the ancient sanctity of such stone monuments in Canaan, were taken out of the Jordan, and set up on its bank at Gilgal. So says the Book of Origins, Josh. iv. 2, 3, 6–8, 19, 20; but the Deuteronomist, in whose time the monument in Gilgal may have been destroyed, represents them as erected in the Jordan itself; see part of vv. 3 and 9. A very similar monument is that mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 4. On all this see p. 246.

[2] The Book of Origins, while invariably designating Gilgal as the seat of empire during the wars, and even later (Josh. xiv. 6), with equal persistency ascribes that dignity to Shiloh 'after the land was entirely subdued;' with the distinct statement that the translation of the Ark thither was effected by decree of the national Assembly, Josh. xviii. 1, 8–10, xix. 51, xxi. 2, xxii. 9. The reason and commencement of this change are only very briefly mentioned in the Book of Origins, xviii. 1.

[3] There is indeed no ancient testimony to this effect; but the fact that Shiloh did not belong to the Levitical cities of Ephraim, Josh. xxi. 20–22, and yet was certainly accounted holy, is of itself evidence.

[4] Ezek. xlviii. 13 sqq. A very similar instance has become known through recently discovered Greek inscriptions: that Delphi, or (as it was briefly expressed) Apollo, possessed a sacred territory with fixed boundaries, the extent of which was defined in a long inscription. See *Revue Archéol.* Nov. 1864, p. 407.

[5] According to the Book of Origins, Josh. xviii. 9.

the south,[1] as though it had been conquered before the more northern Shechem of earlier sanctity, and had been at once raised to be the new centre and sanctuary of the nation.

In the third place, many institutions determining especially the ceremonial of religion, which under Moses cannot practically have existed, must have been created at this period. That during the forty years' wandering in the desert the Israelites brought no flesh-offerings to their God, and that he required none such at their hands, is declared expressly by the old prophet Amos.[2] That Jahveh, when he brought his people out of Egypt, gave them very different commands than to bring such flesh-offerings, is said with equal distinctness by Jeremiah.[3] Contrary as these great Prophets' declarations may appear to the contents of the Pentateuch as it now stands; contrary as they really are for those who cannot look beyond the mere letter of the record, yet none the less irrefragably correct is the historical judgment of these great men of the second period of Hebrew antiquity. The sacrifices which a nation brings to its God or gods out of its abundance, are necessarily determined by that abundance; and how could the Israelites possibly have offered flesh to their God in the desert, where they had hardly the barest necessaries for their own subsistence? If on the most essential holy-days some few flesh-offerings may possibly have been with great difficulty provided,[4] yet to individuals this must have been absolutely impossible. Yet in those glorious days the Divine grace was bestowed on the people no less abundantly; and the great Prophets justly appeal to this to prove all such sacrifices nonessential. But now that Israel had occupied a land of luxuriant fertility, everything might be changed: and not only flesh-offerings but many other acts of service for the sanctuary were undoubtedly then prescribed.[5] The question as to the position of the Levites is closely connected with this subject. That their high dignity dated only two or three generations back, and that even in the time of Moses they did not form a proper sacerdotal tribe, has already been pointed out (p. 141 sqq.). But they had long approved themselves as the most faithful champions of the sanctuary, and the God Jahveh, for the defence of whose sanctuary they had bravely banded themselves together, and whose doctrine

[1] The site was known in the Middle Ages; see R. Chelo in Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 250 sq.

[2] Amos v. 25.

[3] Jer. vii. 22 sqq.

[4] As may be inferred from the ancient narrative, Ex. xxiv. 5, 6, 11.

[5] The Book of Origins discriminates very correctly the sacrifices which only became possible in the Holy Land, Num. xv. 1 sqq.

they also best understood, had then (to express the correct feeling of the time) accompanied his people on their victorious entrance into the promised land. It was therefore only consistent with this history, that the people should commit to the tribe of Aaron and Moses in express legal form the permanent defence and uninterrupted care of the sanctuary, the tribe receiving corresponding guaranteed privileges. It will soon be shown that the most important of these, the appointment, if not the complete cession, of 48 Levitical cities, must belong to the time of Joshua. About this time, moreover, many customs certainly first received proper legal sanction, which, though closely connected with the existing religion, possessed more popular importance for the fully established community; as the Feast of the Passover, in commemoration of the deliverance out of Egypt; and circumcision, as marking every male member of the community. Not without reason does the Earliest Narrator make Gilgal the scene of the first general circumcision, and likewise of the first Passover.[1] At Gilgal near the Jordan, doubtless, many in still later days loved to keep the Passover; being more forcibly reminded by the sight of the Jordan of the triumphant entry into Canaan, of the previous adventures in the desert, and of the deliverance out of Egypt. In the same spirit, the commemoration of the passage of the Jordan was transferred to the spring season, when its waters are strongest (p. 246).

Thus about this time the constitution of the community, begun by Moses, must have been completed in all those important regulations which we see maintained through succeeding ages with unshaken firmness. The people, without intentionally abandoning any essential peculiarities of their religion or nationality, clung as closely as possible to the fair land now their own. Their quiet acquiescence in such radical alterations of their condition was doubtless owing in great part to Joshua's high influence and known good intentions. The habitual expression in the Book of Origins,[2] that the people assembled in the latter days of Joshua, before 'Eleazar the High Priest, Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of tribes (or princes),' indicates a fortunate cooperation of the two then generally recognised powers in the state, such as the succeeding ages do not exhibit till long after.

2. But when Joshua, after this first subjugation of the land,

[1] Josh. v. 2–12; where, however, much is an interpolation from the Book of Origins, vv. 4–7, 10.

[2] Josh. xiv. 1, xvii. 4, xxi. 1, xxii. 9, 12, compared with xiv. 6, where Joshua alone is named; and above, p. 260, note 2.

and this new legislation for a time of peace, retired from his generalship (or dukedom), devoting himself principally to the affairs of his own tribe Ephraim, and contenting himself with such respect as would be spontaneously paid to the veteran leader and highest non-sacerdotal member of the community, new dangers could not but spring from this new state of things. These dangers had been hardly thought of in the time immediately following the great victories, because Israel had entered into new conditions and a new country, where many new and unexpected evils had yet to be learned. For, powerful and decisive for the moment as had been this first conquest of a populous and cultivated land, it was impossible that such a conquest should at once be fully assured against all possible mishaps. Let us consider with this view the entirely different position of the conquerors and the conquered. The Hebrews were at that time as inferior to the Canaanites in all the practical arts, including even arms and military tactics, as they were superior in warlike daring. The former people, who in earlier time had only partially adopted a settled agricultural life, had of late become a mere tribe of encamped warriors, and remained long in this condition (as we shall hereafter show); while the former had long cleaved to the soil. With these striking differences, the warlike daring of the Hebrews might easily achieve most extraordinary momentary successes, and yet their first campaigns could not be much more than what the Arabs in all three continents called *Alghars*, or rather (since the Hebrews had no cavalry) *Razzias*:[1] that is, sudden *raids*, overpowering the land for the moment rather than permanently subduing it; and when the camp of the invaders was remote, the thick ranks of the former inhabitants, regardless of their promised submission, soon closed again behind their invaders. It was only to be expected that, on recovering from the terror of the first campaigns, which lasted, according to the Book of Origins,[2] some five years, the Canaanites should rally their forces and make an obstinate, if only occasional and partial, resistance. There were times, vividly depicted by the Earliest Narrators, when the Hebrews held possession of many high places, difficult of access for horses and chariots, while the fertile valleys were held by the dense ranks of the Canaanites, who fought with far

[1] غزوات; the أغارة is with horses, because these were adapted only for plains and *lowlands*, غور.

[2] According to Josh. xiv. 10, see above p. 254 sq.; whereas the expression of the Deuteronomist in Josh. xi. 18, sounds quite general.

superior weapons; and the contest between them was long and laborious.[1] Now, although 'walking upon the high places of the land,' as the poets describe this early experience of their nation,[2] is not merely the nobler and prouder act, but also the firmer basis for holding a land like Canaan, the possession of which depends so largely on the occupation of its many mountain-ranges, yet these very heights may at times be perilously encompassed by the inhabitants of the valleys, and find themselves but islands shaken by a stormy ocean.

It is hence evident what vicissitudes the history of Israel on the west of the Jordan must have undergone in the very next age after the first victories; and if we have now only few and scattered memorials of the never-ending hostilities and counter-hostilities of those early times, we must use the more care in trying to reconstruct a whole out of these. Let it be remembered how long it was before the Saxons were firmly established in Britain, the Islamite Arabs in Egypt; how many later invasions succeeded the first conquerors, and how Egypt indeed never became completely Arab, till almost whole tribes passed over from the peninsula and settled there. Israel could look for no reinforcement from kindred left behind, but had entered Canaan at once in comparatively large numbers. But so much the worse might be afterwards the position of the nation, left alone without hope of kindred auxiliaries, to meet the repeated outbreaks of the half-subdued Canaanites. And similar long-continued ferments were also to be expected in the land beyond the Jordan, where Israel had been but little longer established. From such fluctuations, therefore, no lasting security was possible, but in the courageous resolve to establish permanent settlements throughout the country, as a basis of operations for taking more and more complete possession of the land, and defending or regaining it from the restless and disaffected old inhabitants. That the desire of such permanent occupation of the land was now the predominant feeling of the nation, and never flagged through centuries of discouragement and difficulty until the end was attained, not only bears witness to the sound feelings and correct judgment of its chiefs, but combines with many other indications to show that, even before the time of Moses, Israel was more in advance of the mere nomadic life than its friends among the nations. For it is expressly recorded of the above-men-

[1] Josh. xvii. 15–18, Judges i. 19, 34; the same thing is thus said of very different tribes—Joseph, Judah, and Dan.

[2] First occurring in Ps. xviii. 34 [33] (2 Sam. xxii. 34), then repeated in Hab. iii. 19, and but slightly altered in Deut. xxxii. 13, Is. lviii. 14, as also Deut. xxxiii. 29.

tioned Kenites (p. 44 sq.), who in all other respects—in religion as well as in alliances and migrations—attached themselves to Israel, that they never renounced their love of the tent-life, and preferred to remain in the desert, on the border of the cultivated land.[1] In no way can a conquering nation secure its conquest but by closely attaching itself to the soil of its new country, and peacefully amalgamating the former inhabitants with itself; or, should this unfortunately be beyond its power, supplanting them by force as cultivators of the soil. On the other hand, conquerors who from necessity or choice (as the Assyrians, Persians, and Turks) seek to maintain their ascendancy by military and satrap-government, are flung off in any national convulsion, like caterpillars from a tree shaken by the wind.

But this strenuous and salutary endeavour has its attendant evil, which glides in imperceptibly and threatens to neutralise all its beneficial results. We remark, throughout the centuries immediately succeeding, how the nation lost in unity, and therefore in strength of external action, what it gained in settled possession and command of the soil. Long after the nation had begun to feel at home in the land, the grave consequences of the decay of firm national unity were experienced, and from the relapse into the old disunion and insubordination, grew up gradually a whole host of new evils. The connection of this retrograde movement with the preceding advance seems at first a mystery; but its main cause is to be found in the principle of the constitution previously existing. For in accordance with the very religion of this constitution, Joshua after his great victories dissolved the army, dismissing every tribe to its own territory, and tilling the soil himself, like all others; and no other chief, however powerful, could hold the nation together. Thus the community, though still held together by religion, general assemblies, oracles, and ultimate appeal, fell asunder in reference to everything else into a multitude of self-governing tribes. So in the antique narrative with which the Book of Judges begins, we see the tribes 'after Joshua's death' acting quite independently of one another: a state of things which appears plainly to have begun before his death. Each tribe had to take thought for itself, how best to secure and maintain an adequate territory; since the oracle gave its counsel only when specially appealed to. Hence separate interests of all sorts might soon become prevalent, and regard for the

[1] Judges v. 24, iv. 17 sqq., i. 16; the last passage in particular shows plainly the character of the places which they (like the Gipsies among us) liked best to live in; such of them even as settled on this side Jordan.

general good would imperceptibly be more and more forgotten. But, when the popular tendency is strong towards separation of the parts and dissolution of the whole, where is this dangerous progress to be arrested? That the early disunion and jealousies of the several tribes powerfully aided this tendency, is easy to understand, since the uniting power had only recently come into force, under the rule of Moses and Joshua. It would however be a mistake to refer the irresistible tendency of the age to that cause alone.

3. As soon as these two dissimilar and yet closely connected tendencies manifest themselves—the one towards a firm settlement in the land, and defence of the dearly-purchased soil against foes within and without; and the other towards isolation and internal dissolution—a new era necessarily arises, which, though reaping the fruits of Moses' and Joshua's lofty endeavours, has already other perils to combat, other problems to solve.

How long Joshua himself, whose wars (according to p. 254 sq.), would seem to have lasted only five years, may have lived on during this period of transition to a new state of things, is comparatively unimportant; it is however sufficiently clear, from distinct early testimony (see p. 243 sq.), and from the whole tenor of early tradition, that he lived to witness the first loosening of strict national union. And if tradition does not in his case, as in that of Moses, accumulate the mightiest deeds and greatest results on the close of his life, this is a beautiful indication that the latter half of his rule, though from no fault of his own, resembled the waning moon; and its growing obscurity, visible even in the narrative, requires no further explanation. The Deuteronomist, indeed,[1] makes the aged chief twice shortly before his death warn the assembled community in heart-felt words against coming dangers, and solemnly renew Jahveh's covenant with them, quite as if he had worthily succeeded even to the Prophetic dignity of Moses. Looking only to the simple truth of the ideas expressed, we find this account a masterly survey of the whole succeeding history of Israel up to the writer's own time, expressing with unrivalled clearness the feeling of later antiquity, that with Joshua ended the glorious youth of the community of the true God, and that thenceforth a period of fearful and unknown dangers awaited Israel, bereft of its great leaders of the Mosaic age, and placed in new conditions and a new geographical position. But this

[1] Josh. xxiii. and xxiv. 1-28. In the matter is much expanded, and divided into usual manner of the Deuteronomist, the two discourses.

account, as a story, must not be taken as strictly historical, as has already been frequently proved.

The very existence however of such a leader as Joshua could not but keep in abeyance during his lifetime all the dangers and short comings hidden beneath the glittering veil of the pure theocracy just then perfected. He died, according to the good old tradition of the Book of Origins, in all peace and honour, and was buried on his great estate at Timnath-serah,[1] presented to him by the grateful people, which had given a similar estate, called the Hill of Phinehas[2] to his coadjutor Eleazar the High Priest—both certainly not very far from Shiloh, the central place of assembly at that time. But it was only the afterglow of former meridian splendour which illumined the declining years of the august friend of Moses and Aaron, and held the entire nation tolerably quiet and reverent around the conqueror till his death.

Thus he never, like Moses, became in the time of the nation's decadence a favourite subject for new literary activity: only a few minor regulations for the administration of the land, and a prayer against the Heathen, are ascribed to him by the later Jews; and indeed only by the Talmudists.[3] But the Samaritans, in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the birth of Christ, having fallen into a state of ever-deepening hostility to the Jews, naturally seized with eagerness upon the memory of Joshua, the great successor of Moses, who had given glory to the old central region which they themselves inhabited. The Samaritan 'Book of Joshua'[4] is the product of this deplorable enmity and prejudice; it is nothing but a general history of the Postmosaic period, composed late in the

[1] Thus Josh. xix. 49 sq., xxiv. 29 sq. The תִּמְנַת סֶרַח for תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס in Judges ii. 9 is the more evidently a mere slip of the pen, as all these passages are equally derived from the Book of Origins; the LXX. likewise read the word in different ways. Now this city, as the added name of itself shows, was certainly different from the often-mentioned Timnath (or Thamnah of the LXX.) in the tribe of Dan; which besides lies much too far to the south. But a *Tibneh* has now been discovered six miles to the north-west of Gophna, and consequently not too far from Shiloh; see Ely Smith in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1843, note 3. According to an addition in the LXX. after Josh. xxi. 40, the primitive stone-knives were preserved there, which Joshua (ver. 1 sq.) used for circumcision; and doubtless some mementos of Joshua's life here were long exhibited.

[2] According to the Book of Origins this estate, as well as the other, was situated on the 'Mountain of Ephraim,' Josh. xxiv. 33, and therefore certainly not far from Shiloh; although even in the *Onomasticon* of the Church Fathers it is confounded with Gibeah in the tribe of Benjamin, which is much too far to the south. The locality has now been more carefully explored by V. Guérin (*Revue Archéol.* 1865, i. p. 100–108), who claims to have found there the actual ancient tomb of Joshua. But until some success has been attained in establishing criteria by which the various ages of the old buildings of Palestine may be approximately determined, any isolated identification like this must be regarded as very doubtful.

[3] See Fabricii *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. p. 871–876.

[4] Also called *Chronicon Samaritanum.*

Middle Age, from the narrow Samaritan point of view; in which the life of Joshua and the last days of Moses[1] are described very fully, but quite unhistorically; and a wild imagination unites with the least possible comprehension of the Biblical books to produce a most unpleasing whole, which in tone and temper more resembles an Islamite story-book of the degenerate period after the Crusades, than a Biblical narrative.[2]

The later Rabbis were consequently the less inclined to take Joshua's history as an object of contemplation, and to discourse or write of him and his times. Whenever they did so, they preferred merely to interweave his history with that of Moses' death,[3] of which we have spoken at p. 226. The inferior degree of sanctity attributed to the historical books of the Old Testament after the Pentateuch also contributed to this result. The same is true, therefore, of all the great men of the following period of the Judges, and indeed until David.

[1] More particularly a sort of Ascension of Moses, of which a very rhetorical description is given in ch. vi–viii.; saying that the Divine pillar of fire separated him from his latest companions; see above, p. 224. Joshua is differently treated; Cafar Ghuwaira is named as his and also Eleazar's burial-place, ch. xxxix. sq. This cannot, then, be the Tibneh just mentioned, but rather 'Avarta, which was much spoken of in the Middle Ages as the burial-place at least of Eleazar and the Seventy; see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, pp. 186, 386, 445. It lies to the south-east of Shechem, and according to J. Wilson (*Lands of the Bible* ii. p. 72) was really a different place from the حوارا *'Havâra* close by, on the west. But the Middle-Age travellers discriminate from this as Joshua's resting-place—one called Kafâr Cheres or Timnat Cheres, and a كفر حارث is mentioned by Ely Smith in Robinson's *Palestine*, where, on the other hand, 'Avarta is wanting. The place يوشع i.e. *Joshua*, which still exists in the extreme north (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 33, may probably have indicated the farthest northern boundary to which he penetrated.

[2] The book begins with Num. xxvii. 15, as the time when Joshua was appointed general by Moses; then in ix. to xxv. gives in its own way the substance of the Hebrew Book of Joshua, and even begins here to tend towards the winding up of his life; but then in xxvi–xxxvii, as if all hitherto said had been too meagre, appends a newly-invented and very vivid account of a last great victory of Joshua's shortly before his death, by the help of the Nobah mentioned Num. xxxii. 42. According to this story, the heathen came from the north, and the battle-field was near el Kaimôn (the Κναμών of the Book of Judith) el Lejjun (i.e. Megiddo), and Ain el Nushâba (comp. نشبة in Robinson's *Palestine*) consequently in the plains of South Galilee, always a decisive region in the annals of Palestine; which the Book of Judith has selected as the scene of a similar story. This seems at least in all respects the most probable view concerning this locality in the Samaritan Chronicle. When the author has given in ch. xxxviii. a review of the state of things in those happy times, he concludes in ch. xxxix–l. with much briefer notices of the succeeding ages down to the later Roman period.

[3] See also Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrasch* i. p. xxi.

SECTION III.

PERIOD FROM JOSHUA TO THE MONARCHY. DECAY OF PURE THEOCRACY.

THIS grand and eventful period is now followed by long and dreary centuries, often barren and gloomy, and in parts historically obscure, commonly called the Age of the Judges. This name, however, is not quite appropriate. Eli and Samuel, indeed, are properly accounted Judges;[1] and in the Book of Ruth (at the beginning) the whole period is comprised under this designation; but yet a considerable period certainly elapsed before the appearance of any leader who was entitled to the name of Judge; and indeed the historical memory of such a period was never wholly effaced.[2]

We have already seen what infinite treasures of eternal truth and fructifying knowledge, of noble pride and elevation of life, of inspiring memories, no less than of material riches and earthly possessions, had been bequeathed by the short preceding period to that which now followed. The people which a few generations back had been deeply debased in Egypt, and which, even when delivered out of Egypt by Moses, was not exempt from manifold backslidings into the prejudices and meannesses incident to that debasement, attains suddenly to a constitution founded on eternal principles, such as no other nation possessed, and thereby to a position and a territory beyond its own most aspiring hopes. How it would maintain this lately achieved elevation; whether it would be betrayed by its successes into presumption and recklessness, into moral laxity and indolence, was for Israel a critical question, such as presents itself in every period of history, where such dear-bought truth and dignity of life have been attained. But it is provided that man shall never be allowed to relapse utterly from a height he has once gained, without at least manifold warnings and instigations. For as those earthly things among which man's work lies are perpetually changing their form (and we have seen how mighty a change of this nature had lately come over Israel), the higher truths and aspirations to which he has once raised himself cannot remain inactive and sta-

[1] 1 Sam. iv. 18, vii. 15. [2] See the various accounts, Judges i. 1–ii. 16.

tionary, but must perpetually renew their youth and strength by the conquest of new matter, or else utterly perish, and draw man into their own annihilation. And besides, no height to which a man or a nation can attain is absolutely perfect and sufficient in every respect; this it cannot be, from the very fact that it is only one of the many passing phenomena which constitute history. As to the present case, we have already observed how the sublime truths revealed by Moses were from the very first subjected to the conditions and limitations of time and place; and how the many material advantages gained under Joshua were so soon endangered again. The true question was therefore this: how Israel in the new state of things would maintain the elevation newly won by the might and freshness of pure theocracy,—maintain it under the external difficulties inherent in the new age, and the internal difficulties, created by an elevation not yet fully attained, or but imperfectly understood.

Well indeed is it for a nation to be (as Israel was) the first in all those early times to conquer for itself a high ideal! What if it be thrown down from that elevation and brought among the sorest difficulties and temptations? even here it is led by that same God who before guided it to that height, and who at last, if it be not wholly disobedient to his hand, will lead it on from glory to glory! There are nations which have never attained for themselves such an elevation—indeed the Germans of the present day (1844) have been for centuries suspended on the rounds of their ladder. Such nations are certainly spared severe trials from the Almighty, and grow on like plants, motionless, or shaken only by tempests; till chance at last brings some one to cut them down.

Israel on the contrary, as is said by a later historian on an impartial retrospect of this long period, was at that time rigorously tested by its God Jahveh, whether it was really true to him or not;[1] and the whole period is passed under such trials,

[1] Judges ii. 22, iii. 1, 4; comp. p. 132 sq. But the temptation is here made to bear also upon their then relation towards their nearest enemy. Faithfulness to Jahveh, being constantly endangered by contact with the Canaanites, could apparently only be assured by their destruction; yet this became increasingly difficult to a nation which was gradually growing more effeminate and less warlike. Therefore, even in Joshua's time, Jahveh let many Canaanites live among them, to try Israel, whether it would again gather up its warlike energy to annihilate the Canaanites and be as faithful to him alone as he required. This is the meaning of the entire passage; and the somewhat abrupt expression in verse 2 runs thus: 'Only in order that the families of Israel might know, in order that they might learn war; but only those who did not before know them (i.e. the great early wars under Joshua).' We must therefore pronounce לְלַמֵּד.

heavier or lighter, coming unexpectedly upon the people, just when the first height is ascended, and they think to repose on it from their toil. For besides the dangers to which every ruling nation is exposed, especially a nation scarcely yet in possession of a newly-conquered kingdom, further consequences of those evils which began (as we have seen at p. 265) under Joshua, were now steadily unfolding themselves: internal disorganisation, and the radical want of external unity. What (according to p. 145 sqq.) was the very culminating point of the new religion and the pride of the nation, the pure Theocracy, was precisely the point exposed to the sharpest trial, from which, unremarked, sprang the heaviest evils of the time. Israel had as yet scarcely found time to imbue its spirit deeply with the great truths which had been awakened into life in it, and thus to appropriate them as an inalienable possession; the vital principle of that religion and nationality by which it had so wondrously triumphed, was still scarcely understood, when it was led into manifold severe trials. The great danger to Israel sprang not so much from encroachments, recklessness, or indolence, incident to a victorious possession of a teeming land, for these abuses soon bring their own retribution, and reduce the people again to act on the defensive; but the consequences of internal discord become in the course of this period so threatening that it becomes a grave question, whether the nation will be able to hold even the very soil on which its peculiar religion and culture are to attain their full development.

But just here the whole question was to be decided: here was the turning-point, which must lead either to the utter ruin of the community and religion of Israel, or to a new life, awakened by a new truth victorious over every obstacle. What was really necessary for the progress of the true religion in the world was not that stern, rigid form of Theocracy, which had only grown up out of the simple courage and the unbounded trust in God of its early youth; but that somewhere upon earth it should be unalterably established in the bosom of a nationality, and consequently of a country (p. 118 sqq.). Now as soon as this first and most necessary condition became seriously and obviously endangered, and the people awoke to the consciousness that in losing its country and its rank among the nations, it must also lose its religion, because this was not yet independent of such earthly protection; then the turning-point was reached, and it must either despair, or renew its youth from the depths of that very religion. Here then we behold them, aroused in time, struggle with wondrous energy

out of the abyss which had threatened to engulf them with all that they held dear, spiritual and material. They feel in time, though dimly and spasmodically, the greatness of the danger, and how it is to be escaped. The reciprocal relation between a true, elevating religion and a nation once deeply embued with its spirit, is here, for the first time, revealed in the beauty of its results. The true religion had taken too deep a hold of the people to be abandoned by them in their hour of peril; and the people, impelled by the new force of that religion, may in the end attain a new elevation of life, and from the consciousness of one Divine succour rise to enjoy another and yet another. Thus they are goaded on even by irritating error to grasp the entire truth all the more perfectly in the end.

But the whole of this long period slips away ere the crisis is finally decided for the right, so deeply were rooted in Israel the idea and hope of a pure Theocracy; and the surpassing power and glory of the age of Moses and Joshua are sufficiently manifested in the deep-seated influence of this their highest principle. During the lives of Moses and Joshua, undoubtedly, this Theocracy had been a truth, as far as it ever can be so in the course of history. Only thus is to be explained the deep root which this faith had taken in the national mind. The endurance of the same faith through so many centuries affords a parallel case to the tenacity with which early Christendom clung to the belief in the approaching advent of Christ. The marvellous tenacity of such a belief plainly points to some deep antecedent experience as its source; and even when its first living truth is lost and corruption advances fast, still the belief may retain some truth and some elevating power—perhaps even the germ of a new and imperishable truth.

Hence this long period is characterised by many new experiences, but not by the recognition and carrying-out of new truths. The greatness of the age springs from its heritage of spiritual blessings; its weakness, from the want of a truth to which the earliest form of Jahveism was long unable to elevate itself. Such a truth, the completion of what has been already gained, will indeed in time assert itself; but as yet the age is too weak to secure its acceptance, and must pass through present suffering that this hidden truth may at length find scope for full and free expansion.

But an age which adds no new great truth to its inherited treasures must on the whole lose ground; as the two centuries after the German Reformation introduced a positive retrogression in the Reformation. The only advance consisted in this:

that the people learned by perpetual struggle to defend right valiantly their new earthly home and the free exercise of their religion, and were thereby preparing for coming generations a sacred place, where that religion and national culture might unfold itself freely and fully. Meanwhile, beneath the shelter of what the people increasingly felt to be their true home, many branches of the higher spiritual life might already bloom afresh in individuals. To a period that has revealed such sublime truths and changed so rapidly and radically the entire life of the nation, succeeds naturally a long pause of apparent inaction, in which the principles and truths so marvellously brought to light must take firm root in the altered condition of things, and spread from their original centre till they cover the whole territory. And as this process is necessarily a laborious one, much of the first energy must for a time be lost, much of the original breadth be narrowed; hence the seeming retrogression of such a period. But if this hidden movement is going on, if the great principles are taking firm root among individuals, and imperfections and shortcomings, now discovered by experience, are more widely recognised and more deeply felt; then the eternal truth of those principles will at length assert itself in renewed force, giving the power to divine and the eagerness to make up every deficiency. Then, when the deficiency is once supplied in the right way, one fortunate moment may quickly recover all the lost ground of years.

Thus the irrepressible complication, which lurked unsuspected in some of the views and tendencies of the preceding period, advanced by degrees to its maximum, till at last a solution was found, which in the nation's uncorrupted youth might perhaps prove a salutary one. In such a wide-spreading and long-continued complication, individual powers work with less freedom; many are crushed in the struggle; the strongest long wage the combat apparently in vain. If then the entire period is little distinguished by dazzling greatness; if its best work lies beneath the surface, from which level, at long intervals, only some few grand forms rise up here and there; we can easily understand why in aftertimes it has excited less interest or enquiry than either the preceding or the succeeding epochs, and even in historical works has been treated with comparative brevity. When a narrator did survey this entire completed period, he either pointed to it as a time of frightful disorder (i. p. 141), or represented the barren and often disastrous intervals between the death of one great leader and the

tardy uprising of another, as so many periods of universal temptation and sin (i. p. 162 sq.).

But it is our duty to sketch, from all discoverable traces, as vivid a picture as possible of these times, apparently so barren, yet not without internal movement and silent progress. Thus only can we comprehend the great historic era which succeeds.

A. The definite Settlement of the Tribes.

I. The Territories of the Tribes.

We have seen that the settlement of the tribes was not completed in Joshua's lifetime. That we may not start on the assumption that it was governed by pure chance, we shall do well to remember the remarkable persistency with which, from the very earliest times, the number, order, and relative dignity of the twelve tribes were maintained in every department of national life (i. p. 362–381). We can prove from many indications, that all this subsisted in Moses' and Joshua's time in inviolable sanctity, as if handed down from far antiquity; indeed it was then surely quickened, like every national characteristic, into fresh energy. Some weight must be allowed even to the twelve spies, one out of each of the twelve tribes, whom Moses in the second year of the Exodus sends from the desert into Canaan (p. 235), because the Book of Origins gives the names of the individual spies, and these names appear quite historical.[1] In those early days it was as much a point to choose men of note as men of sagacity for spies; as the case of Ulysses and Diomede in the Iliad shows. Still more distinctly do the twelve stones,[2] then erected whenever solemn sacrifices were to be offered for the whole community as well as at all permanent places of sacrifice, show that the entire community could regard itself only as consisting of twelve equally privileged and independent portions. But the most distinct evidence of all is afforded by the extremely vivid descriptions in the Book of Origins of the order of encampment of Israel under Moses.[3] We have already seen (p. 195 sqq.) that the number of 603,550 men, there said to be present in Israel at the first numeration, must have been derived from old census-rolls. Every man in Israel above twenty years of age, bond or free,[4] was liable to

[1] Num. xiii. 4–15; while at the same time quite different names are given to the generals of the twelve tribes in i. 5–16, and ii. Similar to this is the deputation of twelve emissaries, one from each tribe, Josh. xxii. 13 sq.; Judges xix. 29.

[2] Ex. xxiv. 4, according to the Earliest Narrator; Josh. iv. 2, according to the Book of Origins, p. 245 sq.

[3] Num. i, ii, vii. 12, 13; differently in ch. xxvi, where the census only is described.

[4] In connection with this estimate of the entire military force the number of first-

a kind of poll-tax, and was enrolled in the standing army; although the full number was called into active service only on rare occasions, such as general migrations, or great invading expeditions.[1] In this army the twelve tribes appear very exactly arranged in four divisions of three tribes each, in such a manner that the Tabernacle moved along with them in their centre, with the Levites who formed a thirteenth tribe. If, then, we regard this central body of Levites as a fifth division accompanying the four others, just as Israel, according to the earliest accounts, marched out of Egypt in five bands, we obtain the following picture:—

1. *East.*		2. *South.*	
Judah	74,600	Reuben	46,500
Issachar	55,400	Simeon	59,300
Zebulon	57,400	Gad	45,650
	187,400		151,450
4. *North.*		**5. *Centre.***	
Dan	62,700	Levi	22,000
Asher	41,500		
Naphtali	53,400		
	157,600		
3. *West.*			
Ephraim	40,500		
Manasseh	32,200		
Benjamin	35,400		
	108,100		

In camp the four armies were certainly drawn up thus around Levi; and in like manner Levi, accompanying the Ark of the Covenant, was also arranged in five divisions.[2] On the march, however, Judah, which ranked first even in numbers, had with two other tribes the honour as well as the danger and responsibility of forming the vanguard. But since this post is rather an honour than a right, the two tribes which from ancient usage claim the highest rank, Reuben and Joseph, each with

born males in all Israel is given in Num. iii. 40–46 as 22,273, which is to the former number nearly in the proportion of 1 to 28. But the average number of males by actual descent in each house must have been far below 28. Many bondsmen (using the word in the widest sense) must therefore be included in the sum total, who were held capable of military service equally with the freeborn. Hence it follows that the total number of the whole nation was probably less than two millions (p. 195), and this is confirmed still farther by the accounts of the centuries immediately after Moses. In the depressed period of the Judges the people could not increase rapidly; Saul, however, collects suddenly a levy of 300,000 men, besides 30,000 from Judah, 1 Sam. xi. 8, and on an earlier occasion 400,000 men are raised, Judges xx. 2; round numbers which must yet be approximately correct.

[1] This follows from the number of only 40,000 armed men, furnished by the two or two-and-a-half tribes settled beyond the Jordan for the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, Josh. iv. 13; for this was about the half of the number at which they were rated, and is yet described as the utmost which these tribes could furnish. The number is given in 1 Chron. v. 18 with greater precision as 44,760.

[2] According to Num. iii. 14–39; comp. vv. 23, 29, 32, 35, 38.

his complement, surround the Ark, extending from the east towards the south and west. The rear is formed by three of the four inferior tribes. The four divisions were constituted similarly: each being composed of the three tribes most connected by hereditary affinity; and these again arranged in the order of their hereditary rank. Thus the age of Moses certainly introduced certain novelties of organisation, for placing Judah in the van must have been then as great an innovation as the separation of Levi from its fellow-tribes; but these novelties were based entirely upon the old foundation, and no changes introduced but from absolute necessity. That this numerical basis of the military organisation dates from the Mosaic period, is clear from the circumstance that in it the tribe of Simeon, which so early dwindled, still appears very numerous; whereas at the later numeration in Num. xxvi. it had fallen as low as 22,200. But it was certainly maintained long after that age. This we may infer from its being so fully expounded in the Book of Origins; because the author of that book, whenever writing from a legal point of view, describes everything by way of example to his own times. But if in the days of Moses and Joshua the ancient division of the tribes was maintained in all its essential principles—as with such distinct reminiscences it is impossible to doubt—we may safely assume that it would have great weight in the partition of a conquered country. This partition we have now to consider in the form it ultimately assumed—first with reference to the individual tribes, and afterwards returning to a survey of the whole.

1. Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh); Benjamin.

1) The pride, power, and greatness of the twofold tribe of Joseph did not originate with Joshua, who belonged to it, but dates, as we have seen (i. p. 376 sq, 405 sq, 422 sq.), from far distant Premosaic times; yet when we now see its principal branch taking firm root, and spreading out in the very centre of the land on the west of the Jordan, this is evidently due to the activity of its great chief Joshua, and is at the same time a sure proof of real progress in the permanent occupation and improvement of the land. Pressing forth from the camp at Gilgal (p. 244 sq.), the invading tribe after the first victories evidently established itself in the middle of Canaan. The lovely and fertile heights of the mid-country, whence the so-called 'Mountains of Ephraim' project into the wide plains of Galilee, became its first stronghold, which the Canaanites never

reconquered, and whither pursued fugitives retreated, as to an impregnable refuge.[1] According to the Book of Origins, Joshua with his numerous household settled on these mountains, in the territory of the city Timnath-serah, bestowed by the grateful nation on their victorious general; there too was his family burial-place (p. 267 sq.). It followed as a matter of course that the greater part of his tribe crowded around his fortress and domain, and thus became possessors of the first district which could be securely occupied. This point admits, however, of further illustration.

Everything seems to show that the Tabernacle, and consequently the locality of the national assembly, continued throughout all this age to be in central Canaan. Until David's time, the Ark occasionally changed its place, but never beyond the circle of this central district, or indeed the still narrower limit of the mountain-ranges stretching north-westward from Gilgal. This circumstance points clearly to the activity of Joshua and his tribe in the earliest period; but we have also a special argument which enables us to ascertain more certainly the time when this enduring arrangement took its rise. We know with certainty that the Ark, at its very first removal from Gilgal into the interior of the country, was transferred to Shiloh; and that this remained through all this period its most permanent station. This fact is indicated not only by the Book of Origins and the old Books of Kings,[2] but by the far more ancient testimony of Jacob's Blessing.[3] Shiloh's early renown on this account was handed down even to the later poets and prophets, who among the early stations of the Tabernacle mention it alone with the later station Jerusalem.[4] But Shiloh, like Gilgal, is not one of the holy places famed from Patriarchal times. And why Bethel, of primeval sanctity in Israel (i. p. 303 sqq.)—lying somewhat south, but still sufficiently central—was not now selected as the abiding station of the Tabernacle, is in itself a problem. But this problem is solved very simply by the ancient and unusually circumstantial account,[5] how Bethel, though its ruler had been at the very first defeated by Joshua,[6] was not permanently

[1] Ehud, pursued by Moabites, takes refuge on these heights, and is not only safe there, but leads Israel from thence to battle, as is described in Judges iii. 36 sq. with local minuteness. According to Judges v. 15, Deborah, herself belonging to the tribe Issachar, retires for a long time during her judgeship to these mountains, and here receives the nearest combatants, iv. 5, comp. with v. 14. The name 'Mountains of Ephraim' seems from many indications to be Premosaic, as was conjectured in i. p. 382 sq. Even later, the expression 'a Benjamite of the Mountains of Ephraim' is employed, 2 Sam. xx. 21; comp. ver. 1.

[2] See p. 260, and 1 Sam. i. 3 sqq.

[3] Gen. xlix. 10.

[4] Jer. vii. 12 sqq.; Ps. lxxviii. 60, 68, 69.

[5] Judges i. 12-26.

[6] According to Josh. xii. 16.

occupied by Ephraim till after Joshua's death, being one of that tribe's latest acquisitions; so that the single Canaanite 'man and his house' who had rendered assistance to the besiegers, were permitted to migrate northwards,[1] and there to found a new *Luz*, thus perpetuating the old Canaanite name of the city. Before this occupation, therefore, and doubtless under Joshua himself, the Ark must have taken up its station in the hitherto unknown Shiloh, from which it was not afterwards easily to be moved. But it may be assumed as certain that at the time of the first invasion the possession of Bethel, the holy place of old, was long and fiercely contested, and its permanent occupation remained for some time doubtful.

As Shiloh was appointed the seat of the common Sanctuary, so Shechem, lying somewhat to the north, was, also probably in Joshua's time, fixed upon as the seat of civil government; at first apparently for his own tribe only, though from that tribe's importance it naturally became so for the others also. From the Patriarchal times, Shechem, which had been conquered by Simeon and Levi,[2] had been an important station, though for other tribes. There Joseph's bones, carefully carried from Egypt, were deposited;[3] and now accordingly the tribe most powerful at the time took possession of it, and at once made it its head-quarters. Now since this tribe from Joshua's time had a natural precedence over its brethren, due partly to its early power and dignity, and partly to the greater number and more advantageous position of the fortresses which it conquered, its central city Shechem would naturally become the frequent gathering-place of all the tribes, or the seat of the General Assembly. This is intimated by the Deuteronomist, no doubt on ancient authority;[4] and the First Narrator[5] expresses this pre-eminence of Ephraim in a witticism ascribed to the dying Jacob, who, besides other blessings, gave Joseph 'a shoulder above his brethren'—that he should be higher than they by a shoulder, i.e. by Shechem (which means *shoulder*), the great city won by

[1] 'In the land of the Hittites' is indeed said, though only in a general sense, in ver. 26; but probably some northern district on the Phenician frontier is meant, since the retreat of the Canaanites was on the whole northward. That a Cittian city in Cyprus or Asia Minor was meant, is exceedingly improbable, especially because it is here described as a place well known in Israel.

[2] Gen. xxxiv, comp. i. p. 378 sq.

[3] Book of Origins, Josh. xxiv. 32; comp. Gen. xlvii. 29–31, l. 26, Ex. xiii. 19. Throughout the Middle Ages all the localities mentioned in the Bible were anxiously sought for, and this anxiety could only be appeased by their seeming discovery in some suitable situation. Thus the Samaritans show 'Joseph's Grave,' not far from Jacob's Well (John iv. 6, 12); see J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, ii. p. 60. But the well has probably the greater claim to antiquity; at all events the grave has not yet been examined.

[4] Josh. xxiv. 1.

[5] Gen. xlviii. 22.

Israel from the Canaanites, which though the gathering-place of all the tribes, was the actual possession of this one, and gave to it an exceptional importance.[1] Though afterwards, from the decadence of the tribe, Shechem lost for a time its preeminent position, yet it regained it immediately on Solomon's death, when it became again the seat of the National Assembly, and soon the first royal residence of the Northern Kingdom,[2] which of itself shows how firmly established must have been the tradition of its ancient dignity.

But although Shechem thus became the supreme seat of the civil power only, not of the sacerdotal, and it is quite in character with the independent existence of these two great national powers, that their respective seats of government, though near, were kept distinct: yet Shechem had from the very earliest times been accounted of such sanctity that it could not but rank among the Levitical cities and cities of refuge.[3] There also, at the seat of government, arrangements had to be made for any important national gatherings or national pageants. Thus the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim, which bounded it on the north and south, early acquired a certain sanctity. On the former stood an altar; perhaps also a memorial of the giving of the Law and the Constituting of the Assembly; and the two mountains seemed made for the very purpose of protecting the grand old city which lay between them. Respecting the traditional sanctity of the two mountains we now know nothing definite but what we are told by the Deuteronomist.[4] Probability, however, is in favour of it; nor could the Deuteronomist have spoken as he does of their consecration by Joshua himself without the basis of some early tradition.

2) Had this double tribe, when once established in the land, held together its whole strength, it would in all likelihood have remained permanently the ruling tribe. But its strength seems to have been split up immediately after the settlement by the overweening arrogance, to which the tribe of Ephraim often during these ages disastrously yielded.[5] Now that Levi had been set apart for the charge of the Sanctuary, and separated,

[1] On the other hand the account given of Abraham and Shechem in Acts vii. 16 may be referred either to some apocryphal narrative, or to a mere confusion of Gen. xxxiii. 19 with Gen. xxiii.

[2] 1 Kings xii. 1, 25.

[3] Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 28.

[4] Deut. xi. 29 sq., xxvii. 2 sqq.; Josh. viii. 30 sqq. compared with xxiv. 1. Among modern writers, J. Wilson, Saulcy, and Guérin have most fully described them; comp. *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 125, ix. p. 119 sq.; and the *Grenzbote* 1860, p. 270 sqq., 186.

[5] Judges viii. 1 sqq., xii. 1 sqq.; comp. Josh. xvii. 11.

as a tribe of a higher order, from the original twelve, it was only fair that the great tribe of Joseph, which was the preponderating one from the earliest times (i. p. 376 sq., 405 sqq.), and since the Egyptian period the dominant one, should by way of compensation be divided into two, Manasseh[1] and Ephraim. Thus the ancient tribe of Joseph obtained a double voice in the national assembly, as well as double weight or dignity in all public affairs. And judging by the ancient military regulations (p. 275), this had been introduced even in Moses' time. But from two causes the unity and strength of this ancient tribe must have materially suffered since their recent settlement in Canaan. In the first place, it is certain that the half-tribe Ephraim, from which Joshua sprang, now first obtained precedence of Manasseh, or in other words, the birthright, contrary to the claims of seniority (i. p. 382 sq.). Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xlix.) does not touch upon this point, or indeed upon Joseph's division into two tribes, at all; but the Book of Origins, and still more the Third Narrator of the primeval history,[2] both supply the omission in that ancient record, by an account as copious as it is important, in Gen. xlviii. To these narrators (following the example of Gen. xlix.) the Patriarch Jacob was the organ of the Divine predestination of the fortunes of the several tribes; and since in their time the division of Joseph into two tribes equally privileged with the rest had long become law, they might naturally wish to supply to this legalised arrangement the sanction of the Patriarch's words and acts, after the fashion which had then become usual. In their account, Joseph comes first to the dying Jacob, without his brothers, but with his two sons. When Jacob sees them, he declares his wish to adopt them as his own sons, out of gratitude to God and love to Rachel; and in saying this, he with apparent inadvertence, yet prompted by Divine guidance, mentions Ephraim first. When they are then brought forward to receive gratefully[3] this benediction, and are so placed by Joseph before Jacob that he may lay his right hand, as seemed fitting, upon Manasseh the first-born, the half-blind old man, true to his unsuspected deeper instinct, lays his hands cross-wise upon their two heads, so that the right rests upon Ephraim; and when Joseph finally attempts to rectify this, the father declares expressly, that it is no error, and that Ephraim, the younger, shall become the first-born. But if, after the lapse of centuries

[1] Or Machir, mentioned in Judges v. 14, according to i. p. 371, 382 sq.

[2] See i. p. 97–99.

[3] In ver. 12 we must read וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ; see the observations on this subject in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 893, 894.

these narrators still found it necessary to justify by a Divine decision and consecrate by Jacob's blessing the preeminence of Ephraim, we can easily understand that in earlier times jealousy between the two branches was very probable. In addition to this, though possessing between them a tolerably large territory in the middle of the land, they soon found themselves in many ways cramped for room. Manasseh, as secondary to the brother-tribe, was compelled to settle more to the north; but still had Ephraimites [1] dwelling in his midst. Hence it is explicable that 'the children of Joseph,' according to the old legend, were angry with Joshua, because he had given them, though so numerous a tribe, only one portion; that is, not two separate disconnected portions, nor at all events a larger territory (p. 243 sq.): a legend which also reveals the defiant, overbearing character of this twofold tribe. It is therefore not surprising under the circumstances, that a large portion of Manasseh very soon sought other quarters, as will be soon explained.

3) The smaller tribe of Benjamin, originally about as large as one of the twin tribes of Joseph, attached itself very closely to the more powerful Ephraim, both in its place of settlement and in its whole national life; preserving a relation shown in the Patriarchal tradition of birth, and in the military organisation of the early times (p. 275). While those severed branches of Manasseh which settled on the western side of the Jordan, adhere on the north to Ephraim,[2] the main-stem of that group, Benjamin clings to the southern skirts of the more powerful brother.[3] In all great popular movements, when the tribes have free choice to repel or attract each other, Benjamin still holds fast to Ephraim, whom he sometimes even carries with him in his turbulent audacity,[4] whereas he never turns voluntarily to Judah. Only after the division of David's kingdom, occurs the great change in the tendencies and fortunes of this tribe.

[1] Josh. xvi. 9, xvii. 8 sq. From the serious mutilation and alteration which the Book of Origins has suffered in Josh. xvi-xix, it is difficult to ascertain its precise view of the external and internal boundaries of these two tribes. All the words in ch. xvi. vv. 4 and 5, as far as מְזֻרָחָה, ought to be inserted after לִבְנֵי יוֹסֵף in ver. 1; and the last words of ver. 5 are merely repeated from vv. 1–3.

[2] Josh. xvii.

[3] As is very circumstantially described in xviii. 11–28. Tobler in his *Third Journey*, p. 202, tries to determine the boundary more exactly.

[4] As is distinctly seen from Judges v. 14; it is also worthy of remark, that after Benjamin had obtained the royal dignity, it was always Ephraim that offered the least opposition, and both at the beginning and during the subsequent part of David's reign supports the pretensions of Benjamin, 2 Sam. ii, xx. So it may be truly said that not only in the traditionary history, but also in the later national life even to David's time, the little Benjamin is Joseph's favourite.

We have so far seen no reason why it should first have separated in old times from the brother tribe, and should now again form itself into a distinct community; but certain other reminiscences meet us now, which throw some light on the subject. We know that even so late as David's time the Benjamites were distinguished by a skill remarkable for that period in all sorts of warlike exercises; they were expert beyond all others in the use of the sling and the bow.[1] How rare and highly-prized was such skill applied to war in the early ages, we see in the Iliad and in the Mahâ-Bhârata; where only a Teucer or an Arjuna is esteemed worthy of praise as an archer; while in all accounts of ancient warfare, the bow appears a most important weapon, well-handled by few, corresponding in those times to the artillery with us. Many also of this tribe were as efficient with the left hand as with the right; using even the sword as if they had no right hand;[2] and thus most formidable even in the more recondite arts of war. Through that whole period they continued famous for their extraordinary skill and bravery in war; so that, although a small tribe, they became often the most important of all, and were dreaded far and wide.[3] Taking all this into consideration, we cannot doubt that the Benjamites were from the earliest ages the real warrior-tribe for Joseph, and that even in the time of David traces of this still remained. A broad light is in fact thus thrown on the whole early history of such tribes. The greater communities were early subdivided into smaller ones, in which the arts of life were developed in special strength and perfection according to the special aptitudes of each; and the one became unable to dispense with the aid of the other.[4] Hence we may draw some further inferences. Suppose some such affinity determined the close connection of Judah with Reuben, Simeon, Levi, in early days; its whole subsequent history from the time when we know it with some accuracy, would be only the natural result. That Issachar was the exact opposite to a thoroughly warlike tribe, and devoted rather, like an old priestly race, to the formation of correct views and the knowledge of the best morals, is moreover once incidentally mentioned.[5] Its later history is not inconsistent with this estimate of its character;

[1] Judges xx. 15 sq., 1 Chron. xii. 2. Comp. the antique forms of speech in Gen. xlix. 23 sq.

[2] Judges xx. 16, comp. iii. 15 sqq.

[3] Judges xx. sq., Gen. xlix. 27. (How totally different afterwards, in Deut. xxxiii. 12!)

[4] How similar divisions were carried down into the several tribes, and special aptitudes and arts were locally held together in guilds, is shown in my *Alterthümer*, p. 296.

[5] 1 Chron. xiii. 32, to be explained from Esth. i. 13.

although for all the Twelve a new era was initiated by Jahveism, which more and more melted away the original peculiarities and special characteristics.

2. Judah, Simeon, Dan.

1) Still more obscure than the first settlement of Ephraim, is that of Judah, the only tribe which could in any degree compete with it. That at the time of the conquest this tribe surpassed Ephraim both in population and in military capacity, the earliest traditions on the subject make it impossible to doubt. Not only the ancient narrators who themselves probably belonged to Judah; but even the Book of Origins, which never derogates from any advantage on the part of Joseph, agree in representing Judah as bearing in those days the danger and responsibility, no less than the honour, of the vanguard, and as preceding all the tribes in order of battle.[1] The same thing is attested, with warm preference for Judah, by the earliest authority which we possess on the reciprocal relations of the tribes, Jacob's Blessing, in Gen. xlix. With this military precedence another virtue was connected, which always distinguished Judah, and necessarily gave it a great advantage over Joseph: internal harmony notwithstanding its great extent, evidently combined with stricter discipline. In an ancient renown and hereditary dignity, however, no less than in general culture and legislative wisdom, it may very long have remained far inferior.

But we have every reason to suppose that this great tribe, with its military preeminence, would be slow to entertain the thought of a fixed settlement, and would receive little encouragement to such a course from the other tribes. Its presence was required as long as possible in the common camp, whether for attack or for defence. Even when Ephraim, gathered around its hero Joshua and the Tabernacle, was already moving onward towards a settled habitation, it must have endeavoured still to detain the tribe of Judah in the camp. All the earliest authorities are unanimous on this point. According to Jacob's Blessing, Judah is the strong and fortunate leader of the people, 'until he come to Shiloh having the obedience of the nations' (i.e. after subduing the Canaanites), and can then think of peace in the fruitful land (which must mean the whole land of Canaan)' Gen. xlix. 8–12.[2] Herein is expressly embodied the ancient

[1] In such descriptions as Judges i. 1 sq., xx. 18, which throw light on each other; on the Book of Origins see above, p. 274 sq.

[2] See the farther explanation of these words in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 49 sq.

tradition, that Judah had been especially helpful in securing a safe position for the Tabernacle. If this tribe, like Joseph, remained at first in central Canaan, though without taking up any permanent abode there, we can well understand the account given by the First Narrator,[1] how after Joshua's death, when the Canaanites naturally rallied, and war against them was again inevitable, Judah was appointed to the vanguard, and directed his marches first against Galilee; evidently from his encampment in central Canaan. Then was destroyed the Canaanite kingdom of Bezek, a city afterwards rarely mentioned, and falling gradually into decay;[2] where, on the ruins of some of the Canaanite kingdoms destroyed by Joshua, a new power seems to have sprung up, whose prince when conquered could boast, in antique phraseology not found elsewhere, that once 'seventy kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered crumbs under his table.'

Here it was at Judah's option to spread his tribe over the fertile regions of the north. Had an immediate settlement been then his chief aim, he would have done so; and the whole future history of the tribes might thus have been entirely altered. But he turns towards the south;[3] and thither his whole subsequent history tends. There is no palpable reason for doubting the tradition given in the same old narrative,[4] of his then conquering Jerusalem. For we see him moving on still farther south, without maintaining his hold of the Jerusalem district, and thus this conquest might be lost again; and Benjamin, to whom it was subsequently assigned as a permanent possession, allowed it to be wrested back by the Jebusites, and remained for centuries too weak to reconquer it.

The first steps towards a permanent settlement of this warlike tribe are ascribed by unanimous tradition to Caleb, one of the most remarkable heroes of early legend. He took possession of the territory around the famous old city of Hebron (i. p. 305 sq.), and thereby gained for his tribe a seat held sacred from Patriarchal times. There, it is related, he destroyed the three sons of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai (i. p. 229 sq.); of whom

[1] Judges i. 1–20. In order to prevent any misunderstanding of the decisive phrase in ver. 1, comp. the corresponding phrases in Judges x. 18, xx. 18.

[2] Judging from the only other passage in which it is named, 1 Sam. xi. 8, it appears to have lain not far from the present Wâdi Jâbes, but on this side of the Jordan.

[3] See Judges i. 7 sqq.

[4] Judges i. 8, comp. 7. That afterwards the tribe Benjamin could not keep possession of Jerusalem, which had been delivered up to it, is repeated in ver. 21. In Josh. xv. 63 the Fifth Narrator seems to have incorrectly substituted Judah for Benjamin, because in his own later times Jerusalem came to be more and more regarded as belonging to Judah. On Jerusalem see also p. 77.

the old legends[1] must originally have told much (as those of David's time did of Goliath); though now, when these legends are so grievously curtailed, they are only mentioned by name. Beginning with Hebron, he acquired for himself a considerable territory, which even in David's time was named simply Caleb, and was distinguished from the rest of Judah as a peculiar district.[2] Here skilful husbandry seems never to have been wanting; and as Caleb's descendants spread out over the south, they were everywhere distinguished by diligence in agriculture.[3] Hebron remained till after David's time celebrated as the main seat and central point of the entire tribe, around which it is evident that all the rest of Judah gradually clustered in good order. The inferior fertility of the south might to many individuals make it appear less desirable; but it satisfied this warlike tribe as a whole; as the military caste in India was by degrees restricted to its sterile western frontier. Both Caleb's strenuous exertions to bring the land into complete subjection, and the scanty gain which rewarded the most arduous conquest, are very neatly expressed in an old legend[4] which says that Caleb promised his daughter Achsah to whoever should conquer Kirjath-sepher, or Debir, as the city was subsequently named;[5] but when Othniel had taken this city, which lay in a desert country, the great chief's daughter, more provident for her future establishment than her young husband, concerted with him on the bridal journey a stratagem for obtaining from her father a sufficient portion of arable land. Suddenly, as if some

[1] Judges i. 10, 20, Josh. xv. 13 sq.; and the Book of Origins, Num. xiii. 22, Josh. xiv. 12–15; comp. 1 Chron. iv. 15. It seems from 1 Chron. ii. and iv. that the names Caleb and Chelubai were very celebrated in the ancient genealogies; see i. p. 366.

[2] 1 Sam. xxx. 14.

[3] As was Nabal in Carmel, south-east from Hebron, 1 Sam. xxv. 3.

[4] Judges i. 11–15, Josh. xv. 15–19. The article in הַיִּשְׁבָה in the book of Judges is bearable, as indicating the territory generally belonging to this city. But the וַתְּסִיתֵהוּ in both copies must necessarily be understood as וַתְּסִידֵהוּ, since only the signification of סוּד, Niphal נוֹסַד can belong to this Hiphil; for the meaning must be, 'She took him into the secret, that she would beg the field from her father;' and the LXX. have really so translated it in Joshua. הַנֶּגֶב is used in a double sense, as in Ps. cxxvi. 4; and the falling or springing from the animal, in sudden alarm or illness, may be compared with Gen. xxiv. 64; only that the illness was in this case merely feigned.

[5] Probably from its backward position, i.e. on the southern or south-western slope of the mountain, towards Negeb or Daromas, Josh. xv. 48–51. As it was a strong fortress, it is possibly identical with Elburg in Robinson's maps; which in any case is a modern name. But G. Rosen, in the *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* 1857, p. 50, thinks he has discovered it in a Dewirbân or Idwirban; and Vandervelde, in his *Memoir* p. 307, in the name of the Wâdi Dilbeh. Both these places lie west of Hebron, but still among the mountains. The LXX. in Joshua give the singular word γοναιθλά for both the wells of water; but this probably, like so many peculiar names, rests only on some old corrupt reading. On its yet older names see i. p. 241.

accident had happened to her, she fell from her ass to the ground; and on being embraced by her anxious father, she adjured him, as if in words of inspiration:

> Give me a blessing, father!
> For into the barren south-land thou hast given me away!
> Give me then also wells of water!

Hereupon the troubled father, as if some such scene had really been required to soften him, gave her as dowry a fertile arable district, called the 'Upper Spring' and 'Lower Spring;' probably lying round the conquered city, on the mountain slope. Thus we still come upon stories just like those in the Patriarchal legends, of cornfields and springs of water, which in the south are so rare, and therefore so frequently claimed.[1] At the same time there is no doubt that the southern region beyond the mountain-range, where the land becomes gradually more barren towards the great desert, was chiefly abandoned to those of the original inhabitants who had either been allies of Israel from the time of Moses, or more recently become so. The Othniel just mentioned was himself reckoned a Kenizzite;[2] and so (according to i. p. 251 sq.) was probably Caleb himself; the more acceptable therefore was this account of Caleb's unwillingness to resign to him the conquered lands. Still further south, near Arad, were established a great number of the Kenites described at p. 44 sq., who had moved thither from Jericho under Judah's lead.[3] So long as these aborigines, quite content with the barren region to which they were accustomed, remained faithful to Israel, they formed a useful frontier-guard in the farthest south. A smaller portion of the Kenites separated themselves from these southern borderers, to keep in like manner the extreme northern boundary,[4] 'by the oaks of the marsh-lands (i.e. by the Lake of Merom) not far from Kadesh.'

That Judah did not permanently settle till after Joshua's death, is thus the testimony of the earliest records. Yet the Book of Origins goes still further. Caleb there appears as the only one from Egypt who lived to enter with Joshua the land to the west of the Jordan; having received from Moses himself the promise of a permanent settlement in Canaan, as a reward for his unswerving fidelity. Accordingly the portion which he

[1] See i. p. 216 sq. Othniel's family seems of importance even in David's time, 1 Chron. xxvii. 15, comp. 13.

[2] See i. p. 251 sq.; only that to the feeling of the Earliest Narrator it seemed more fitting to regard Kenaz as Caleb's younger brother; the Book of Origins is the first to speak of Caleb himself as a Kenizzite.

[3] See Judges i. 16; see above, p. 284.

[4] Judges iv. 11, v. 24, compared with Josh. xix. 33 and the observations in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 52 sq.

solicits on the southern mountains[1] is bestowed by Joshua first of all, before all the tribes and heads of tribes; and Judah and Joseph are the only two tribes which at once occupy the portion allotted to them by the Divine Oracle. Indeed there are many indications that some of the other tribes obtained secure habitations far later, and with much difficulty.

2) The tribe of Simeon, which in the earliest times, as we have seen (i. p. 379), took the lead of Judah in power and activity, must soon have greatly declined, though the cause is not very apparent. In the Mosaic battle-roll it still follows close upon Reuben, and has in the first numeration the high number of 50,300, but at the second (Num. xxvi.) only 22,200. On this tribe, therefore, the forty years of the desert had told most sensibly. On the occupation of Canaan, Simeon was relegated to the extreme south; where, in alliance with Judah, it conquered Hormah[2] (mentioned above, p. 252); and was expected, as a necessary consequence of this position, to subdue the coast-towns which subsequently belonged to the Philistines. And according to an ancient narrative,[3] the cities of Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, were actually conquered by Judah; which probably from the context acted only as combatant for Simeon. But these cities must have been afterwards lost again, as the Philistines became powerful there; and Simeon cowers beneath the wing of the mighty Judah, and is content, without forming a separate state, to be received into the commonwealth of Judah. The Book of Origins[4] assigns to this tribe, out of the twelve circles of which Judah's settled territory consisted, only two as a separate possession. We may infer from the names of the places inhabited by Simeon, that these small districts lay on the southern skirts of Judah's territory, and consequently in the less fertile region. Many of these places were only occupied conjointly with Judah, like the mixed villages known in Germany.[5] We cannot then be surprised to find that in the Blessing of Jacob, as repeated after the lapse of centuries, this tribe is at last altogether omitted after Judah.[6] But it is a

[1] Josh. xiv. 6–15; comp. Num. xiii. sq.

[2] Judges i. 17.

[3] Judges i. 18. In Josh. xv. 45–47 Ashdod is put for Askelon; the two names being easily confused. The hypothesis that the whole narrative is destitute of foundation, and possibly transfers later inventions to those early ages, is untenable on a close examination of the authorities.

[4] Josh. xix. 1–9, compared with xv. 20–62; comp. the still earlier evidence in Gen. xlix 5–7, Judges i. 3, 17.

[5] When in the catalogues of cities in the Book of Origins the same city is ascribed to two tribes, this is a possible interpretation, when borne out by other indications.

[6] Deut. xxxiii. 7; the attempts to introduce the tribe Simeon in this passage by a sort of play on the word יִשְׁמַע are unwarranted, inasmuch as the number of twelve tribes, which, as we have seen (i. p. 376), was obligatory, was made up at once and with obvious purpose by the separation of Ephraim and Manasseh in ver. 17.

remarkable proof how tenaciously these ancient distinctions of tribe were maintained, that this shattered and supplanted remnant of the once almost paramount branch, continued even in David's and Solomon's time to assert a certain independence of Judah;[1] and even later, under the kingdom of Judah till near the end of the eighth century, still considered itself a tribe, and acted accordingly.[2]

Including these territories of Simeon and the above-mentioned lands of the original inhabitants, Judah's possessions, the southern frontier of all Israel, stretched some way into the Sinai peninsula, if this be considered to begin from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. The minute description given by the Book of Origins[3] is not entirely clear to us, because some names there mentioned have not yet been identified. If, however, 'the bald mountain, rising towards Seir,' mentioned by the First Narrator as the southern boundary,[4] is identical with the mountains near the present Wâdi el-Ghamr (i.e. the *unfruitful, barren*), to the north-west of Petra, and if the 'Scorpion Ascent' (Akrabbim) of the Book of Origins was somewhere near,[5] then a nearly straight line may be drawn westwards from thence to the 'Egyptian River,' or stream of Rhinocolura (now el-Arish), which we know from other sources to have formed the south-western boundary.[6] This would include not only Beersheba, rediscovered by recent travellers, and the other possessions of the Patriarchs in the extreme south (see i. p. 305 sq.), but the Mosaic Kadesh (p. 193 sq.) would be thus once more a possession of Israel. At all events, such were the boundaries when Israel was powerful; and that these southernmost districts, although less productive, were well cultivated and tolerably populous, is still sufficiently attested by the scattered ruins of their cities.

We may well regret that we know so little of Simeon's early history; it must have been full of restless activity, of varied life and movement. After the settlement in Canaan, we see this tribe to be little more than a subordinate branch of Judah,

[1] We see this plainly by the way in which the Book of Origins, at its comparatively late period, still carefully discriminates and separately describes the territories of Simeon, Josh. xix. 1–9; 1 Chron. iv. 24–37. Very noteworthy is here the addition of the Chronicler, that this continued *till the reign of David*. See the remarks in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1864, p. 1268 sq.

[2] 1 Chron. iv. 38–43.

[3] Num. xxxiv. 3–5; and with some variations, Josh. xv. 1–4; also Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28; and with quite different phraseology in Josh. xiii. 2–4. Robinson is probably incorrect in identifying the Tamar of Ezekiel with the too northerly Kurnub; comp. Θαμαρώ in Ptolemy's *Geography*, v. 15.

[4] Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7.

[5] This is confirmed also by the words of the older narrator, Judges i. 36.

[6] Besides the Book of Origins, see Josh. xiii. 3, Gen. xv. 18.

but it must formerly have been much more closely allied with Reuben; whose liking for a pastoral life of more Arabian character than the other tribes now affected,[1] Simeon long continued to share. It is probable that the violent outbreak of jealousy against the tribe of Levi, when the latter was elevated to its higher position, consumed the strength of Simeon even in Moses' time yet more seriously than that of Reuben (for which see p. 179).

3) Disasters similar to those of Simeon must have befallen Dan also in early times, though later than Joshua. The causes, however, were quite different, and thus the results were also dissimilar. This tribe, as a subordinate of Joseph, was to settle west of Ephraim and Benjamin, as far as the sea-coast. That it at first actually took possession of this territory cannot be doubted, since in the Mosaic army-roll it leads the fourth division with a very high number, 64,400 men (at the second numeration). But a kingdom of the Amorites, which long and firmly maintained its existence in the tract along the coast,[2] must have pressed pretty early on this tribe, and the Philistines still more so afterwards; so that it lost all cohesion, and could barely maintain a footing in some small districts of its original domain. Some of its cities came to be inhabited by Judah,[3] from which it had perhaps received assistance; in other early difficulties Ephraim was called on for help.[4] Yet Dan maintained throughout the reputation of one of the bravest and most warlike of the tribes,[5] afterwards reflected in full glory upon its great hero Samson, though it was the latest to attain to a quiet undisturbed possession. When most of the other tribes were already securely established, we see Dan, 'because it still sought land (inheritance, fixed abode),' sending out to the north an

[1] 1 Chron. iv. 39–43. Some other noteworthy testimonies as to the close affinity of Simeon, in the earliest times, with the Arabs, I have brought forward in a notice of Dozy's work in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1864, p. 1273 sq.

[2] This follows from Judges i. 34 sq. compared with 1 Sam. vii. 15.

[3] Eshtaol and Zorah, two often-named cities, are in the Book of Origins ascribed to both tribes, Josh. xv. 31, 33, xix. 41, but not Timnah, xv. 57. The position of the latter, as the context shows, must have been much too far to the south-east for it to be identified with Thimnathah in xix. 43.

[4] This would naturally be expected, as Dan was the adopted son of Rachel; but it follows also from the account in Judges i. 34 sq.

[5] Compare, besides other indications, the poetical expressions (always based on some historical experience) in Gen. xlix. 16 sq., Deut. xxxiii. 22. How long the tribe remained in camp is shown also by the name, 'Dan's camp,' which according to Judges xviii. 12, lay west of Kirjath-jearim, and according to xiii. 25, between Zorah and Eshtaol. If both passages refer to the same place, and if the present Um-Eshteiyeh is identical with Eshtaol, this is one of the most important passages for determining the position of Kirjath-jearim; yet it is not noticed by Robinson, ii. p. 11, iii. p. 157. See also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* v. p. 226.

army, which at length, in the extreme north, beyond the settlements of Naphtali, the tribe most friendly to it, surprises the Phenician town of Laish. There, as the earliest records very vividly describe,[1] the tribe of Dan establishes itself and makes its name feared, and becomes the advanced-guard of Israel.

3. The Four Northern Tribes.

How these four smaller tribes effected their settlement, we have no detailed account; but we might naturally imagine that very little free choice was left to them, after the two most powerful tribes, with those attached to them, had taken up their position. Yet a searching investigation, as we shall soon show, leads us to believe that their proceedings were guided by deliberate purpose. The descriptions in the Book of Origins [2] are too much abridged to enable us to trace the exact boundaries of each of the four northern tribes, because the site of many places there named is still very uncertain; but are sufficient to afford a general view of their relative positions. According to this authority, Issachar, the southernmost of these four northern states, touched the boundary of Joseph to the south of Jezreel, in the great fertile plain (afterwards called the Plain of Galilee), stretching from the river Kishon northwards as far as Tabor, and eastwards to the Jordan, and, as it appears, to the sea of Galilee. Zebulon, at all times closely connected with Issachar, settled on the north of Tabor, nearer the centre of the future Galilee. Judging by the number of its cities, it seems to have at first spread the least widely of all the four tribes. Beyond and to the east of these two, Naphtali established itself along the sea of Galilee and far up the Jordan beyond the important city Kedesh.[3] This tribe, from its situation on fertile mountain-slopes [4] as well as from its national policy and fortunes,[5] is often grouped with Zebulon. From the number of its cities, it seems to have been larger than the two preceding tribes.[6] To

[1] Judges xvii. sq., on which see i. p. 140 sq., and the Book of Origins, Josh. xix. 47. There is no reason for refusing to refer this last passage to the Book of Origins, since that book could not have passed over so important a possession of the tribe; the slight difference of tone (p. 232) is therefore to be accounted for by the use made of the Earliest Narrator. There is also a difference in the name given to the city, which is here called Leshem. This was probably the original name, and is perhaps latent in the present *Ledden*; see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 33. The site of the city has been ascertained with sufficient accuracy by modern travellers; the present Tell el Kâdhî seems only the modern Arabic translation of the name Dân (i.e. *Judge*).

[2] Josh. xix. 11–39; comp. xvii. 10.

[3] Renan has now made us acquainted with its position; *Revue Arch.* 1861, p. 160.

[4] Judges v. 18, Matt. iv. 13.

[5] Is. viii. 23.

[6] Clear evidence that it dwelt westward by the sea of Galilee and Lake Merom, and consequently along north Jordan gene-

the west of Naphtali and of the two preceding tribes, and thus touching Manasseh on the south,[1] Asher, the largest of the four, stretched in a long and narrow line along the sea-coast. Asher is said to have extended from Carmel northward as far as Tyre [2] or even Sidon; but of course this long coast-line was from the first much broken into by Phenician territory.

These descriptions in the Book of Origins are confirmed by the very vivid pictures of the situation of the tribes in Deborah's Song, and by many other scattered notices. Moreover the accounts of the tribes given by the Earliest Narrator [3] imply the same. Wherever these two earliest narrators agree, the balance of historic probability inclines greatly to their side. A remarkable deviation however occurs in Jacob's Blessing, which generally may be considered a decisive authority as to the earliest mutual relations of the tribes. When it says of Naphtali (ver. 21),

> Naphtali is a slender terebinth,
> Which spreadeth forth goodly upper boughs,[4]

it certainly gives a faithful picture of the narrow strip of land, running far upwards to the north along the Jordan stream, like a slender terebinth, which at the same time throws out many brave upper boughs, or leaders of the people; surpassing therein many another tribe less proudly distinguished. Also what he says of Asher,

> For Asher,[5] his bread is too fat,
> He yieldeth royal dainties,

applies with perfect historic truth to a tribe which at the courts of Phenician princes could dispose profitably of its superfluity of the best corn and other fruits; and which certainly carried on more commerce with the Phenicians than any of the other

rally, lies in the expression כֹּל נְפָתוֹת, which can have no other meaning: 1 Kings xv. 20; comp. Josh. xi. 2; Deut. iii. 17. Hence it appears, that in Josh. xix. 34, instead of the unmeaning בִּיהוּדָה (whence it has actually been imagined that Judah had possessions east of the northern Jordan), it would be far better to read בְּכִנְרוֹת. (On this see further the *Jahr. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 189.) If the Beth-Shemesh in Judges i. 33, Josh. xiv. 38, which was once probably an important Canaanite city, sacred to the Sun, afterwards conquered by Israel, is identical with the present Mejdel el Shems, north of the Greek Phiala (as Saulcy thinks, *Voyage*, ii. p. 560), it lay far to the north-east; but even from this it does not follow that Naphtali's boundaries extended far east of the Jordan valley, as has been lately maintained; see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 144.

[1] Josh. xvii. 10.

[2] Near which on Robinson's map lies a place named Kanah, which may be the one meant in the catalogue in Josh. xix. 28; but Berghaus gives an Ekri el *Kana*, somewhat to the south of Sidon, near Surfend.

[3] Judges i. 30–33.

[4] So at least the words read according to the most correct explanation, but contrary to the Massora.

[5] Inasmuch as *Asher* may signify the *Happy*, and thus give occasion for a play on the word.

tribes; although those whose territories lay in the heart of Galilee must have had even more abundant produce. But the account of Zebulon in ver. 13,

> Zebulon dwells at the coast of the sea,
> He himself at the coast of ships,
> But his back-part along Sidonia,[1]

may have been the most natural to the poet, who is very fond of interpreting names, and here explains Zebulon as the 'dweller or borderer;'[2] but we know from no other authority that Zebulon even touched the sea with ever so narrow a margin.[3] But from what has just been said of Asher, who will not admit that this description applies far better to that tribe? as indeed it is applied by Deborah;[4] the more so since she employs the same unusual words,[5] so that the one passage must be derived from the other, and the verse in Jacob's Blessing reads only like an amplification of Deborah's shorter words. As, however, the difficulty cannot be disposed of by a transposition of names,[6] the only tenable hypothesis seems to be, that the writer of Jacob's Blessing, evidently a Judean (i. p. 72), did not correctly discriminate the territories of the four northern tribes; as conversely Deborah never even names Judah. This is only one of many instances of the great separation which gradually grew up between the northernmost and the southernmost tribes. For to suppose that the tribes interchanged territories, and this even after the time of Deborah, is a subterfuge not to be thought of. Josephus,[7] indeed, speaks of Zebulon and Issachar as touching the sea at Carmel; but this, like all his notices of boundaries, is much too uncertain[8] for us to build upon.

The settlements of all these tribes, however, were strictly confined to the land enclosed between the sea and the west bank of the Jordan, which becomes narrower towards the north.

[1] Its principal part (on הוּא in such cases, see my *Lehrb.* § 314 a) or south-west front immediately on the coast, its narrower north-eastern back-part running along Sidonia; עַל as in 1 Kings xv. 20.

[2] Like שָׁכֵן, which also signifies *borderer, neighbour*.

[3] At least, nothing of the sort can be inferred from Josh. xix. 11.

[4] Judges v. 17.

[5] ישב לחוף ימים, a phrase not found elsewhere in ancient writings; since in Josh. ix. 1, as well as in Deut. i. 7, the Deuteronomist speaks.

[6] Because the names in Jacob's Blessing (as explained in i. p. 362 sqq.) succeed each other in a fixed order, 6, 4, and 2; so that a transposition of these two would be incorrect; although the four subordinate tribes are without any proper order among themselves, and Zebulon even stands very curiously before Issachar; and the fact that in Deut. xxxiii. 19 Zebulon is placed with Issachar on the sea-coast, in allusion to the well-known glass-manufactures on the shore of the Mediterranean, is additional evidence for the antiquity of the present wording of Jacob's Blessing.

[7] *Ant.* v. 1, 22.

[8] For even the emendations on the Greek text which Reland proposes are necessitated by neither internal nor external evidence.

Even the city of Dan, encompassed on the north by lands belonging to Naphtali (p. 290), which is so often used proverbially in combination with Beersheba in the south, to express the extreme length of the land of Israel,[1] lay within the district of the Jordan sources, in nearly the same latitude as Tyre.

Apart then from any single cities which the tribe Asher, on the west, might possess yet further to the north, Israel's dominion extended in that direction only to the southern slope of Hermon, or, by its Greek name, Antilibanus. It is therefore the more remarkable, that both legally and prophetically a far more northerly extent of territory is contemplated; and this by the most dissimilar of the early historians. According to the Book of Covenants,[2] the extreme northern boundary on the west is the territory of the ancient Phenician city Gebal (whose name the Greeks altered into Byblus), situated far beyond Sidon and Berytus; and opposite to it on the east, the city Baal-Gad, lying below Hermon in the wide valley called by the Greeks Cœle Syria, between Lebanon and Antilibanus. This agrees exactly with the tradition, that Joshua defeated the foe 'as far as Baal-Gad,' in the wide valley of Lebanon.[3] There must have then existed in this part a Canaanite kingdom, named from its capital, afterwards probably destroyed, Cœle Syria of Mizpeh.[4] Thence the road was open to the territory of the old

[1] At least in the days of Israel's highest power, as 2 Sam. xvii. 11. Yet even the still more northern Rechob, on the Phenician frontier, is thus named in Num. xxiii. 21: comp. Josh. xix. 30; and Riblah in Ezek. vi. 14, according to the better reading. For such passages of primeval history as Gen. xiv. 14, where Dan can only signify this northern city, the name has very naturally been substituted by the Last Narrator for the earlier one.

[2] The substance of the important passage Josh. xiii. 2–6 (mutilated in Judges iii. 3) is here inserted from the Book of Covenants, its obvious meaning being, that vv. 2–4 describe the districts on the southern boundary, and vv. 5 and 6 those on the northern, which had revolted, and thus had to be conquered again. In the south, owing to the great difference of nationalities, the Philistine territory in the west is first described in vv. 2 and 3, and then the Canaanite in the extreme south in ver. 4. For it is evident from Judges i. 36, that ver. 4 refers to this already lost southernmost land up to the frontier of Edom. That Canaanites were here mingled with the Aborigines, is shown also by Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 1. A name like Aphek is seen from Josh. xv. 53 to be equally possible in the north and in the south; and 'the Sidonian Meghara' here might then be a colony from Sidon. As the description begins in ver. 3 with the extreme south-west, so it begins in ver. 5 with the farthest north-west; after which, in ver. 6, Sidonia proper is separately introduced. Misrephoth-maim also, according to xi. 8, was probably situated on the frontier of Sidon, towards Byblos. Newbold thinks he has discovered the latter in the present Mezr'aah (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 192); but this particular name (*cornfield*) has become so common in modern Palestime as to demand caution in the use we make of it.

[3] A statement undoubtedly derived from the Book of Covenants, in Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7; comp. xi. 8. The exact site of Baal-gad has indeed not been yet identified, but that it was situated in Cœle Syria is abundantly evident.

[4] According to the same authority, in Josh. xi. 8; comp. ver. 3.

fortified city Hamath[1] on the Orontes to the north of Cœle Syria; the only ancient and powerful Canaanite city to whose territory no pretensions were raised by ancient Israel, even to David's time; so that 'even unto Hamath,' was a proverbial expression for the extreme north of the Holy Land.[2] Since in this manner even the northern sides of Lebanon had been virtually in Israel's hands, we understand how the Book of Origins could identify Israel's northern boundary with that of Lebanon;[3] as the claim to this entire extent of territory seems never to have been formally renounced by the whole community. And in a military point of view especially the possession of this frontier, and of the entire northern mountain-range, must have been desirable. Joshua's genius undoubtedly perceived this, and David and Jeroboam II., the only two great conquerors among the kings in the next age, strove with some success to push Israel's sovereignty thus far. But in reality Israel had very soon to endure repulse in this extreme north.

4. The Tribes beyond the Jordan.

With respect to the two tribes and a half beyond Jordan, nothing is more striking at the first glance than their wide extent, compared with the narrow space into which the western tribes are compressed. If the southern boundary of these tribes was the Arnon, flowing from the east into the middle part of the Dead Sea; if Salcah, often mentioned as a remote eastern outpost,[4] was situated, according to Van de Velde, at the eastern point of the Hauran in 32° 29′ N. lat., 34° 19′ E. long. Gr.; and Kenath, named in the First Narrative,[5] which Burckhardt identified with Kanuat, as high as 32° 48′ N. lat., 34° 16′ E. long. Gr.

[1] חֲמָת from חמי probably signifies *Fortress*; but its root is found neither in Hebrew nor in ordinary Aramaic, and therefore belongs doubtless to the pure early Canaanite. This accounts also for the name having been formerly so common.

[2] Josh. xiii. 5, Judges iii. 3, Num. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 8, 2 Kings xiv. 25, 1 Chron. xiii. 5, 1 Macc. xii. 25. From the explanations just given, it becomes clear that we may consider this Hamath to be really the well-known place of that name, situated rather far north on the Orontes, not some other less known place further south.

[3] Though the various names given in Num. xxxiv. 7 9, and Ezek. xlvii. 15–17, 20, xlviii. 1, are as yet far from being all identified, the meaning assigned above is in the main quite certain. A city Ssedâda, Syriac ??, between Damascus and Homs, was found a hundred years ago by the describers of the ruins of Palmyra, see Ev. Assemâni in White's *Evv. vers. Philox.* p. 647 sq.; G. P. Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals* (London 1852) i. p. 63; also John Wilson's *Lands of the Bible* ii. p. 358: and Riblah (p. 293), which has now been identified with the singular ruins of Rabla near the sources of the Orontes (*Ausland*, April 5, 1847; *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* 1849, p. 366), was situated, according to Num. xxxiv. 10 sq., considerably to the south of the extreme north-eastern frontier. Ha-Ain in Num. xxxiv. 11 is probably the present El'ain, south of Riblah, in Cœle Syria.

[4] Josh. xiii. 11, xii. 5, 1 Chron. v. 11.

[5] Num. xxxii. 42.

(this last being also placed by Eusebius[1] in Hauran); and if further the Golan of old renown (in later times the land of Gaulonitis), situated east or south-east of the sea of Galilee, belonged undoubtedly, as the Book of Origins[2] says, to the tribe Manasseh; and in addition,[3] the Arabah, or eastern side of the Jordan valley, in its whole length from the Galilean lakes to the Dead Sea, was under the power of these tribes; it is certainly a domain which, taken in its entire superficies, would not yield in extent to the whole region on the west of the Jordan. The people of Ammon, indeed, according to the earliest records, were left undisturbed by Israel in the great district around their capital Rabbah, near the centre of the country; still the extent of the territory is remarkable as the portion of so few tribes, with a population, as compared with Judah and Ephraim, by no means numerous. Even the two kingdoms conquered at the end of Moses' life (p. 207) were tolerably extensive.[4] Sihon's kingdom, with Heshbon for its capital, stretched from Aroer on the northern bank of the Arnon,[5] and Ar-Moab (i.e. Moab-city, the ancient capital), which lay further to the south among other affluents of the Dead Sea, across half the Land of Gilead, as far as the Jabbok.[6] It thus extended northwards, in all probability, beyond Mount Gilead proper, leaving Ammon's territory free on the east, but comprising on the west the whole east side of the Jordan valley as far as the Sea of Galilee. Og's kingdom, with its capitals Ashtaroth (Karnaim) and the Edrei already mentioned (p. 207)—the former west, the latter east, of the modern el-Mezarib[7]—lay in the middle of the region drained by the Jarmuk, and amon the true hills of Bashan,[8] and extended far northwards to Antilibanus, east-

[1] In the Onom. under Καναθά.

[2] A city of this name is wanting in the extant form of the description of this country in Josh. xiii. 29-31, but is supplied from the Book of Origins in xx. 8, xxi. 27, as well as in Deut. iv. 43.

[3] According to Josh. xii. 3.

[4] According to the exact early descriptions in Josh. xii. 2–6, xiii. 9–12.

[5] 2 Sam. xxiv. 5; hence it seems that for עֵר in Deut. ii. 18, we ought rather to read with the LXX. עַרְעֵר; although two MSS. read Σηείρ.

[6] Following the Onomast. of the Fathers, this river has in modern times generally been regarded as the Zerka (i.e. in Arabic *Blue river*), which enters the Dead Sea about the middle. The name, however, rather recalls the much more important Jarmuk, so called in our day as in that of Mohammed, which enters the Dead Sea farther north. For the great city Succoth (see i. p. 305, and below in the history of Gideon) is said in Gen. xxxii. 23, xxxiii. 17, to have lain south of it; and how could the journey described in Gen. xxxi–xxxiii, from the north-east to Shechem, pass over the far too southerly Zerka?

[7] The former ancient city has been lately identified as Tell-el-'Ashtaroth, and described by Newbold in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.* xvi. p. 2. In the Middle Ages also it was a rendezvous for armies, see the *Life of Saladin* by Bahâ-eldîn p. 67; and by Kemâl-eldîn p. 119.

[8] There we no doubt must look for the original Bashan, though the name is also used in a more extended sense.

wards as far as Salcah, and south-westwards to the mountains of Gilead.

But this only proves that the settlement of these tribes must have been conducted quite differently from that of the others. At first, indeed, the tribes which remained beyond the Jordan must have begun with great zeal the renewed culture of the devastated region; since, according to the earliest narrative,[1] they restored the old conquered cities, and gave them new names, like the Greeks under Alexander. We have also every reason to assume that these tribes in time tilled the soil in certain parts quite as industriously, and protected themselves by as strongly fortified cities as the others. Cities such as Jabesh-Gilead, whose inhabitants in Saul's time maintained a close alliance with the dwellers on the other side of the river, and steadfastly resisted the assaults of the King of Ammon;[2] or Mahanaim, where Saul's son, and afterwards David,[3] dwelt as king; or all the Levitical cities enumerated in Josh. xx. and xxi, cannot be supposed inferior to the best cities on the western side. But along with these isolated instances of civic life, a great proportion of this population certainly continued long to prefer pastoral to agricultural pursuits. According to the earliest account which we possess of this region, the land was divided between 'strong cities' and 'cattle-villages,'[4] such as are found among a population not yet accustomed to city life or regular husbandry; not such villages or small towns as are connected, like the open country itself, with a large town. A not unimportant district, reckoned under Manasseh, had even the direct appellation 'the Tent-villages of Jair';[5] and the Chronicles, which have preserved the most important information respecting these particular tribes, show that this mode of life remained unaltered even after the time of David.[6] According to the Book of Origins,[7] the two tribes Reuben and Gad,[8] even in Moses' time,

[1] Num. xxxii 38; comp. p. 206 sq.

[2] 1 Sam. xi, xxxi. 11–13; 2 Sam. ii. 5–7; comp. Judges xxi. 5–12.

[3] 2 Sam. ii. 8, xvii. 27–xviii.

[4] Num. xxxii. 36. The Book of Origins in vv. 16 and 24 employs the expression in its own way, since for these regions the name גְּדֵרוֹת צֹאן may have been historical. The Book of Origins calls the same thing among the proper desert-tribes חֲצֵרִים וְטִירוֹת Gen. xxv. 16, Num. xxxi. 10.

[5] The illustrative phrase in Deut. iii. 5, 1 Kings iv. 13, 'great cities with high walls and iron bars,' was no doubt true of later times, but can hardly hit the original sense of חַוּוֹת, which the LXX. translate in Num. xxxii. 41 by ἐπαύλεις, and in Josh. xiii. 30 by κῶμαι. At least modern travellers remark that Haurân is in many parts very fertile. This volcanic land, with its stone houses and caverns, is now much better known, through the works of Cyril Graham, Wetzstein, and Rey. See *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1860, p. 1001 sqq., 1861, p. 241 sqq.

[6] 1 Chron. v. 1–24.

[7] Num. xxiii. 1–33.

[8] It is certainly remarkable that throughout the whole account of these

devoted themselves more to pasturage than the others, and therefore asked and obtained the Leader's permission to settle on the east of the Jordan. No doubt the habits of life peculiar to these tribes remained the same at the time when the book was written. The character of those wide-spreading forest and meadow lands, as well as the neighbourhood of the great eastern desert, favoured this half-Arab mode of life; as recent travellers observe. The kindred nations Ammon and Moab, in whose midst Israel here came to dwell, had their chief wealth in flocks and herds;[1] and the soil of the eastern slopes towards the Euphrates gradually assumed a completely Arabian character. But the old preference of these tribes for cattle-breeding and pasturage contributed greatly, where the soil also was favourable, to the perpetuation of this mode of life (p. 207). Thus it is very characteristic that Reuben in particular, once the most powerful of all the tribes, should have been the least willing to give up the old free life, as if from perverse pride of former greatness. But tribes which prefer pasturage to agriculture require a wide scope, and are involved in perpetual struggles for the possession of plain and hill; they are also far less bound than an agricultural population to a newly-conquered country, not being yet wholly weaned from a nomadic life. This explains the two main characteristics which we observe in these tribes: the great extent of territory over which they were dispersed, and an instability and weakness shown in many traits of their succeeding history. Very soon, indeed, the strength, cultivation, and learning of the whole nation found its centre of gravity always on the west side of the Jordan.

A further consequence of this state of things on the eastern side was soon apparent in the dependence of its scattered inhabitants on those of the western for succour and defence; and this perpetual eastward stream of armed levies evidently continued for a considerable time, before all was settled on a securer basis and led to greater tranquillity. The two tribes Reuben and Gad, who seem to have been charged from the first with the defence of this wide eastern frontier, established here so firm a footing, that they obtained possession of something like the kingdom of Sihon, the first-conquered district (p. 204

transactions in Num. xxxii. 1–32, mention is made only of these two tribes, and of Gilead as a land, followed in ver. 33 by an apparently incidental mention of half Manasseh, and of Bashan as a land, as if some historical memory still remained, that Manasseh came afterwards into these regions. See above, p. 281. The mention of half Manasseh in the Samaritan version in vv. 1, 2, 25, is certainly only due to alteration of the text.

[1] According to such passages as 2 Kings iii. 4, Is. xvi. 1.

sqq.), with its town Jazer, and the half of the territory of Ammon, apparently previously lost to king Sihon, who had also possessed himself of half of the land of Moab. Heshbon, the old capital, marked the boundary-line of the two tribes' new possessions; so that all to the north of it, with the entire plain of the Jordan, fell to Gad, and all to the south of it, westward as far as the southernmost part of the Jordan, to Reuben. This at least we gather from the accounts given in the Book of Origins,[1] and from other evidence. From the Earliest Narrator also[2] we happen to possess a number of short but very instructive and singular accounts, bearing on the early history of those countries under the dominion of Israel; but respecting the division of the cities between Gad and Reuben a discrepancy[3] exists between these two earliest authorities, which we find it difficult to reconcile. Taking the two accounts together, it would even seem doubtful whether Reuben or Gad was settled on the southern frontier marked by the river Arnon; since the most southern city, Dibon, is assigned by the Book of Origins to Reuben, by the other authority to Gad.[4] But as the Book of Origins everywhere without exception places Reuben most to the south, and describes the territory of Gad as extending to the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee;[5] and as Reuben, if separated by the Dead Sea, might more easily become estranged from the rest of Israel (as will hereafter be

[1] The principal passage, Josh. xiii. 8–12, 15–33, has clearly been considerably shortened by the Deuteronomist at the beginning. Chapters xx. and xxi. as well as the mere preliminary summary contained in Num. xxxii. 3 belong to it. 1 Chron. v. 1–24 is more definite on some points bearing on later times, but otherwise quite agrees with it.

[2] Num. xxxii. 34–42.

[3] The hypothesis that in Num. xxxii. 34, 37, there has only been a transposition of the names Gad and Reuben, is not tenable, since even then several local names on both sides would be different. In regard to the capital, Heshbon, the Book of Origins seems indeed to contradict itself, Josh. xiii. 17; comp. ver. 26, and xxi. 36 sq.; but this very circumstance may probably lead us to a correct view of the discrepancy. The difficulty may be compromised by supposing that the towns were at different times inhabited and governed by one tribe or the other. So the Book of Origins in Josh. xix. 42 sq. assigns to the tribe of Dan three cities, which according to the older narrative of Judges i. 34 sq. had originally belonged to it, but, after being long in the possession of enemies, had to be reconquered and made tributary by the more powerful neighbour-tribe Joseph (p. 290). Besides, the addition ובני ראובן in Cod. K. 75, to Num. xxxii. 34, shows that this difficulty was early felt.

[4] Num. xxxii. 34, Josh. xiii. 16 sq. It cannot however be shown that there was a second Dibon as well as a second Aroer. The expression *Dibon of Gad*, found in the ancient catalogue at Num. xxxiii. 45 sq. points rather to the southern city (p. 210). If the name Dibon-Gad, so compounded, had been common as early as Moses' time, the name Gad for this whole country must long have been usual; and we might then enquire whether it might not even be contracted from Gilead; comp. Judges v. 17. But according to established ancient tradition, these two names are after all too different to be thus treated (comp. Num. xxxii. 34 with 39 sq.); and the name Gad was also not uncommon elsewhere: comp. p. 293.

[5] Josh. xiii. 27.

seen to be the fact), the safest supposition is that Reuben originally settled most to the south, but that some cities, from the first, or through subsequent changes, were common to the two. How much these two tribes were confounded, in later times at least, by writers belonging to the other side of the Jordan, is shown by the blessing on Gad;[1] which accounts for the many brave leaders whom this tribe could boast (Jephthah for instance), by saying that the tribe in whose dominion lies the death-place of the Great Leader (Moses) has, so to speak, chosen the leadership as its heritage:

> For he looked out the leadership for himself,
> Because there was the field of the hidden Lawgiver;
> And he obtained chiefs of the people;
> Jahveh's righteousness did h accomplish,
> And his justice with Israel;e

with evident reference to Nebo, where Moses disappeared; but elsewhere Nebo,[3] or, which is the same thing,[4] Pisgah, is put in Reuben's territory.

Very differently must it have fared with the settlement of the 'half-tribe Manasseh.' The very fact that it is always called a half-tribe appears curious, especially on comparison with the similar, yet widely different, case of Dan, mentioned at p. 289. All the earliest authorities agree that the branches of Manasseh beyond the Jordan spread most extensively towards the north and north-east, over the kingdom of Og (described p. 295) and other districts. But the scattered character of this settlement, and its remoteness from the original quarters and central point of the nation, conspire with some still tolerably intelligible traditions to prove these conquests to have been made, at least in part, independently of the direction of the central authority, by successful enterprises of separate branches of the tribe Manasseh, after the time of Moses and Joshua. For the 'Tent-villages of Jair' (so called in the popular idiom), which, according to the Book of Origins, where they are called 'sixty cities,'[5] were

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 20 sq.

[2] Like most verses of this Blessing, this one is expressed in very studied language; but the meaning of *the hidden*, i.e. the *now unseen*, leader, cannot (from p. 224) be mistaken, any more than that חלקה, in whatever connection it occurs, signifies *the field*. To *come to anything*, is to receive or obtain it. What precise meaning among its many ראשית here has, is clear enough from the general context.

[3] Num. xxxii. 38.

[4] Josh. xiii. 20; comp. Deut. xxxiv. 1, 2; 1 Chron. v. 8

[5] Josh. xiii. 30, where *sixty* is perhaps substituted for the *thirty* in Judges x. 4 (although *sixty* is found also in 1 Kings iv. 13), because this round number comes nearer to the twenty-three in 1 Chron. ii. 22, which seems the original number; while the sixty, according to the words (certainly somewhat corrupt) in 1 Chron. ii. 23, may have originated in the combination of the twenty-three with thirty-seven similar cities of Kenath. The original name of this district was Argob (retained in Deut. iii. 4, 13, and 1 Kings iv. 13); a still surer proof that Jair was really the name of a

given by Moses to the tribe Manasseh, are by the Earliest Narrator[1] referred simply to a conquest by a certain Jair, son of Manasseh,[2] without any definite allusion to Moses. As this expression 'Son of Manasseh' might be understood in the same sense as when Gilead is called a son of Manasseh (see i. p. 382) it is fortunate that from another ancient tradition[3] we know Jair to have been a real man of Israel—a Judge who, as will presently appear, lived there about the first century after Joshua, and immortalised himself by this conquest and dominion. According to the same narrator,[4] a certain Nobah, not further described, but certainly belonging to the tribe of Manasseh, also conquered for himself the Kenath already mentioned at p. 294, which according to another old account[5] comprehended sixty cities, or in other words the whole of Hauran, and was sometimes called Nobah after the conqueror.[6] The acquisition also of the other and nearer territories of Manasseh is ascribed by this narrator[7] to an isolated enterprise, sanctioned by Moses only after its accomplishment. Indeed, the very reflection that a flourishing tribe like Manasseh could not be so utterly split up except as the result of some great internal convulsion, must lead us to regard all those territories beyond the Jordan in which the several branches of the tribe sought free scope for growth, as separate conquests by individual chiefs. Even the Book of Origins speaks on this tribe less decidedly (p. 296 sq.), and it will be presently seen that this eastern direction was that in which the tribes in later times spread most widely.

How difficult all these eastern tribes found it to coalesce into

Hebrew leader. This name still exists in the place called Rajeb, west of Gerasa; and as the name of a town Ραγαβά is found in Josephus.

[1] Num. xxxii. 41.

[2] In the same way as in later times Jephthah is called the son of Gilead, Judges xi. 1. According to the fuller account he belonged by descent to Judah, and was only adopted into the tribe Manasseh through his grandmother, 1 Chron. ii. 21–23. This change of tribe has already been alluded to, i. p. 382.

[3] Judges x. 3–5.

[4] Num. xxxii. 42.

[5] 1 Chron. ii. 23, according to which he is also reckoned to Manasseh. There is no doubt that before את־קנת several words have been dropped, in which Nobah was inserted in the pedigree of the tribe, and mention made of his conquest. The sense probably was, that he had conquered the twenty-three cities of Jair, and in addition, subdued thirty-seven of Kenath; sixty in all.

[6] Num. xxxii. 42. Nobah was perhaps the present Nowa نوى, to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and west of Hauran; this is an ancient town, mentioned even in Abulfidâ's *Géographie*, p. 253, from which a well-known Arabic author is called el Navavî: see however the observations on p. 206, note. According to the Chron. Sam. xii, xxiii, xxxiv–xxxvii, where this chief is named نبيح (i.e. Barker!), he was an uncle's son (i.e. in Arabic, a near relation) of Joshua, by whom he was installed as *king* over the two-and-a-half tribes and all Perœa; but the diffuse descriptions of all this are evidently drawn from the author's imagination.

[7] Num. xxxii. 39 sq.

one compact body is shown in their manifold appellations, not one of which was entirely satisfactory. Certainly among these the name most frequent and most widely used was Gilead. Properly belonging to a mountain-ridge south of the Zerka, still called so, and famous from the earliest times as a national boundary (i. p. 347), this name might easily denote the land between the Zerka and the nearest southern affluent of the Jordan.[1] But the Book of Covenants gives the name rather to the land north of the mountains, formerly held by king Og;[2] while Deborah calls Gad's dominion Gilead;[3] and in common parlance the more southern districts were generally comprised under this name.[4] Bashan, on the other hand (according to p. 295), was originally only the mountainous region around Og's two capital cities; but as this was the first northern region known to the people, the name came to be very commonly used of all the possessions of Israel north and east of Mount Gilead. Much less frequently is the name Manasseh,[5] or even (according to p. 280) Machir,[6] employed in the same sense. The before-mentioned Tent-villages of Jair, which according to the earliest traditions were a somewhat later conquest, were originally back-settlements of this kingdom of Bashan,[7] and are thus sometimes reckoned as belonging to it;[8] but they also constituted in themselves the district of Argob, already mentioned at p. 299, note 5. It is not now possible to determine their exact position, but they appear to have filled up the space between the often-named city of Ramoth-Gilead and Kenath, which was only again occupied much later, in the extreme north-east (p. 300). The name *Hauran*, i.e. Cavern-land, for the cavernous mountain-ranges in the north-east (mentioned p. 296), sounds[9] rather Aramaic than Hebraic, and is actually found first in Ezekiel.[10] The very general term the *Land Beyond* (Peræa) appears first in the Grecian period, and was restricted by usage to signify only the south country, as far as the Sea of Galilee. And thus no common name for all these countries ever became generally current.

[1] Probably the river Heshbon, according to the expressions in Josh. xii. 2, 5, xiii. 31.

[2] Num. xxxii. 39 sq.

[3] Judges v. 17.

[4] In the passage, 1 Kings iv. 19, where, however, as we see from vv. 13, 14, only the southernmost country can be intended; the name of Bashan is probably only added by an early error.

[5] Ps. lx. 9.

[6] Even 'half Machir,' Book of Origins, Josh. xiii. 31; comp. Num. xxxii. 39, and Judges v. 14.

[7] This important circumstance follows from the expression חַוֹּתֵיהֶם, Num. xxxii. 41; for this *their* can refer only to ver. 39 sq.; also in 1 Kings iv. 13, they appear only as a subsidiary land to Ramoth, which is the present Reimun, north of the Zerka, where there is a mountain range even now named *Jaʿûd*.

[8] As is most distinctly seen in Deut. iii. 14; the Book of Origins speaks more precisely, Josh. xiii. 30: on the other hand in 1 Chron. ii. 22 Gilead is named.

[9] According to my *Lehrbuch*, § 36 a.

[10] Ezek. xlvii. 16, 18.

Now as Israel so early and at first so bravely pushed its conquests beyond the Jordan, pressing farther and farther northward, it ought in the natural order of things to have subdued Damascus; since only the possession of this richest and loveliest district would properly complete its northern and eastern frontier. And we have indeed every reason to believe that the eyes of the nation were at first bent in that direction. Damascus had in olden times been closely connected with Abraham (i. p. 311 sq.); and the city Hobah, to the north of Damascus, whither he once pursued his enemies in war,[1] may mark the boundary-line which a Hebrew of the earliest age would have traced for himself. But in the long interval of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, and perhaps even during the onward movement of the Hyksôs thither, the Arameans had evidently pushed farther and farther southwards; certainly up to the time of Moses they must have established themselves in such force in Damascus, that it was then out of the question for Israel to think seriously of the conquest. Indeed it was just at that time that the most violent hostility raged between Israel and the Arameans on this north-eastern frontier. How far the Arameans then forced their way even into Canaan is shown by the strictly Aramaic name of Hadad-Rimmon, a city in the territory of the tribe of Issachar.[2] Not till after Joshua, but certainly in still early times, renown was won in this region not only by Othniel (of whom we shall speak presently), but still more by Jair of the tribe Manasseh, in battle with Arameans and Aborigines,[3] from whom he conquered the district already mentioned at p. 300 sq. But valiantly as the contest was long kept up against these enemies, Israel could not prevent two little kingdoms in the north-east from maintaining their independence within her own borders. One of these was the Aramean Maachah, probably extending to the east of the sources of the Jordan;[4] and the other belonged to the Aborigines, and was called Geshur (i.e. properly *Bridge*), probably to the south of the first, where a place still exists, on the upper Jordan between the two northern lakes, bearing the name Jesr banât Jakob (i.e. *Jacob's daughters' bridge*), which perhaps contains a reference to still earlier days.[5] These two little kingdoms are generally

[1] Gen. xiv. 15.

[2] Zech. xii. 11.

[3] This may be deduced from the words 1 Chron. ii. 22 sq.; comp. with what will be said below of Jair.

[4] Because the city Abel, with the affix Beth-maachah according to 1 Kings xv. 20, 2 Kings xv. 29, was evidently situated not far from Dan; and an Abîl (*el Kamch*, or further north *el-Havâ*) north-west of Dan, has also been discovered there by the most recent travellers. Comp. also 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, Gen. xxii. 24.

[5] See further upon this and other localities in the same neighbourhood, the '*Reise Ibrahim el-Khijari's*,' by Tuch, Leipsic 1850.

mentioned together;[1] and they existed till after David's time. But unfortunately we do not even know what were Israel's most northern towns in this region, the accounts in the Book of Origins being now so much curtailed.[2]

II. Survey of the Settlement and Boundaries of the whole Nation.

Judging by these particular cases, we might be tempted to attribute the establishment of all the tribes to chance-invasions in any direction where some one tribe or family saw fit to quarter themselves; but this would be an absolute inversion of historical truth. It must indeed be conceded, that in these settlements chance—that is, momentary expediency or the self-will of individuals—played a considerable part. This is the inevitable inference from the preceding exposition; and any one who may profess himself unable fully to perceive this, ought at least to receive instruction from the author of the Book of Origins, who, with the eagle-glance of his legislative wisdom, discerns as the weak point of the national settlement the scattered and isolated condition of the tribes beyond the Jordan; and therefore makes Moses hesitate in giving his assent to their settling there.[3] And there is no reason to doubt that this Narrator has rightly seized and correctly reported Moses' opinion. For even supposing that the Prophet sought Canaan only as the beautiful land of the Fathers, not because it was like a well-fenced garden, specially adapted to let his people live 'separate, unmixed, and secure,'[4] between the sea, Lebanon, the Jordan, and the southern desert; yet no great legislator could fail to perceive that the strength of his people must lie in their limitation to the western side and its complete subjugation, their weakness in their dispersion over the land beyond the Jordan, which was entirely exposed towards Damascus and other kingdoms.

Had Israel's first invasion from the south (p. 188 sqq.) been successful, only the southernmost part of Canaan might perhaps

[1] Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 11, 13; Deut. iii.

[2] The two ancient capitals are the only cities now named in Josh. xiii. 31.

[3] Num. xxxii. 1–33; comp. Josh. xxii.

[4] These expressions occur first in somewhat later writers; they are first of all put by the Fifth Narrator into the mouth of Balaam in Num. xxiii. 9; then borrowed from that passage in Micah vii. 14 and Deut. xxxiii. 28. But in the first passage the stress is laid more upon the religious separation and entire difference of Israel from other nations, in the others on security from external enemies, such as is ascribed in Jer. xlix. 31, though again in a different sense, to the Nomads. The natural security of Palestine is further illustrated in the Book of Aristeas (after Haverkamp's Josephus ii. p. 114).

have become the seat of empire, whence the land southwards, perhaps as far as Sinai, might have been held in possession. To this southern Canaan Israel was especially attracted by the most vivid traditions of the Patriarchal period. It would then have had few enemies to overcome, except the Amalekites and other such Aborigines, against whom even Moses had never scrupled to fight. It might then have gained a country of small extent, but more compact, and therefore easier to defend, since the steep mountain-ridges of Judah would have formed a secure wall of defence, and the wide southern desert a refuge in the last extremity; as the Amalekites had doubtless hitherto found it. But this southern border of the land was then still inhabited by the most warlike races (p. 284 sq.). This and other causes prevented the success of the first serious attempt. After this failure Israel had entered Canaan from a side where, from the more open country and the great divisions among its inhabitants, it was easiest of conquest; but where the distances to be covered were far greater, and the Canaanites were Israel's deadliest foe. The lands now subjugated were more difficult to hold; but this material difficulty might prove a salutary means of strengthening the higher qualities of the people, and testing their fidelity to the true religion.

For after all, there is no land on this earth so well secured by natural boundaries against every possible attack and success on the part of its enemies, as to rely wholly on such external defences, even when held by one united nation and government. If Israel at an earlier period had desired only the possession of southern Canaan, or afterwards the country on this side the river, with the vast and dangerous desert on the south, the sea on the west, Lebanon on the north, and the valley of the Jordan on the east; it still would not have been perfectly secure against attack, if only because the Jordan can be crossed without much difficulty. To occupy the mountains on the east of the Jordan must therefore have appeared only a wise precaution; just as the Maccabean Princes, when they could move freely, strove always to obtain possession of those districts (Peræa) with their mountain ranges, and to protect them by strong fortresses. But even so, towards the powerful Damascus the country still remains too open. On the east the first safe boundary is the Euphrates; and thither, no less than to Taurus with its narrow passes on the north, will every race ruling in Lebanon strive to extend its dominion; as is clearly shown by the history of Israel, in David's time especially. Of keeping possession of so extensive a region no wise man could dream in

the time of Moses or those immediately succeeding him; and it soon became evident that even on the western side, between Lebanon and the desert, the old inhabitants still possessed a power of stout resistance. It is true that dominion over all lands between the Euphrates, Lebanon, the Mediterranean, and the great southern deserts (poetically called 'the ends of the land'), was always regarded by the aspiring spirits of the nation as the ultimate right and final aim of Israel, glorified by poets, and even sanctioned in the words of prophecy.[1] But the reality generally corresponded little to this ideal standard, justified though it might be by the early history of the people of Jahveh. The immediate aim could be only to secure a firm footing on the western side of the Jordan, and of the other side to guard only as much as was absolutely required for safety. This view comes out distinctly in whatever we can now venture to regard as a true utterance from the ancient kingdom of Israel.[2] And the people had in those early times courage and life enough to stand their ground among foes of every kind, quite independently of any considerations of so-called 'natural boundaries' (that deluding phantom, by which so many modern German scholars have allowed themselves to be miserably led astray). Not till much later, in the eighth century before Christ, when they had experienced painfully enough, in quite a new form, the intermixture of strangers from afar (Assyrians, Egyptians, and others), did the 'dwelling separate as in a well-fenced garden' (noted on p. 303) take the form of a lofty aspiration necessary for the maintenance of their purity and independence.

Although therefore at the first occupation of the land it was impossible to constitute at once a compact dominion, securely bounded on every side, and in the throes of a nation's birth and growth many a freak of individual caprice might mingle; yet, apart from such tricks of chance, a distinct general plan guiding the first settlement of the people is clearly discernible,—such a plan as would naturally grow out of the original relations of the tribes among themselves (described at i. p. 362 sqq.), and their new organisation (p. 274 sqq.) under the guidance

[1] Josh. i. 4, Gen. xv. 18–21, Zech. ix. 10, Ps. lxxii. 8. Through David and Solomon this ideal gained new strength, and became thenceforward the national standard; yet it would be wrong to overlook its early justification in the history of Joshua.

[2] The Book of Origins therefore in Num. xxxiv. 1–15 defines the boundaries very distinctly with exclusive reference to this side of the Jordan, as if the farther side were only an appendage to this. This description, which recurs, somewhat altered, in Ezek. xlvii. 15–20, and was transferred at a very late period into the *Chron. Sam.* xxii, where it is given with the later interpretation of local names, is especially important on account of the variableness of the northern and southern boundaries, which it determines evidently on good early authority.

of a higher intelligence ruling in their midst. When any territory, large or small, was so far conquered that by the expulsion or entire subjugation of its former inhabitants, it could be divided among the conquerors, it was divided among individuals as equally as possible, in shares or lots, resembling the Greek *Kleruchiæ* (p. 256). This is certain, independently of the sacred forms of expression mentioned at p. 255 sqq.; since we know that by the ancient law and constitution of Israel every citizen was to possess a landed heritage.[1] A leading mind must therefore of course have been active from the first in every tribe, and even for the whole nation there must in those early times have been a presiding power, directing as far as possible the entire process of settlement.

For in the centre of Canaan, around the Sanctuary of the whole nation, and under the rule of their great leader, we see the ancient and powerful tribe of Joseph-Ephraim take its place, encircled on the north by Joseph-Manasseh, and on the south by Benjamin. Thus in the middle of the newly conquered land we again find together those three tribes which (according to i. p. 373 sqq.) had hitherto always been most closely united, and had acquired a sort of precedence, which on Moses' death was fortunately well supported by Joshua, a man from their midst. Next to them came naturally in order the six sons of Leah, divided into four and two tribes, except that among the four Levi could no longer be reckoned. Now at the time of the partition, the southern portion of the country must have seemed much the nearest to the centre, because Israel entered from the south, and was far better acquainted with the southern districts than with the northern.[2] And thus, in the true spirit of the early national institutions, we see the three eldest take their place in the south, and precisely according to their original order of precedence: Reuben in the south-east, Simeon in the south-west, Judah between the latter and Joseph-Benjamin. This arrangement might easily lead to the result that Reuben, the lover of pastoral life and possessor of an ancient precedence, took immediate possession of the first-conquered land in the south beyond the Jordan, as most suitable for his purposes. Judah is next seen, first pressing forward towards the north (p. 283 sq.), as if to force a way for the two tribes Issachar and Zebulon; and there, north of Joseph, these two tribes actually establish themselves, exactly in the order in which from the

[1] See my *Alterthümer*, p. 201 sq.

[2] Very much as with Lot's two nations, if, according to p. 238, Moab (Lot's 'eldest' son) took up his abode in the south, and Ammon to the north of him.

very beginning they stood to each other, first Issachar, then Zebulon. But Judah thereupon turns back to the south, which properly belongs to him, and with Simeon appropriates the whole southern country on the western side of the river. When four of Leah's sons have thus encamped themselves on the north and south around the strong central seat of government, and the turn comes to the four subordinate tribes, we see these, as we should expect, pushed back the furthest, and doomed to find quarters for themselves in the remotest districts. Thus it comes to pass that Dan, the eldest adopted son of Rachel, places himself on the west of Joseph-Benjamin, being thus furthest from the centre to the westward, while Asher and Naphtali, already reckoned in the military system (according to p. 275) as the two last tribes, are pushed back furthest towards the unknown north: and Gad, already closely connected in the military arrangement with Reuben (p. 275), has to guard the north-eastern frontier, beginning from the southern extremity of the Sea of Galilee. All four subordinate tribes thus encompassed the frontier of the other tribes towards the unknown north, with a long narrow crescent; while on the more familiar south, Reuben and Judan-Simeon kept the borders. But in the act of the half Manasseh, which passes out of these twelve territories, determined by anything but chance, and seeks far to the north-east a freer range, we find a fresh sign that other impulses also were at work; and what has been already said on this subject (p. 281, 299 sq.) receives here further confirmation from another point of view.

The establishment of the tribes of Israel in precisely this order and relative position affords therefore no small evidence for the trustworthiness of the ancient traditions respecting their origin (i. p. 362 sqq.); since for even the occasional departures from the old sacred order and number, in arrangements affecting the whole future of the nation, good and sufficient reasons exist. For a strictly rigorous adherence to that order and number was in fact no longer possible even in Moses' time and the period immediately succeeding; so new and so imperious were the circumstances and the new conditions of those days. But as the old sacred number (according to i. p. 375 sqq.) after every disturbance tended always to renew itself, so, wherever free play was allowed, either in the great national relations, or in language and poetry only, the arrangement always coincided pretty closely at last with the old fundamental plan. In the organisation of the field and the camp, a peculiar distribution of the tribes was required

(p. 275), but even there the ranks open and close essentially in accordance with traditional affinities. The poet is less bound by the actual facts of his day, and is free to restore the original Twelve in such order as his object or his imagination requires; and it is plain that, in taking possession of conquered Canaan, the tribes had been somewhat thrown out of their original order. When therefore the writer of Jacob's Blessing in Gen. xlix (i. p. 71 sq.), living towards the end of the period of the Judges, when the tribes were already so separated and disorganised, desires to picture them once more closely united, he returns in the main to the old sacred order, which is the most natural in the mouth of Jacob, yet prefers to place the four subordinate tribes together, between the six of Leah and the two of Rachel; and arranges them, as might be expected from a Judean poet, as they would appear to one looking northward from Judah.[1] Then he places Zebulon before Issachar, merely because he had better things to say of the former than of the latter. On the other hand, his imitator in the Blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii, places the two tribes of Rachel (with Benjamin first) immediately after Judah, because he (according to i. p. 128 sqq.) takes Jerusalem as his starting-point. Thus the six remaining tribes are to him little more than Galilee.[2] In later times, Ezekiel acts with still greater freedom in arranging the twelve tribes like twelve city-gates according to the four points of the compass;[3] thus endeavouring, after his wont, to reconcile the claims of true Mosaic antiquity with those of the present. With greater freedom still, John in the Apocalypse so treats the subject on Christian principles, that the preeminence of Levi wholly disappears.[4] Yet each of these writers adheres in other respects as closely to the original order as was compatible with his purpose.

III. Levi's Portion.

We have yet another testimony on this subject, in the forty-eight Levitical cities, which the Book of Origins represents as

[1] Dan, Gad; Asher, Naphtali.

[2] Gad, Dan; Naphtali, Asher.

[3] Ezek. xlviii. 31–34. As Reuben, Judah, and Levi appear on the first side, while the second begins with Joseph, and the third with Simeon, there can be no difficulty in filling up the list; but each pair of threes should evidently contain six closely connected tribes, headed in the one case by Reuben, in the other by Simeon.

[4] This is especially to be noticed in Rev. vii. 5–8. John so far follows Ezekiel as to make Simeon the seventh. But it appears as if in accordance with the same Christian principles, he wished to assign to the bastard tribes a higher place; for he makes Gad the third, following Reuben, and followed by Asher, Naphtali, and Dan. So far is the author of the Apocalypse from being, as his calumniators now-a-days assert, truly Jewish at heart. See my *Johann. Schriften* ii. p. 188 sq. On the order of the Twelve in the Chronicles, see i. p. 178 sqq.

set apart by Joshua in obedience to a preliminary ordinance by Moses himself; thus connecting their appointment with the entire partition of the country under Joshua.[1] As, among other reasons, the Levites were to become the regular teachers of the people, their distribution, as equally as possible throughout the country, was as suitable as the provision made for their subsistence in fixed allotments of land. And as they, like all the branches of Israel, had formed a tribe, and doubtless would prefer still to dwell together as far as possible, it was so arranged, that each lay tribe, out of its conquered territory, should set apart for the Levites associated with it some conveniently placed cities, where they might live together, and yet be easily sought and consulted by the laity.[2] As the reverence of early days had consecrated to God a portion of every conquest and every spoil, each tribe now consecrated to the Holy One a portion of the cities of its land. In truth some clear instances show that wherever possible such cities were selected as already possessed a traditional sanctity.[3] The Levites, however, not being destined to agriculture, held with each city only the meadows thereto belonging for the pasturage of some cattle, but not its arable land or homesteads; thus the ancient city of Hebron became a priestly city, but its land devolved upon Caleb.[4] It is clear that each tribe, on an average, would have to appropriate four cities to this purpose; only in a very few cases, and for special reasons, was this number somewhat altered. The great tribe of Judah, and Simeon, gave nine together; Naphtali, only three. Six of the forty-eight were to serve as Cities of Refuge[5]—three on each side of the Jordan, in the north, middle, and south of the land; and as the country beyond the Jordan had only ten Levitical cities, this is additional evidence of the wide extent of those territories (p. 294 sq.). And the distribution of the three then existing main

[1] Num. xxxv., Josh. xx. sq.; and thence abbreviated in Deut. iv. 41–43; 1 Chron. vi. 39–66 [54–81]. It is also evident that the three sacred Cities of Refuge beyond the Jordan, mentioned in Deuteronomy as already set apart by Moses, were according to Josh. xx. first definitely appointed by the National Assembly under Joshua. This is to be explained from i. p. 120.

[2] On this point also compare my *Alterthümer*. Anything perfectly analogous to this in history would perhaps be difficult to find, since nowhere can we follow so distinctly as here the passing of an entire tribe into the priestly dignity. Yet Egypt affords certain remote parallels: Heliopolis, according to Strabo xvii. 1, was almost exclusively a priestly city. So in India Benares is the great Brahmanical city.

[3] This is obvious of Shechem in the tribe of Ephraim, from Gen. xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 4; of Hebron, from i. p. 305; also of the northernmost city Kadesh, whose very name (as with the city of Kadesh in the extreme south, p. 193) attests its ancient sanctity. In cities of refuge, which these three were, such considerations must have had special weight.

[4] Josh. xxi. 11 sq.; comp. p. 284 sq.

[5] See my *Alterthümer*, p. 196 sqq.

branches of the Levites (i. p. 364) harmonised entirely with the spirit in which the tribes themselves were distributed (p. 306 sq.): the branch Kohath, then ranking highest because Aaron's family belonged to it, obtained a place among the five and a half (really six) tribes in the south of the western side, as far as the centre; the branch next in rank, Gershom, among the three and a half tribes in the north (except Zebulon on the Sea of Galilee); the last branch, Merari, among this tribe Zebulon on the western, and Gad and Reuben on the eastern side of the Jordan. All this points plainly to the same superior intelligence which from the first directed all these national arrangements from one fixed centre; but it also indicates a far distant primal age, when every tribe accounted it an honour and a duty to be accompanied in expeditions or in settlements by a due proportion of Levites. Now it is certainly unquestionable, that all these forty-eight cities did not long remain in the peaceful possession of the Levites. The tribe Dan, so soon reduced in power, would not be able to protect its four Levitical cities. Indeed, the entire system fell into confusion, as is clear not only from its never being mentioned in later times as still existing, but still more from the fact that at a later period quite different places appear as Levitical cities, in which the Levites, driven from their first abodes, had taken refuge.[1] But to conclude from this, that the Book of Origins had no historic ground for its account of these appointments, would be very precipitate. The Levites would not so soon forget their original portion in the land; and the author of the Book of Origins had no doubt good reasons in his day for perpetuating the memory of the enactment of these ancient institutions. And thus we have here also a noteworthy testimony to the condition of the community in the earliest period of its abode in Canaan.

To complete the entire picture, we must also remember that, exactly in the middle of the western side, an especial and no doubt tolerably large domain was set apart for the city Shiloh as the seat of the national sanctuary and the residence of the High Priest; but of this we have already (p. 277 sq.) spoken.

[1] A distinct instance occurs in the case of Nob in the time of Saul, 1 Sam. xxi. 2 [1] sqq. Gezer in Ephraim, Josh. xxi. 21, 1 Chron. vi. 52, is an example of a city afterwards occupied for centuries by the Canaanites. Anathoth in Benjamin, Josh. xxi. 18 (comp. 1 Kings ii. 26 and the Book of Jeremiah), is an instance of a small town which always belonged to the Levites; so also is Bethshemesh in Judah, Josh. xviii. 16; comp. 1 Sam. vi. 12–16.

IV. The Government on the Death of Joshua.

It is proved, then, by these great facts, that after Joshua had laid down his military leadership, and even after his death, there subsisted in the midst of the great community a certain government, which watched and presided over the general interests, and might moreover be accounted a true and direct continuation of Moses' and Joshua's rule. Yet on looking more closely, we see that it rested upon very weak human foundations. It is indeed far from easy to us now to gain any near view at all of this government, since it evidently did not long maintain its full preeminence, but was gradually weakened and crippled, so that the men of later times retained only an obscure reminiscence of it. But its existence, which is involved in the natural progression of the history, is still sufficiently manifest from many indications.

We see from p. 135 sqq. that in days when a pure Theocracy still flourished, we must not imagine this government to have been of a very simple form, still less the rule of one man. So far as it can be expressed in any single word, this government is certainly indicated by the name of the 'Elders,' who, according to old tradition, ruled prosperously after Joshua, and finally closed the whole sublime period in which the community was founded and organised, and theocracy flourished in its most vigorous bloom.[1] The Old Testament records do not specify the duration of their power, but let it appear that it cannot have been very long.[2] When we try to picture these Elders to ourselves, we must assuredly think of the 70–72 Elders, who, according to a fine legend, even Moses' spirit strengthened for a higher life and activity in the community (pp. 143, 174)—elders, therefore, out of all the twelve tribes, either always assembled in the central point of the kingdom (Shechem, see p. 278 sq.), or represented there by a standing committee, invested by them with the permanent authority.[3] They were however not

[1] On all this see my *Alterthümer*, p. 284 sqq., 354 sqq.

[2] This follows from the only words now found in the Old Testament on this subject, Josh. xxiv. 31; comp. Judges ii. 7–10. More definite notices respecting its duration are however found in other books.

[3] As the 'seventy-seven elders of Succoth' in Judges viii. 14 (from vv. 6, 14, comp. 16) probably included five or seven actual 'Princes' or Governors, besides seventy-two or seventy ordinary Elders or Counsellors. Even in the Middle Ages the graves of the Seventy Elders were supposed to be visible near Avarta, not far from Shechem. See Hottinger's *Cippi Hebr.* p. 53; Carmoly's *Itinéraires* p. 386 sq., 445; while the graves of Eldad and Medad, the only two of the seventy appointed personally by Moses who are mentioned by name in Num. xi. 26 sq., and respecting whom later writers therefore gave free scope to their imagination (see p. 227 note), were naturally sought for and found beyond the Jordan. Undoubtedly the renown of these seventy-two

actually chosen by the people, but were the born 'Princes' and representatives of a people possessing class-distinctions, and were arranged in an order corresponding to that of the families themselves; while in cases of ultimate appeal the authority of the Elders yielded to that of the entire great Assembly. But it was only natural in that age that the Elders of the tribe of Ephraim should have precedence and take the immediate lead in all things. In reality, therefore, it was almost always on the noblest families of Ephraim that the principal charge and responsibility devolved. It requires no explanation, that in great emergencies this High Council could confer more or less power on a single individual; though, strictly speaking, this could only be for a definite purpose and limited period.

But this High Council (or whoever, in rare cases, exercised its authority) was bound not only to act by the existing laws, but also, in all questions either of extreme public importance or of unusual obscurity, to listen to the 'Mouth of Jahveh,' i.e. the Oracle. In no well-ordered state of ancient times might the *Word of God* be disregarded; it was on the contrary generally consulted by the leaders with too great eagerness and scrupulosity. It was a matter of course in this one theocratic nation, after the wonderful works of Moses, that nothing decisive should be undertaken without 'consulting the Mouth of Jahveh.' The oldest legal authorities, accordingly, say not a word on the subject; and the Book of Origins is the first to consider it necessary, in the case of Joshua and Eleazar, to establish a precedent for all similar cases.[1] But, as it cannot be expected that so extraordinary a Prophet as Moses would always be present in the Assembly, the office of High Priest, with its unbroken continuity, must fill his place. Thus the High Priest, with his finally decisive Word of God, and his presidency in the popular Assembly, became by this arrangement, though only incidentally, the one individual on whom alone the highest charge and responsibility rested, and from whom was expected all that was greatest and best, as well as all that was holiest; as if the natural tendency to a stricter unity of human leadership in the state could not be entirely repressed, even here where the fundamental principles of government were so opposed to it.[2]

It is hence apparent of what importance to such a state must be the capacity and the whole character of each hereditary

revived in new lustre in the third and last period of this history; but even the later Arabs in their word ابدال still preserve most curious traditions of them and their number.

[1] Num. xxvii. 15–23.

[2] On all this see my *Alterthümer*, pp. 299 sqq., 345 sqq.

High Priest. His dignity, in political no less than in sacerdotal matters, must ultimately depend upon an amicable cooperation with the 'Elders,' and the rest of the national Assembly; and the tie which united him to these, depending wholly upon a fitting enunciation of 'God's Word,' was one most delicate in its nature. But the introduction of a Buddhist or Jesuit priestly rule could not be thought of in that community of Jahveh, nor in that age, when the strength and integrity of the people were still quite unbroken, and Moses' light still illumined all with its brightness. But, as if the magic of the sublime Mosaic period, and the spirit of the men whom he had formed, were potent enough even in the third generation to produce priests and leaders worthy of him, we now see in Aaron's grandson Phinehas, Eleazar's son, long after the first settlement of the people, a High Priest whom none could have surpassed in that delicate handling which preserved unbroken the good understanding between the Elders and the rest of the national Assembly. While still young, he distinguished himself by bold decision and indefatigable energy in the duties of his office; so much so that the Book of Origins can represent him, even in Moses' last days, as a typical scion of the sacerdotal line; with whom were bound up all the best hopes of enduring power and rule for the High Priest's office.[1] Of the events and actions of his later life we have now no full record; but one isolated fact, of which we have certain information, helps much to fill up the picture. His father Eleazar, the contemporary and friend of Joshua, was presented, like Joshua himself (p. 267), by the grateful people with a considerable landed estate, certainly not very far from Shiloh, where also he was buried. But the people gave to the whole place the permanent appellation *Phinehas' Hill*[2]—a sure token of the high consideration in which Phinehas was held throughout his long life, and a proof that in popular estimation he ranked even higher than his father. Had not such men, God's own visible representatives to the people, ordering in his name all things temporal and spiritual, borne rule in Canaan during that first period, in which Israel's national

[1] Num. xxv. 7–13, xxxi. 6.

[2] Josh. xxiv. 33; the exact site of this Gibeah, and whether it was the same place as the priestly city Geba in Benjamin, mentioned in Josh. xxi. 17, is still uncertain. Besides this, Phinehas is once named, in Judges xx. 28, but only incidentally, to mark a period of time. Rabbinical conceit at last made out a close analogy between the fiery zealot Phinehas and Elijah; hence originated also the singular story of the government having passed from Joshua to the Judges, now found (though, like the whole book, with many errors) in Hamza's *Arab. Annals* p. 89 sq. A king بلا, who is there said to have ruled over Israel *before* the Judges, is so far an enigma, unless the word may be in some way a corruption of Abimelech.

life was being fashioned into its abiding shape, there never could have arisen a form of speech so singular among such a people and under such a religion, as that which applied to such a presiding authority the actual name 'God:' one of the most remarkable characteristics of that age which has been preserved, but which at a later period wholly disappears.[1]

But with this Phinehas the series of great High Priests and successors of Aaron appears, as it were, broken off abruptly; and till we come to Eli, who commences a new series, scarcely the very names of these priests have been preserved.[2] We have now no distinct information how and why their power gradually declined; but this decline coincides plainly with the general dissolution of the strict national unity established by Moses. For even the power of the 'Elders' soon disappears. Throughout all succeeding centuries, indeed, the rightful leading tribe Ephraim still asserted its claims. Without its consent and cooperation no war could be undertaken or carried on; for centuries this privilege was insisted on, and the dignity of generalship as persistently claimed by the tribe.[3] Down into the days of the monarchy, these ancient pretensions of Ephraim to the first place among the tribes are tenaciously adhered to, causing even then violent convulsions. But Ephraim could never again elevate the entire nation to a strong and permanent unity. Still less did Ephraim dare to appoint a leader from the centre of the kingdom to Joshua's dictatorship. At first there was doubtless a feeling, that, after the great work had been completed in the conquest of the land, such extraordinary powers might be dispensed with; and afterwards, however needed, the office could not be reinstituted.

Still, however, the priestly tribe, equally distributed among all the others, with especial charge of the true religion and its unchanging institutions, formed within the kingdom a higher unity, obviously intended in this very distribution; and certainly nothing was for all those centuries so close a bond between the tribes, as the position, distribution, and function of the priestly tribe. But even this strongest bond gave way gradually when the High-Priesthood itself lost by degrees its first power, and when in the course of centuries many members even of the priestly class yielded more and more to the moral corruption which lurked in their midst. That such was truly the case, will be more fully shown hereafter.

[1] It is found only in Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 7 [8] sq. Judges v. 8, 1 Sam. ii. 25; all of them antique forms of speech.

[2] How long the Elders wielded the recognised authority, can now be only approximately known.

[3] Judges viii. 1 sqq., xii. 1 sqq.

B. Insulation of the Tribes; Relaxation of the National Bond; Popular Freedom.

I. Relaxation of the National Bond.

The strict unity of the constitution and the power of the original theocracy were thus early shattered, because in its pride in the one invisible King as its only true lord, the nation excluded as unnecessary any human ruler, and thus lost only too soon the sole bond which could hold firmly together its separate forces. And this is certainly the strongest and most lasting cause of the national disorganisation which followed. But, on the other hand, much was also owing to the ancient mutual jealousy of some of the tribes, which could perhaps be repressed in the sublime days of Moses by the grandeur and difficulty of the great common aim and the fresh energy of true religion, but had free play again now that aim had attained something like fulfilment. Even the secure settlement of the tribes over the wide expanse of the conquered country—which naturally tends to attach each member of a people more strongly to his special soil and its aims and interests—may have contributed still more to break up the national unity. With the completion of the settlement of all the tribes commences their insulation and the relaxation of the national tie; as has been already set forth in general terms, p. 265 sqq. If we knew precisely in which decad after Joshua to place Deborah's song, it would afford us a sure standard for the chronology of this disorganising progress; since it characterises the tribes most graphically, describing both their fixed habitations and their already remarkable insulation from one another. But, as will presently appear, the date of this song and of Deborah herself can be only approximately conjectured.

Now where the old forces of government are crumbling gradually away, there arises, with the advancing civilisation of the people, a preponderating tendency to the extension of popular freedom among the lower class; and in Israel this tendency gained strength the more easily from the large measure of actual freedom existing from the first in their community (p. 136 sqq.), and indeed required by Jahveism itself. Thus Democracy, not known till far later among the Greeks, was early developed in Israel; it became, indeed, the normal condition of the separate tribes and communities during every quiet period of this age. But the evils also to which it is liable were early experienced here,[1] and doubtless contributed not a little to the

[1] See my *Alterthümer*, p. 356.

rapid strides of disunion and the decay of national strength; so that we can only wonder to find the people themselves remaining throughout all these centuries so little corrupted. And this democratic tendency especially facilitated the commencing insulation of the greater and lesser members of the community.

But it was now impossible that this insulation should assume the form of exactly twelve independent and rival little kingdoms, according to the number of the tribes. Even at the time of the first settlement the tribes stood to each other upon a very unequal footing: an inequality which could not but be increased by their subsequent insulation. Thus, by natural gravitation, new connections and groups grew out of the dislocation, as some weaker tribe attached itself through traditional kinship or recent neighbourhood to a stronger, or several tribes of equal strength were driven by their position to form a closer union against a foe; or as the territorial conditions of the conquered country themselves favoured the growth of some great and thriving groups, or forcibly severed some one tribe from its connection with the rest. And thus we see, as soon as these new conditions have taken fixed shape, and the clear light of history again falls on them, three or four groups of tribes, like newly-formed islands emerging high and dry from the ocean. From this time forth all tend to separation from their former condition, and to union with these groups in a compactness unknown before. Although one or another member of the original union sways irresolutely for a time, as if willing to assert a separate individuality, yet only those groups which were from the first of tougher consistency remain fixed centres amid the general dissolution. And as they emerge out of the depths of historical as well as local creation, they establish themselves during this long period of tribal disorganisation so indestructibly as virtually to determine the whole later history of the people settled in Canaan. Though yielding at times to some comprehensive uniting movement, yet they unfailingly emerge again, more or less altered; and finally cease to be only when the whole sinks in ruin. It is worth while to enter into greater detail in describing this.

1. In the south of the land on the west of the Jordan were established Judah and Simeon, the strongest and toughest of all these groups. This result was due not less to the ancient characteristics of the tribe of Judah, than to the special qualities of the soil itself. For beyond every other portion of the country, this district, less luxuriant yet not wholly unproductive, with its rough mountain-ridges, numerous caves, passes,

and wide desert tracts, was calculated to make its inhabitants the strongest, bravest, and toughest people in Canaan. The difficulties of the soil were well matched by the character of a tribe, which at the time of its settlement was the most simple and warlike of all the great tribes; and which, notwithstanding its military superiority, abstained from all ambitious excesses, and preferred to hold back and concentrate its powers in dignified reserve. Of its separate fortunes during this period we indeed know little; but in that age of internal disorganisation, it is in itself a favourable sign when a great tribe is but seldom mentioned in connection with the troubles or struggles of the time. When we behold it finally emerge in full unbroken strength, and achieve the most glorious results, we can only conclude that through wise moderation and self-restraint it had previously abstained from taking part in internal dissensions, and thus, though for a time somewhat alienated from the other tribes, preserved its internal strength unbroken. What we find in detail on the subject is as follows.

Amongst those of the Judges whose memory has been handed down to us, there is but one whom we can point out with certainty as belonging to Judah. For whether Ibzan, who sprang from Bethlehem and was there buried,[1] was from Judah, the connection in which he appears renders more than doubtful, as will be further shown presently. The Bethlehem, which is not defined by any epithet, may be that in the tribe Zebulon;[2] and Josephus[3] had plainly no other reason for making him a Judean, but the erroneous assumption that the name Bethlehem must refer to Judah. We should hesitate still more as to attributing to the community of Judah Shamgar son of Anath, who is very briefly mentioned.[4] The only thing related of him by the last author of the Book of Judges, his hand-to-hand combat with the Philistines, would certainly connect him neither with the north nor with the east; but on the one hand the great resemblance to Samson evident in the scanty notice of him, and on the other the mention made of him in Deborah's Song, which shows his character and actions to have been then in fresh remembrance, and to have evidently belonged to the same land where Deborah herself dwelt, whereas Judah lay quite out of her field of view, appear rather to warrant us in assigning him to the tribe of Dan, in the extreme west. There remains then only Othniel; whose memory stretches back (according to p. 285 sq.) into the cycle of traditions respecting the settlement,

[1] According to Judges xii. 8–10.
[2] Josh. xix. 15.
[3] *Ant.* v. 7. 13.
[4] Judges iii. 31; comp. v. 6.

and who is also described as the first of all the Judges.[1] But the remote period to which he undoubtedly belongs, as well as the unique character of the combat with the king of so distant a country as Mesopotamia, in which he appears as the deliverer of the people, are both so exceptional as to make it impossible to insert Othniel in the series of ordinary Judges, such as they are elsewhere described. It is worth while here to illustrate this point, as far as the state of the authorities permits.

The Mesopotamian king Chushan-rishathaim[2] is in fact not further known to us from any other ancient authority; and Josephus' expansion of the simple words in Judges iii. 8–10 has by no means the air of being derived from any more copious early account. In calling him an Assyrian king, Josephus is merely employing the phraseology usual in his time (i. p. 391). It would also be hazardous to draw any deductions from the name of Chushan-rishathaim,[3] which may appear strange to us. But the passage of Genesis (ch. xiv.), discussed before (i. p. 301 sqq.), shows that the countries on the Euphrates and Tigris early constituted great kingdoms, and took an interest in the contest going on among the mixed populations of Canaan. It is moreover very conceivable under the circumstances, that such a Mesopotamian king might venture an inroad upon Canaan, just when the settlement of the invading Israelites could scarcely have gained a secure footing, and even bring it for a short time—eight years according to the narrative—into subjection to himself. Every great neighbouring kingdom would try to profit by the confusion which Israel's seizure of Canaan necessarily produced, and if the Aramean nations on the nearer side of the Euphrates were (according to p. 302) too weak to withstand the first powerful advance of Israel, this would be clearly an additional motive to those beyond to take part in the fray. This war then is but one out of

[1] Judges iii. 8–11.

[2] From which was also formed by Greek readers the shorter name Χουσάρθης (Josephus *Ant.* v. 3. 3) or Χουσαχάρ (Clem. Alex. *Stromata* i. 21); which might serve as a sign that more was formerly known of this conqueror, if the name had not been already abbreviated by the LXX. into Χουσαραθαίμ. The name *Achurardist* in the *Chron. Arm.* of Eusebius i. p. 99. ed. Ven. would suit the chronology, if it were to be relied on. The account in Georgius Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 158, that Paphos in Cyprus was founded by men who fled before Othniel, is an unconnected fragment. But the war of the Chaldeans with the Phenicians, noticed by Eusebius in the *Can. Chronolog.* ii. p. 103 Auch. would also go back to about the same time. If at some future time the deciphered cuneiform inscriptions of Mesopotamia can be compared with the Greek accounts of Ctesias and others, perhaps this Aramean monarch may also become better known.

[3] It seems as if רשעתים might signify in Hebrew, 'Double crime;' but this is probably a mere illusion. There is a conjecture of Bunsen's, not very well founded, in relation to this period, on which see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 192 sq.; on another absurd conjecture see *Theolog. Studien u. Krit.* 1863, p. 729.

the long list of Aramean enterprises in the north-east, in which Israel must have been involved (according to p. 302) immediately after Joshua's death, and of which only a few fading memories now remain. But it seems as if the only people which at the time of Israel's first great display of strength dared to make head against it, soon met with so severe a repulse, that it never for centuries again crossed the Euphrates; for the next following Judges have quite different enemies to cope with. Now if the Othniel who (according to p. 285 sq.) settled far in the south of Judah, achieved his lasting fame as conqueror of these foes from the far north-east, and deliverer of Israel from their attacks, this affords us a fresh sign of the tribe's warlike greatness and activity, now embracing all Israel even in the north. This confirms the estimate of Judah which we formed (p. 283 sq.) from the events of the very earliest period of the settlement.

But afterwards, when all Israel's possessions again hung doubtful in the balance, and the suppressed strength of the Canaanite and other conquered nations or their allies, rushed back on the tribes in an overwhelming torrent, Judah almost disappears from the narrative. It must strike every reader, how little mention is made of Judah by the Book of Origins, from Othniel to the very last of the Judges. At the first glance, one might be disposed to account for this by supposing that the authors of the documents employed by the writer of iii. 12–xvi, being members of other tribes, took no interest in the fortunes of Judah. But when we see that the Judges therein spoken of, and their wars, extend over all the other tribes, in the centre, the north, and the east, we feel how little this reason alone can suffice for an explanation. The Song of Deborah gives further evidence, quite independent of the above, and even more conclusive. This Song, which purposely mentions either with praise or blame the position of all the tribes, as far as they had any bearing on the great event of the period, and forgets neither Benjamin nor Dan, the two nearest, though weaker, neighbours of Judah, is absolutely silent on Judah and Simeon. Now how was this possible? Were these tribes insignificant or remote? Were they not yet settled in their proper seats, and therefore as yet non-existent in Israel? The one hypothesis is surely as improbable as the other. The true reason of this remarkable circumstance must therefore be, that in the time of Deborah Judah and Simeon had long lived in strict isolation from the other tribes, and formed a strong independent community which presented a firm front to their

enemies; or, in other words, that as after Solomon's time (though from different causes), they were opposed to the other tribes, dividing Israel as it were in half with a great partition-wall.[1] If Judah thus maintained itself in seclusion, unity, and internal strength during the period of increasing disorganisation and weakness, we can understand its not requiring Judges—those exceptional dictators—whom the disorderly state of other tribes had rendered necessary.

What a rare treasure of primitive purity in domestic life had been preserved among those southern mountains, is shown by the Book of Ruth, whose historical truth in the delineation of primitive life admits of no question (i. p. 154 sq.). What a reserve of strength for war and supremacy was developed in Judah is seen as soon as ever the tribe is by David once more drawn into common action with the rest of the nation. Toward the end of this period, in the days of Jephthah and Samson, Judah indeed suffered temporarily from the invasion of the Ammonites, and for a longer period from forced dependence on the Philistines, who broke in upon Israel in the first flush of their new strength; yet we see from the manner in which this connection is spoken of at the time,[2] that excepting the inevitable tribute, Judah was only pledged to deliver up the enemies of the Philistines; cultivating its lands otherwise undisturbed for its own benefit. And by no other tribe was this long-enduring tyranny afterwards so wholly broken, and rendered for ever harmless, as by Judah; whose boyish hero David plays a very different game with them than does the giant champion of Dan.

2. Though the southern group had so far detached itself from the national bond, we might have expected that Ephraim in the central part would have adhered to it all the more firmly, with not only the smaller adjacent tribes, but also all those of the north; so that the centre of gravity would have fallen there, and this great group at least would not have been further broken up. Of the four tribes crowded together in the north, there was not one of sufficient weight to form a centre; and of their ever forming a league among themselves we hear nothing. Deborah's song certainly shows that in great crises these four tribes generally held by each other. If out of the eight tribes of this largest group, two, Dan and Asher, then

[1] In like manner, even in Saul's time, the host of Judah is named apart from that of the rest of Israel, 1 Sam. xi. 8, xv. 4.

[2] Judges xv. 8–20 and x. 9 are the only passages from iii. 12 to xvi. where Judah is mentioned.

remained inactive, because, in Deborah's biting words, 'they dwell by the sea-shore, and by the harbours of the sea, because they seek protection in ships,' this can prove only partial and temporary exceptions; for these maritime tribes, though strongly attracted by the commercial life of their neighbours the Phenicians, never, like them, attempted to found independent states, nor separated themselves entirely from their brethren.[1] And when after Solomon's death a firmly united kingdom arose out of Ephraim in opposition to Judah, we see the northern tribes (as far as our information goes) willingly follow Ephraim's banner for centuries.

Yet the bond of union between these tribes grew gradually looser during the period of the Judges, as some of the traditions clearly prove. The fault lay partly at least in the pride of the tribe of Ephraim, which persistently regarded itself as the hereditary leader, and asserted its high pretensions without the proper forbearance and moderation.[2] With its own brother-tribe Manasseh it came to a rupture; and this might perhaps be one of the very causes which so early drove the half-tribe of Manasseh across the Jordan (p. 300 sq. 307). When Gideon of Manasseh stirs up the popular resistance to Midian, he appeals only to the northern tribes and Manasseh, and with them alone gains his great victory; but he then has to appease with smooth words the arrogant reproaches of Ephraim, which after the victory complains of not having been called to take part in the struggle.[3] Peace was then preserved by Gideon's ready wit, sharp only against his enemies, to his brother-tribe conciliatory though reproachful. But in the general degeneracy of the period, the tares of internal discord soon sprang up again into a great stem. Later, when Jephthah, near akin to the tribe of Manasseh, but on the further side of the Jordan, had chastised the Ammonites, not only beyond the river, but on this side also, whither they had recently crossed in their marauding warfare,[4] the bands of Ephraim, which he had before vainly implored for assistance, cross the Jordan in mere arro-

[1] Of Dan this is self-evident; but Asher also fights under Gideon directly after, by the side of the other northern tribes, Judges vi. 35.

[2] Of Joshua's posterity we now know nothing; he himself appears, according to p. 275, to be grandson of Elishama, who was in the tenth generation from Joseph, and who, according to Num. i. 10, ii. 18, was at the time of the Exodus the eldest of the tribe of Ephraim, and therefore belonged to one of the noblest families; but if he thus was an hereditary prince of the tribe, the obscurity of his posterity in the subsequent history is the more remarkable.

[3] Judges vi. 35–viii. 8.

[4] The narrative in Judges xii. 1–4, must be carefully compared with the words in x. 9; whence it follows that the present narrator might, strictly speaking, have introduced before xi. 34–40 what he says only incidentally and as an afterthought in xii. 1—namely that Jephthah also crossed the Jordan to subdue Ammon.

gance and lust of plunder, when the victory is won, to take vengeance in his own country and his own home on the hero who had dared to conquer without them. Their scornful words, intended to gloss over their conduct, only reveal the iniquity of their motive:—

> Runaways of Ephraim are ye!
> Gilead belongs to Ephraim, belongs to Manasseh!

a taunt which was soon paid back to them in bitter gall. But these derisive words in the mouth of the people, are to us a proof of the view stated above, that the 'half Manasseh' beyond the Jordan was composed of persons who had escaped out of the country on the nearer side, and gradually (as conjectured p. 300) covered more and more ground on the further. For unless such an impression had sunk deep into the mind of the people, the Manasseh beyond Jordan, contemptuously called 'Gilead,' could not, even in a satire, have been described as escaped out of the community[1] of the double tribe Ephraim and Manasseh, or a runaway from Ephraim; still less could Ephraim have thus persistently brought forward its arrogant claims to Manasseh beyond the Jordan, as fugitives of its own. And if the tribe, whose original and strictly Hebrew name was undoubtedly Manasseh, was early split into two halves, which had no longer any close connecting tie, we see how the other name Machir (i. 371, 382 sq.) might arise as a synonym, and be employed to designate specially the tribe remaining on this side the river.[2]

If we consider further that this second group, which, from its wide extent and great population, as well as from its possession of the sacred centre of the land, might have become the most powerful of all, was still without a secure northern frontier (Lebanon not being yet fully conquered and occupied), while Judah was well guarded by its deserts and mountains in the south, and by the Dead Sea on the east; then it becomes evident what elements of disorganisation and weakness the chief group contained, and how surely the southern group, with all its disadvantages, must eventually obtain the supremacy.

[1] בְּתוֹךְ xii. 4; comp. Ps. lxviii. 26 [25] 'in the midst,' therefore still belonging to it; there is no independent Gilead. That פְּלֵיטֵי is to be understood as above indicated, follows from such passages as 1 Sam. xxv. 10 and 1 Chron. iv. 48. In Judith vi. 2 (comp. ver. 5), v. 5, xiv. 5, Ephraim is placed on a level with Ammon; but no doubt chiefly because these later writers held Samaria to be quite heathen.

[2] This name, as used by Deborah, Judges v. 14, signifies those on this side of the Jordan. David also in Ps. lx. 9 [7] places Gilead and Manasseh together. The Book of Origins, on the other hand (Josh. xiii. 31, xvii. and elsewhere), having regard to the original condition, retains the name Manasseh, as does the Book of Covenants in Num. xxxii. 39, 40.

3. The two tribes and a half in the country beyond the Jordan are further separated from the centre both by their scattered and remote position and by the watery barrier. Their history only carries out slowly, in the course of centuries, what was to be expected under the circumstances from the beginning. In the great struggle portrayed in Deborah's song not one of these tribes took part; whether from indolent indifference, or because they considered other matters more important, or thinking that they lived too far off, as Deborah in cutting words reproaches them. No one has penetrated so thoroughly, or at least described so clearly, the dangerous situation of these tribes, as the author of the Book of Origins, with his great legislative genius. With what hesitation he makes Moses assent to the settlement beyond the Jordan; how earnestly both Moses and Joshua warn those tribes that they forget not their brethren on the western side, their welfare, their defence, and the sanctuary in their midst! With what warmth he relates how those tribes sent their own warriors also over the Jordan, as they had promised, to bear with their brethren the brunt of war on the western side; and how those warriors, not released till the conquest was thoroughly achieved, were then falsely accused of having built for themselves a great altar beyond the Jordan, and thus destroyed the unity of the kingdom, and how they protested most solemnly that they had no such intention, and that the altar was meant only as a memorial to posterity of the great conquest in which all had borne a part.[1] These are passages of unusual brilliancy in the Book of Origins; but the author would scarcely have brought this so prominently forward, unless in his own time long experience had shown that these tribes often sought to withdraw themselves entirely from the unity of the kingdom and of the Sanctuary; and unless he had judged it necessary on that account to explain the higher law for the benefit of his own age. As for the monument beyond the Jordan, to which so much importance is here attached, there can be no doubt that at the time of the Book of Origins it was an historical altar, on which sacrifices might be offered, but which in such days of law and order as that book makes its ideal, might possibly serve only as a national monument.

Had these tribes possessed any proper centre round which

[1] Num. xxxii. 1–33, Josh. xxii. (comp. p. 303); also Josh. i. 12-18, where however the Deuteronomist interpolates considerably. Respecting the spot named in Anton. Mart. *Itiner.* x., where the two and a half tribes are said to have remained behind while the rest passed over the Jordan, see *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 1636 sq.

to gather and concentrate their strength, they would probably soon have shaken themselves entirely free from the western land and its Sanctuary. But none such was found for them; and as they were thus precluded from making themselves quite independent of the far stronger West, they remained in some measure united with the central and northern tribes, from whom they were parted only by the Jordan; less so with Judah, which was separated from them by the Dead Sea. The connection in prosperous times was no doubt very much what is indicated in Josh. xxii;[1] namely, that the powerful chiefs of the western country never abandoned their claim to a close union of the eastern tribes with their own, and probably asserted it by force if necessary; while the latter would in general willingly cling to their powerful protectors, so long as these really protected them.

But in the meantime the relation between the more northern tribes beyond the Jordan and Reuben further southwards had been greatly altered in the course of time, and the tendency of this group to disintegration manifested in a new form. Gad, the keeper of the ancient north-east frontier, appears always in the oldest traditions as a tribe often attacked, but brave and full of resources for defence; and the members of Manasseh, sometimes derided as 'Ephraim's runaways,' which had spread themselves still further north, were probably among the best of the Hebrews.[2] We see that both Gad and Manasseh, a good honest race, attached themselves more and more closely to the tribes on the western side, to whom, when entirely overrun by enemies, they sometimes afforded a last refuge. There Saul's son made his royal residence, and there David, flying from Absalom, and betrayed by the whole western country, found protection and help.[3] Quite different was Reuben, in the south, beyond the Dead Sea. The history of this tribe is as unique as it is obscure, although scattered notices on the subject are not entirely wanting. It is however clear that this tribe, which in early times, long before Moses, was the most powerful of all, and which maintained its full independence even during the period of the settlement, steadily lost ground in the most singular manner; almost as in Switzerland the original cantons are now the weakest of all. Deborah represents it as still a tribe of recognised importance, but very indifferent to its brother-tribes, sunk in rural repose and comfort, deliberating much, but, when there was something important to be done, doing nothing.[4]

[1] Verses 12 and 33 deserve especial attention.

[2] Gen. xlix. 19 (comp. Deut. xxxiii. 20), Judges xi. 1–xii. 7.

[3] 2 Sam. ii. 8 sqq., xvii. 24–xix.

[4] Judges v. 15 sqq.

After Deborah's time, the name of Reuben is never mentioned in any national affairs; the Narrators know nothing of him; scarcely an individual of this tribe is mentioned, while famous men of Gad are never wanting. Descending to the age after Solomon, we hear a poet pray for him thus:[1]

> Let Reuben live and not die,
> Let not his people be too few!—

a groan very much justified, when we see that all the cities which according to early authorities were the portion of this tribe (see p. 297 sq.), and were certainly possessed by it in the first centuries after Moses, appear in later writings as possessions of the Moabites;[2] as if that people, crossing the Arnon to the north, had recovered from Reuben the domains which had been theirs before the time of Moses (p. 204 sq.). Now the Chronicle[3] relates very credibly how this tribe in Saul's time assailed and subdued some Arabian tribes,[4] and then spread itself out with its numerous herds to the east even of Gilead; i.e. to the east of all Israel's possessions beyond the Jordan, into the desert as far as the Euphrates; and further, that a great prince of the tribe had been carried off into Assyrian captivity. This wide extension eastwards may have brought about all the sooner the loss of the cities nearer the Jordan; and soon after Solomon's time they were probably quite lost.[5] And if the tribe was driven further and further into the desert, and there degenerated and melted away, it becomes intelligible how Reuben was estranged from true Hebrew history, and why it was at last regarded on the west of the Jordan as a dying tribe. The similar fate of its kindred tribe, Simeon, has been already described at pp. 287 sqq.

It accords well with these relations of the tribes beyond Jordan, that the old tribal constitutions fall to decay among them first of all; giving place to smaller communities, each of which sought to be independent. This remarkable circumstance will be more fully elucidated presently.

If all the stages and changes of this gradual disorganisation are not at the present day to be distinctly traced, and we must

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 6.

[2] Is. xv, xvi, Jer. xlviii.

[3] 1 Chron. v. 6–10.

[4] Which the Chronicler, adopting a later name, calls Hagarites; see i. p. 315.

[5] That these cities were already lost at the time when Ammon successfully rebelled, Judges x–xii, 1 Sam. xi, cannot be granted; for though in the list of Solomon's twelve governors in 1 Kings iv. 7–19 Reuben's territory is not distinctly specified, we see from the description (short as it is) of Joab's journey to number the whole people in 2 Sam. xxiv. 5 (comp. Josh. xiii. 16), and from 1 Chron. xix. 7, that in David's time these districts belonged wholly to Israel.

content ourselves with acknowledging it to have been an overpowering tendency of the age, yet at least the weighty results, both external and internal, which necessarily issued from it, are unmistakably manifest.

II. External Consequences of the Disintegration: New Heathen Kingdoms.

1. The Canaanites.

Weakness in relation to other nations, whether strange or already subjugated, was one certain external result; a weakness imperceptible in the beginning, increasingly serious in its progress. Although its advance might be checked by extraordinary exertions for some few moments, when the sacred fire of the days of Moses and Joshua blazed up again freely out of the vapours that stifled it, yet in the end this weakness spread still further and gradually destroyed the old national strength and vital union. In accordance with the respective positions of these peoples, as noticed in detail in i. p. 224 sqq., the increasing weakness of Israel produced its first effect on the Canaanites, who, recovering from their first terror, began to strengthen themselves afresh with their superior military art and experience against their astonishing invaders, and sought to regain the country which they had lost, or at least to defend with better success the remnant of their possessions. And even the Aborigines, wherever they remained in any numbers, endeavoured in like manner to rally, either alone, or in combination or alliance with the Canaanites.

The peculiar dismemberment of the Canaanites themselves also continued throughout the whole of this period; in consequence of which they could only rarely and with difficulty resolve upon any great military alliances or joint enterprises. The war of the mighty king of Bezek, from the northern part of the centre of the land in the earliest period (p. 284), and about a century and a half later the evidently far more successful war of Jabin, king of the great city of Hazor,[1] situated, according to p. 253, in the north-western corner, whose general Sisera is said to have sorely oppressed Israel for twenty years[2]—these two great Canaanite oppressions are the only ones of which any memory has been preserved. Although the later of the two was

[1] This Jabin (comp. p. 253) bears very singularly in Hamza's *Arab. Annals*, p. xc. 18, the epithet ناقش; but this appears only to have arisen in mistake from يابس Ἰαβίς (for Ἰαβίν) in Josephi *Hypomnest.* xi. Eusebius also in his *Onom.* s. v. Ἀσιρώθ forms the nominative Ἰαβίς. Throughout that edition of Hamza the proper names are singularly disfigured.

[2] Judges iv. v.

far more dangerous and difficult for Israel to overcome than the earlier (in which we see another sign of Israel's increasing decadence), it is plain from the song of Deborah that they by no means extended to Judah; which seems to have been much less affected by the returning power of the Canaanites. But so much the more tenaciously did the Canaanites maintain their footing at certain favourable points; so that Israel, despairing at last of expelling them, was obliged to come to terms of some sort or other. It is really surprising to see how that ingenious race, after its supremacy over the whole land was irrecoverably lost, maintained its hold, not only on the outermost skirts of its former possessions, but here and there in the very heart of the country, as on little islands rising out of a stormy sea, whence it inspired even its conquerors with respect; recalling the fate of Italy after its subjugation by Germans, where the old inhabitants here and there in favourable spots held closely together, and soon, with their array of flourishing towns, raised their head bravely against the surrounding 'Barbarians.'

In the remains of the oldest historical work (Judges i.) we still possess a precious record, which shows us the form which these complicated relations had assumed in the time of the author, in the latter half of the period of the Judges, when the changes were quite completed. According to this, there were Canaanites and Aborigines, more or less, in all tribes on the west of the Jordan, who kept their footing chiefly in the open valleys, where the easy use of their cavalry and chariots of war gave them a great advantage.[1] The entire omission of the tribe Issachar (north of Manasseh) is here certainly very striking; but that it was not forgotten in the original work is certainly probable, because otherwise it would be the only western tribe not mentioned; and is confirmed by the Blessing of Jacob,—belonging to the same period and no doubt even to the same work,—wherein this particular tribe is bitterly lashed for its indolent love of inglorious repose in the too fertile land, and its consequent subservience to the Canaanites:[2]

> Issachar is a large-boned ass,
> Stretched out between the water-troughs;
> And he saw that rest was good,
> And the land that it was pleasant;
> And bowed his shoulder to bear,
> And was subjected to a servant's tribute! —

words which are taken in part from Deborah's satire on Reuben.[3]

[1] Judges i. 19, 34, iv. 3–16; see similar statements respecting the Philistines and others in 1 Sam. xiii. 5, 2 Sam. i. 6, viii. 4, x. 18; see also p. 130 sq., 241, 244.

[2] Gen. xlix. 14 sq.

[3] Judges v. 16.

The poet might probably have spoken very similarly of others of the northern tribes; but the easy interpretation of the name Issachar (as *he is hire* or *hired servant*) was sufficient temptation to cast upon that particular tribe the well-merited taunt.

Quite different is the method of the Book of Origins with respect to these recovered Canaanite cities. Its object being to bring into prominence the legal element, even in describing the country, it defines distinctly the several lots, as they should according to law be apportioned to each tribe, and takes no notice of those cities within the allotments which might be still inhabited by Canaanites. That its descriptions of the lots were founded on very ancient authorities, admits of no question. A remarkable illustration of this is found in the fact that it describes Gazer as still a Levitical city (p. 310), which it can have been only in the period immediately after Joshua; since after his death it was reconquered by the Canaanites (as will presently be shown), and formed till the time of Solomon a separate kingdom. But while keeping old historic data in view in describing the lots, this work yet avoids including in them the Phenician and the Philistine coasts, which the oldest historic work had treated as falling originally within the dominion of Israel. Evidently, at the time when the later work was composed, these maritime districts had been separated from Israel so long as to bar any historical claims to them.

Endeavouring from these and other very faint and scattered traces to gain some notion of these conditions in detail, we obtain a picture something like this:—

1) Judah and Ephraim, generally speaking, kept their territories the purest. Yet the latter was unable at a later time to expel the Canaanites from Gazer,[1] whose former king Horam had been conquered by Joshua;[2] and the former was obliged to endure their presence in considerable numbers in its valleys.[3] In these brief declarations of the oldest work, supplemented by what information we can elsewhere gather, we seem to discover a latent tradition of a peculiar kingdom, which must have long maintained its existence in a surprising manner, in the south-west, between Israel and the Philistines. The city of

[1] The Massorah favours the pronunciation Gezer; but the Apocrypha and Greek writings have Γάζηρα, in all probability nearer the original, in 1 Macc. iv. 15, vii. 45; or Γάζαρα; or even Γάδαρα in *Rel. Pal.* p. 779.

[2] According to Josh. x. 33, xii. 12; the LXX. read Ἐλάμ; only a few MSS. have an *r*.

[3] Both according to Judges i. 19, 29; in the corresponding passage, Josh. xvi. 10, the words ויהי לכוש עבד appear a later addition, because they are wanting in Judges i. 29; and the phrase, probably borrowed from Gen. xlix. 15, reproduced only in 1 Kings ix. 21, is elsewhere in the Book of Covenants more simply היה לכוש.

Gazer is almost as conspicuous in the south-west as the five Philistine cities; it must not however be confounded with a Gazer lying further south, which, being important from its situation and its fortification, is frequently mentioned in the wars of the Maccabees. Since its position would bring it within the territory of Ephraim, and all other indications are favourable, we can identify it with a little place Jesúr, which lies not very far inland from the port of Jâfâ (Joppa).[1] Indeed this situation first gives us a notion of its ancient importance, and leads us to another significant circumstance which is here in point. Why is this ancient Japhó, at all times the only seaport on the coast exactly west of Jerusalem, scarcely once mentioned in the whole early history of Israel,[2] though it was undoubtedly of great antiquity, and at all times equally important to central Canaan? The most probable answer is, that it was then regarded by Israel as a mere dependant of Gazer; partly from their near neighbourhood, partly because it belonged to the same Canaanite kingdom, wherefore the Greeks called it Phenician.[3] If the kingdom of Gazer was so intimately connected with this maritime city, that seawards it was even known by the latter's name, it must have had great importance for seafaring nations in early times; and we now begin to understand many a tradition of those distant ages, which otherwise would seem singular.[4] It must also be remarked that this kingdom, rising afresh out of the ruins of the ancient Canaanite power in the south, remained permanently sundered from the Sidonians and other Phenicians properly so called in the north, by the

[1] It is certainly somewhat difficult to ascertain the situation of the ancient Gazer from passages such as 2 Sam. v. 25 (1 Chron. xiv. 16); but since, according to p. 209 sq., 310, and the entirely independent narrative in Judges i. 29, and also Josh. xvi. 3, it lay on the south-western frontier of Ephraim, it may in all probability be identified with the present Jesúr, to the east of Jâfâ (Joppa). Even the *Onomast.* of the Fathers does not appear materially opposed to this notion. But the Gazer so often mentioned in the Books of Maccabees is, from 1 Macc. xiv. 34, clearly the present Jesúr south-east of Ashdod: as if the Philistines had formerly given the name Gazer to every fortified suburb. Robinson is mistaken in connecting the first Jesúr with the Ἀσώρ of the Fathers; since this is much more probably חצור, and lay to the east of Askelon, and consequently too far to the south.

[2] Only in Josh. xix. 46, in defining a boundary; and even here in such a manner as shows plainly that it did not belong to Israel. Herewith agrees the newly discovered passage in the *Theophany* of Eusebius ii. 26 (edited by Lee in Syriac). Eusebius in this remarkable passage doubtless had before him some Greek work in which the ancient wars of Israel with the Canaanites were described, and which unfortunately has not been preserved.

[3] Steph. Byz. s. v. Ἰοπή; Pliny's *Nat. Hist.* v. 14. Even in Cæsar's time, it was not regarded as properly belonging to Jerusalem and Judah, Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 6.

[4] See p. 90; and we now first understand how the Egyptian king (coming by sea by way of Joppa) could destroy this city and make it over to Solomon. Also in Strabo xvi. 2. 29 we can only understand by the *district* Gadaris the domain of this city, which had again become important.

possessions of Israel, especially of the tribe of Ephraim, which extended to the sea. It was consequently left to shape its own course, and it is marvellous how for centuries, even to the beginning of Solomon's reign, it succeeded in maintaining itself more or less independent between Israel and the Philistines. It certainly endeavoured from the very beginning to strengthen itself by prudent alliance with the Aborigines, who were most numerous and powerful in the south. In so far it was not purely Canaanite, and certain narrators call it by preference the kingdom of the Amorites (i. p. 234 sqq.).[1] No doubt the tribe of Dan, the most exposed, was very early harassed by this kingdom, as well as by the Philistines, and often probably by both together (p. 289 sq.), and was ultimately obliged to yield up cities, which could scarcely, even in prosperous times, and with the help of the powerful Ephraim, be regarded as vassals;[2] but to the east of the Philistine frontier and west of the mountains of Judah, the dominions of Gazer stretched far to the south and east.[3] This remarkable little kingdom appears however to be often called Geshur, or the kingdom of the Geshurites.[4] But this name is probably only dialectically different from Gazer; and it coincides curiously with that of another little kingdom, situated (according to p. 302) on the opposite north-eastern frontier of Israel, which also rises into view in these times, and appears also to be a restored remnant of the ancient power of the Aborigines.

But there were also many Aborigines not closely connected with this kingdom, who maintained a footing towards the south and south-east, far into the peninsula of Sinai. These were commonly called Amalekites, like those beyond the Jordan. Rallying easily from every blow, these remained for centuries on the watch for every favourable opportunity of regaining the beautiful land of their ancient possession.

2) In Benjamin's territory, the city which was to become after David the great centre of the whole nation, Jebus or Jerusalem, soon emancipated itself from its first subjugation (described p. 284), and being strongly defended by its mountainous situation and no doubt also by superior skill, remained

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 14 (see Judges i. 34-36).

[2] Harheres Ajalon (p. 251) and Shaalbim are named in Judges i. 35.

[3] According to Judges i. 36, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

[4] In Josh. xiii. 2 this kingdom only can be meant by the Geshurites, the only people spoken of as important besides the Philistines. If indeed, in 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, the Geshurites and Gazerites were named together, we must regard the two as distinct; but the latter are wanting in the LXX., and it is only in a few MSS. (according to Holmes) that both are found; and even if both names originally stood here, they might only have been strung together according to some proverbial form of speech.

afterwards unconquered throughout this entire period and down to the time of the monarchy.[1] Its territory may not have been very extensive; but its situation in the middle of the country, and not far from the chief sanctuaries of Israel, made it a dangerous position.

3) Northward of Ephraim's frontier, began the motley commixture of Hebrew and Canaanite populations, which increased more and more towards the north and north-west. Manasseh was compelled to tolerate in its midst some six or seven tolerably large Canaanite cities with considerable territories.[2] Chief among these was Beth-shean (now Baisan), afterwards called Scythopolis, lying on a well-watered oasis towards the Jordan, and on the great commercial highway between Egypt and Damascus—even down to the latest times one of the richest and most important towns. To the west of Beth-shean there were also Taanach and Megiddo, more in the centre of the country; and Dôr (now Tantûr) on the sea. By this line of towns chiefly in the great plain, Northern Canaan was for Israel almost cut off from the central country. Further north were two cities which the tribe of Zebulon was unable to hold.[3] Asher and Naphtali lastly dwelt literally 'in the midst of the Canaanites,'[4] whereas of other tribes it is merely said that Canaanites dwelt among them. In particular, the important seaport of Accho (Acre) as well as Achzib (Ekdippa) to the north of it, and probably the whole seacoast from thence to Tyre, remained unconquered.[5] On the north-east, Hazor especially (mentioned p. 253, 326) long kept free, and even became at times the seat of a widely ruling Canaanite house. Indeed on the extreme north Israel was so mingled with the powerful and influential Phenicians, that at an early period this northern frontier was called the Heathen Frontier,[6] or simply the Frontier (Galilee).[7] But this name did not become the general designation of the entire

[1] Judges i. 21; and somewhat altered by the Last Narrator, Josh. xv. 63; compared with the perfectly independent narrative in Judges xix. 11–15, 2 Sam. v. 5–9.

[2] Judges i. 27 sq. The mention of the war with 'Scythopolis and the surrounding cities' in the passage already mentioned of the *Theophany* of Eusebius ii. 66, belongs certainly to these times. On the locality of Scythopolis, see Consul Schultz in the *Hall. Lit. Zeitung* 1845, p. 667. The structure of this leading passage is found more perfect in Josh. xvii. 11–13 (comp. xii. 20–22); except that in ver. 11, the words בישׁשכר ובאשׁר seem to be interpolated from elsewhere. The easiest solution might be that En-dor, not far from Tabor, belonged properly to Issachar.

[3] Judges i. 30, comp. Josh. xix. 15; according to which one of the two names, קטרון or קטת must be incorrect.

[4] Judges i. 31–33; comp. 27, 29.

[5] Perhaps Dora also was even in these early times independent: Josephus *Ag. Ap.* ii. 9, calls it shortly Phenician.

[6] Is. viii. 23 [ix. 1].

[7] Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 32, 1 Kings ix. 11, 2 Kings xv. 29; comp. the 'Borders of the Philistines' in Josh. xiii. 2 and Joel iv. 4 [iii. 4], and the 'Borders of the Jordan,' in Josh. xxii. 11.

northern third of the land till the third period of the history of Israel, after the separation of Samaria.

Times certainly occurred when Israel became powerful enough to make many of these cities tributary;[1] but they had meanwhile regained so much of their former independence, that Israel was fain to content itself with having them as vassals. And thus these relations took everywhere a different and a variable form. There were certain cities, which (according to p. 250 sq.) remained from the very beginning under Israel's protectorate, others which gradually gained strength and became not indeed wholly free, but more or less independent.

That the former inhabitants of the land were far from being completely or quickly repressed or annihilated, may be frequently perceived from the names of the places themselves. A powerful conquering nation likes to give its own names even to the localities of a new country, especially when the country has been almost abandoned by its former inhabitants. With what buoyant pleasure Israel also gave new names at first to its newly acquired cities, we saw at pp. 190, 206 *note*, and certainly many such new Israelite names have been perpetuated. But on the whole, the great majority of local names evidently remained very much as before; and it is very instructive to follow this out. If the many names of places compounded with *Baal*, do not all necessarily point to a Canaanite god, all those formed with *Dagon*[2] and *Rimmon*[3] certainly do. The frequent Kirjahs, Timnahs, Gaths, Abels, all probably belong to the earliest times; and the Ramahs, Gibeahs, and Mizpehs, to the Israelite invaders.

2. The Eastern Nations.

After Deborah's decisive victories all great enterprises on the part of these once-conquered internal foes came to a stand-still; and the remnant of the Canaanites, as we have just described, endeavoured only to maintain a footing in small isolated districts. But the dangers which threatened Israel from its numerous eastern neighbours continued, after short intermissions, with increasing violence. Few as are the particulars which we can now distinctly ascertain of any such menacing assaults of eastern nations, because no vivid remembrance seems to have

[1] See Judges i. 28.

[2] Even where the Philistines never penetrated, Josh. xix. 27, comp. xv. 41. There still exists a Beit-Dejan east of Joppa, by Nablous. That Dagon was originally not an exclusively Philistine deity, is shown in my treatise *Uber die Phönik. Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung*, p. 12 sq.

[3] Still later the name of a Syrian deity; but places named after him are still found from northern Syria to the peninsula of Sinai.

been preserved of any but the most violent and lasting of such wars, we can in general perceive that they must have all had a common character in origin, mode, and extent. For of invasions by Aramean nations there is no trace, after the wars which occurred somewhere about the first century of this period (p. 302 sq.). These wars and conquests therefore proceed always from the two nations cognate to Israel, Moab and Ammon, whose territory was greatly narrowed by Israel, or from the nomadic Arabian populations dwelling beyond and partially among them. Thus the chief cause of these contests is probably to be found in the dispersion of Israel over the wide Transjordanic districts, and in the constant friction thence arising. We see disputes, of which the quarrel between Abraham's and Lot's herdsmen might serve as the type; but here in historical times the issue is not always so happy as there. (See i. p. 299 sq.) Now when any one of these small nations beyond the Jordan had successfully risen against one of the Israelite tribes on that side, which from the increasing disintegration of Israel would not always prove difficult, there was a great temptation to cross the Jordan and assail the almost equally disunited tribes on the western side. In so doing these populations would only repeat against Israel what Israel had before successfully dared against the Canaanites; and the rich western land necessarily had always great attractions for any races on the other side.

We see clearly described in the case of Jephthah, how, after vanquishing the Ammonites beyond the Jordan, he crosses the river to exterminate them on the nearer side also, and succeeds without any help from the western tribes.[1] And just as Israel had formerly crossed the Jordan at Gilgal, and long held its camp there while occupied with the conquest of the western land, so Eglon, king of Moab, set up his royal seat almost at the very same spot, till he fell by Ehud's hand.[2]

At the first glance it is certainly striking, that Moab, towards whom the conduct of Israel under Moses had been friendly (p. 202 sqq.), now first appears as a dangerous enemy. What immediate motive incited this people to war against Israel we no longer know; but from the fact which has come down to us in the scanty records of those times,[3] that Moab conducted the war at the head of a great federation of the Ammonites and Amalekites, we may conclude that the tribes of Israel beyond the Jordan had given occasion to many disputes with their

[1] Judges xi. 32 sq., xii. 1, 3; comp. x. 9.
[2] Judges iii. 19 sqq.
[3] Judges iii. 13, see ver. 14 on the duration of the war.

neighbours, because otherwise a people so peaceably disposed as the Ammonites were at first towards Israel, would not have taken part in the war. We saw (p. 206 sq.) with what buoyant courage the tribes Reuben and Gad, directly upon their settlement, rebuilt old towns, and imposed on them, as the seal of their conquest, new names, which indeed were probably not long retained, except by a very few. This daring spirit harmonises exactly with the defiant humour of the old popular song in those regions, which exhorts the conquered to rebuild cities which they would never again be able to rebuild (p. 206). Such an audacious temper may easily (as Jacob's Blessing finely says of Reuben)[1] bubble over like water; and the further these tribes were removed from the central authority of Israel, the more frequent would be such insolence towards strangers. But if in consequence a ferment of discontent against Israel became general beyond the Jordan, the populations of those regions would naturally entrust the conduct of the war to Moab, which in early times seems to have been the most considerable power there; and if it had lost much shortly before Israel's invasion (p. 202 sqq.), it might now hope to regain much by conquest. This war lasted according to the tradition eighteen years; and Israel must therefore have found it by no means easy to terminate. Its ultimate issue must have humbled Moab considerably, as from that time forth it never again appears at the head of a league against Israel; of Ammon also we hear nothing more for a long time. Unfortunately for us, with the conquest of such a nation we always lose almost all the particulars of its history in the period immediately following.[2]

But these two settled nations being thus weakened, the nomad tent-dwellers in the desert beyond might for that very reason become stronger and more dangerous to Israel; and thus, near the middle of this period, we behold the novel spectacle of a mere desert-tribe, the Midianites, becoming for seven years the scourge of Israel. This is the only time when the Midianites form a deep impression as powerful enemies on the history of Israel (p. 181 sq.); and no less a hero than Gideon, the

[1] Gen. xlix. 3 sq.

[2] We might for instance enquire whether this was the commencement of the time in which according to 1 Chron. iv. 22, two once famous men of the tribe of Judah, Joash and Saraph, *ruled over Moab?* But closer examination shews that the words in ver. 22 sq. must have a very different meaning and signify, with the emendation necessary to restore a better construction, that they had married into Moab; and taken wives from thence (legendum וַיָּשֻׁבוּ לָהֶם), and were according to the old stories (legendum יוֹצְרִים עַת) skilful potters in the service of the king (of Moab). See my *Alterthümer*, p. 296. This is at all events an important fragment of narrative with regard to early arts and manners, and agrees with other recollections of Moab.

greatest whom those centuries produced, was needed to overcome them. It appears, indeed, from many indications, that this singular Arabian people were in those early times very much what the Carthaginians, originating in a neighbouring region, afterwards became; devoted principally to commerce, but on favourable occasions to conquest also, to which end they wisely availed themselves of the services of the children of the desert. Distantly connected with Israel by blood and friendship (p. 44 sq.), Midian was really only a small nation. It may originally have occupied only a small territory in north-western Arabia, near Tebûk; for the city Madjan, whose ruins were shown even in Abulfida's time,[1] lay on the Arabian Gulf, opposite and to the east of the southern point of the peninsula of Sinai. No situation could be better adapted for an extensive commerce in all directions; and if we hear nothing of the Midianites as seafarers, we know at least that they were in early times the regular caravan-traders for Canaan.[2] Monarchy was unknown to them, as to the Carthaginians,[3] yet they must in very early times have possessed the art of bringing about a great union of Arabian tribes under their own leadership, and even of employing them in war for their own advantage, in which they may easily have acquired somewhat of the notorious 'Punic faith,' since such war was waged for selfish ends, and not for their country's cause. Thus we saw Midian ruling in the Sinaitic peninsula over Amalekite Arabs (p. 44); but through its allies, the Arabs of the desert, it also ruled over regions far to the east towards the Euphrates. To Israel, even in the time of Moses,

[1] *Géogr.* p. 86 sq. of the Paris edition, 1840; comp. Edrîsi i. pp. 328-330, 333. Jaub.; Hamza's *Arab. Annals* p. 90 sq., and the 'Shu'aib's Caverns' مغار شعيب (p. 44), mentioned by al Birûni in the *Mémoires de l'Institut* 1851, p. 488; see also Seetzen's *Reisen* ii. p. 340; Rüppell's *Nubien* p. 221, *Abyss.* i. p. 149. With this agrees the account of Μαδιανή in Ptolemy's *Geogr.* (under *Arabia Petræa*), and still more distinctly that in the *Onomast.* of the Fathers, s.v. Μαδιάμ; although in the last sentence of the *Onomast.*, both in the Greek and in the Latin of Jerome, a singular confusion has crept in, founded on Is. xvi. 2 and Num. xxv. In the Old Testament, the *City of* Midian appears distinctly only in one passage, 1 Kings xi. 18; in it the Prince Hadad of Edom took refuge when flying to the south-east from Israel, and was able easily to betake himself thence to Paran, and afterwards to Egypt.

[2] Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36; comp. i. p. 417, also in Judges viii. 24, the general name Ishmaelites is exchanged for Midianites.

[3] The five princes conquered by Moses are indeed called kings in Num. xxxi. 8; but that this is here an indefinite title, signifying no more than princes, is evident from Josh. xiii. 21. The same observation applies to the two princes of Midian in Judges viii. 5, 26, compared with vii. 25. The very fact that several are always named together goes against the supposition of a monarchy. The later Arabs still call the 'kings' of Midian, الرقام, just as even under Moses one of their princes is called *Rekem*; see Caussin de Perceval's *Hist. des Arabes* i. p. 20. How far the name of the city mentioned p. 193, *note* (comp. also رقمليا under Bardesan in Cureton's *Spic. Syr.* p. 15) may be historically connected with this, is shown by the history of the Nabateans.

it was alternately friendly and hostile (pp. 181, 213 sq.). Of its present cause for commencing a war of extermination, we have no particulars. Midian was no doubt incited to the war by the Canaanites, whom Deborah had with such difficulty conquered, and who must have had many commercial ties with it, and was further encouraged by the universal weakness into which Israel seemed to be lapsing, just when Midian itself again stood at the head of a large confederacy of Arabian tribes.[1] Thus, the people of the desert, when the eastern barrier-lands on the Jordan had fallen before them, pushed on into the western country, and held sway there, as is expressly stated, as far as Gaza in the extreme south-west, overflowing all the plains.[2] It is also distinctly recorded, that their rule was far more terrible than that of Moab and such-like stationary peoples. Israel fled before them, either to the strong mountain-summits, which nomads could hardly besiege with success, or into caves, where there were such; and where there were not, artificial caves were formed[3] in the mountains as a refuge. For like all true roving races, the Midianites, when victorious, plundered and utterly wasted every district they entered, killing or dragging with them every living thing. If their hordes at times melted away, or retired in great numbers with their booty in the autumn, and the inhabitants ventured forth to sow their grain in the spring, fresh swarms swept presently over the land, trampling down the young crops with their camels and herds. Thus vivid was the memory which Israel retained of these its worst enemies. Even in the days of later narrators, the subterranean hiding-places then constructed by Israel in its fear, were still to be seen. But the victory gained at last by Gideon was so decisive that Israel had thenceforward no more to dread in that quarter, and Midian never again made war at the head of such numerous peoples. Another victory, which would hardly have been mentioned at all if it had not been very important,[4] was gained over Midian by Hadad, king of Edom, on the territory of Moab, which consequently must have been also subdued. This victory seems to belong to the same period, and to be a secondary result of the great victories of Gideon.

Towards the end of this period, another people of the same region emerges into notice—Ammon; which in early times was

[1] Judges vi. 3, vii. 12.

[2] Judges vi. 1–6.

[3] מנהרות Judges vi. 2, properly *Canals*, from *flowing*, may signify artificial excavations or shafts (which are generally damp), just as well as the similar words in Job xxviii. 3, 10, 11.

[4] In Gen. xxxvi. 35 it appears as a very memorable act of this king of Edom. As he was the fourth before the last king of Edom, he cannot at all events have lived *before* Gideon.

weaker than its 'elder brother' Moab, but which, now that Moab had lost the upper hand, was growing gradually to greater independence, and aiming at supremacy. We no longer know the immediate causes by which from this time forth Ammon was impelled to repeated attacks upon the dominions of Israel. The reason which its king, when questioned by Jephthah, brought forward from ancient history—that Israel under Moses had taken land from Ammon and from Moab—was, as usual in such disputes, only a decent pretext, which moreover Jephthah did not allow.[1] It is however clear, that this people's struggles for supremacy were suppressed by Israel with much more difficulty than those of the kindred nation Moab at the beginning of the period. It is true that this people is said to have held the supremacy for only eighteen years[2]—the same period as was assigned to Moab; but the victory which Jephthah gained over them, beyond as well as on this side of the Jordan, was so far from permanently breaking their power, that under Samuel, according to the express statement of the extant narratives, they again seriously endangered the city of Jabesh in Gilead, and no doubt all Israel's possessions beyond the Jordan: which, but for Saul's unexpected succour, they would have conquered.[3] And as this attack upon Jabesh has evidently been particularly remembered only on account of its curious coincidence with the beginning of Saul's reign, how many similar unchronicled incursions and successes may there have been![4] As, moreover, the courage of the nomad races increased with the ruin of Moab's supremacy, we see that shortly after Saul's victories over Ammon it became necessary to chastise Amalek.[5] Under the monarchy, lastly, Edom was drawn into the number of Israel's foes.

[1] Judges xi. 12–28; comp. Josh. xiii. 25, and p. 204 sqq. A similar pretext, taken from the early history, is employed by Israel against Amalek, at a time when it certainly deserved chastisement for much nearer reasons, 1 Sam. xv. 2 sq. Yet such pretexts are hardly ever mere invention; of which fact we might here find frequent proof.

[2] Judges x. 8.

[3] 1 Sam. xi, compared with xii. 12.

[4] Possibly during these wars Chepharhaammonai (*Ammonites' village*) in Benjamin, mentioned in Josh. xviii. 23, had its origin; with which we may compare the *Edomite Ascent* on the northern boundary of Judah to the east of Jerusalem; Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 17 (a عقبة الدم was lately found by Consul Schultz in that neighbourhood). In any case these names, just in these places, show that Ammonites and Edomites once crossed the Jordan and remained long here, even though it may have been before Moses' time. Gilgal is a similar case with regard to Israel; p. 244 sq. But all the more easily were such districts afterwards claimed by the Edomites, even down to the first destruction of Jerusalem.

[5] 1 Sam. xv.

3. New Philistine Kingdoms.

All these assaults from the east, partially destructive as they may have been, are surpassed in violence and duration by an assault in the second half of this period from a hitherto totally unexpected quarter, whose overpowering force made by far the deepest impression upon Israel, and in the end contributed most powerfully to the entire alteration of the old national constitution. It has been already shown (i. p. 242 sqq.) that the Philistines cannot be supposed to have held any strong position on the southern coast before the arrival of Israel in Canaan. Even in Deborah's time the tribe Dan dwelt powerful and quiet by the sea-shore, occupied with navigation.[1] It must certainly have been after this, and not long before Samson's time, that the Philistines acquired new strength by fresh arrivals from Crete and other western regions. Even the migration of a portion of the tribe Dan (mentioned p. 289 sq.) can hardly have been effected before this new Philistine preponderance.[2] But after they had once settled there with fresh power, the Philistines, brave in war, and inferior to none in the arts and cunning of life, developed a persistency in the endeavour to conquer the whole of Canaan and destroy the Hebrew ascendancy, which in itself would sufficiently show what fresh, untamed energy lived within them, and how essentially they differed from the Canaanites, as well as from Moab and Ammon. If, indeed, the time of this nation's earliest appearance in Canaan in the first freshness of its strength had not coincided with that of Israel's growing weakness and disintegration, the collision between the two nations would have been very different. But now, for more than a century, Israel is unable to protect itself from this new enemy, and is in danger of being quite worn out by the frequent attacks. The Philistines first became powerful in those eighteen years when Ammon held rule in the east;[3] but soon afterwards, about Samson's time, another and a forty years' supremacy is ascribed to them;[4] and then we hear perpetually of their wars under Eli, Samuel, Saul, and David. What a formidable shape this people's warlike character at last assumed in the imagination of the tribes may be appreciated from the one circumstance that the fear of giants, which had in Moses' time scared back

[1] Judges v. 17.

[2] A special confirmation of this view is afforded by the early Egyptian inscription, according to which Askelon was inhabited by Canaanites as late as the time of king Rameses; see Brugsch's *Hist. d'Égypte* i. p. 146.

[3] According to Judges x. 7 sqq.

[4] Judges xiii. 1.

the people so disgracefully from Canaan (p. 175), now first reappears with regard to the Philistines. The popular legend of the great giant Goliath expresses in fact nothing but this popular dread, strengthened by unhappy experience, which the stripling David was the first to dispel.[1] In a word, by the settlement of this singular people in the south-west, and the coincidence of its dominion with that of Ammon in the north-east, was raised up in Canaan a stone of offence, at which Israel must stumble, to its utter destruction, unless it could shake off the confusions and weaknesses which had imperceptibly been undermining its strength; as under similar circumstances the Greeks were compelled to nerve their strength to encounter the Persians, and the Romans to meet the Gauls.

But, for an intimate knowledge of this people, it is a serious defect that our extant authorities give no clear picture of its history till after Samuel's time. They were then divided into five little kingdoms: Ekron (Hellenised into *Akkaron*), Gath, Ashdod, Askelon, and Gaza. At the head of each was a Prince, called in the native tongue *Seren*, and often spoken of by the corresponding Hebrew word *Sar*, or else *King*; but in all important affairs these five princes always acted in unison, as if no difference could possibly arise between them, and as if they were held together by some higher power, which was probably not so much a common bond of alliance, as the strong national and patriotic feeling which then made all their states strong and united against strangers.

Of Egyptian campaigns we hear nothing in the traditions of these ages. It is nevertheless not impossible that a brief incursion without permanent results may have happened, since all the extant accounts of the two first centuries are very much condensed; but an important war between Egypt and Israel can hardly have occurred.[2]

III. Internal Results of the Disintegration.

1. The Confederate Cities.

The internal forces, naturally much more complex and difficult to follow than the external, are in this period especially obscure and perplexing, because no full descriptions have come

[1] Just as in Rome tales were told of Gallic giants, Livy vii. 26 and elsewhere.

[2] The campaigns of Rameses the Great or Sesostris belong moreover to an earlier period; see *Göt. Gel. Anz.* 1852, p. 1159 sq. The detailed accounts of the conquests of Rameses II. in Palestine (Brugsch's *Hist. d'Égypte* i. p. 140 sqq.) are not yet determined as to chronology at least, since that adopted by Brugsch is only that of Lepsius.

down to us of any but a few luminous points in the night of those dark and retrograde times. So far however as available authorities and reliable traces conduct us, we see precisely the effects which were to be expected from such a steady though imperceptible process of disorganisation. The disorganisation of the nation as a whole, extending slowly but persistently from above downwards, increasing through external weakness and helplessness, which it had itself originally called into being, now leads gradually on to a virtual annihilation of all the human powers that guide the state. The High Priest's authority, we have already seen (p. 312 sq.), hung from the beginning on a very slender thread, depending chiefly on the personal superiority of each holder of the office, and on the influence of the religion which it represented and maintained; but how difficult to maintain such almost purely spiritual dignity by mere inheritance, throughout all changes of time and human vicissitudes! and how easily would this bond of union with the entire people be loosened, if the first pure inspiration of Moses' and Joshua's days should gradually die out amid new conditions and perplexities! Certainly this authority never wholly ceased; its continued influence in the very heart of the kingdom and at the Sanctuary, as far as such influence was possible, is assumed as a recognised fact (and indeed with the highest probability) in the vivid narrative in Judges xx; even if the 'Phinehas, son of Eleazar' (p. 313), there named as the High Priest 'standing before Jahveh,' had nothing distinguished about him but his name.[1] That the popular Assembly, in great or very urgent national concerns, still met at the Sanctuary and not only formed but carried out resolutions, we see plainly from this example; although the intimidation by means of which the Assembly was then brought together and roused to punish an act of domestic cruelty[2] shows plainly how difficult it had become to bring about any united action of all the tribes. How

[1] Ver. 28: I mean with the intention of showing that the event occurred in the second generation after Moses, and therefore, according to the ancient mode of calculation, during the lifetime of Aaron's grandson.

[2] The dismemberment of the woman who met her death by this atrocious deed, and the sending the twelve parts to the twelve tribes, Judges xix. 29 sq. Saul's method of accompanying the message to the tribes by pieces of two sacrificial oxen, in 1 Sam. xi. 7, was intended to operate as a religious menace, and is expressly stated not to have failed of its purpose. In like manner it was formerly the custom in Norway to send out the war-arrow; and in Scotland a fire-brand with both ends dipped in blood was despatched as a war-token: Guizot's *English Revolution* i. p. 139, Macaulay's *History* i. and a not less striking token of the same nature is the bloody sacrifice mentioned in my *Alterthümer*, p. 78. On an existing Hindu practice of this kind, which appears now much softened from the influence of modern habits, see Ouomander's *Altes und Neues aus den Ländern des Ostens* i. p. 206 sq.

low the High Priest's authority sank, till it was in the end almost extinct, is shown, not only by the rise of the new office of the Judges, but by the attempt hazarded by Eli towards the end of this period to regain for the pontificate its original splendid position; on both which points we shall speak hereafter.

It would now certainly have been possible for any tribe that retained any degree of independence, firmly to maintain its own separate constitution under Elders of the tribe; indeed the ancient freedom of the nation, still inviolate, demanded no less. This primitive tribal constitution might really spring up with vigour, all the greater on account of the general decay; and where it still retained its vitality, it could not but exercise a salutary power in arresting the insidious progress of national disorganisation. We still know precisely, that at the head of every tribe originally stood a 'Prince,' to whom was committed the management of internal affairs; but among the 'Elders' he could only be regarded as first among equals. Many tribes must still have retained this constitution, based on strict unity.[1] What strong feelings of the honour of the tribe, without regard to the merit of its cause, were occasionally preserved from the Premosaic to this later period and held all the more tenaciously now the tribes were so isolated, is shown in an example occurring in the small tribe of Benjamin. This tribe, impelled merely by such tribe-prejudices, unanimously took up the cause of one of its cities when threatened with national vengeance for its atrocities, and encountered in its behalf a desperate war against all the other tribes.[2]

But in the growing anarchy of the period it was only natural that most of the tribes should by degrees be affected by the contagion; their ancient self-government dying out as they formed themselves anew into larger groups (p. 315 sqq.). In central and northern Canaan especially, many traces show that about the middle of this period a civic constitution arose, by which the bond of the tribe was still further relaxed. This remarkable phenomenon was not without important results even for later times. If we put ourselves in imagination into the

[1] The Book of Origins even legally prescribes them, introducing them as individually appointed by Moses himself, Num. xxxiv. 16–29, comp. Josh. xxii. 14. The names of these twelve are unquestionably historical; among them appears Caleb (p. 284) as the prince of Judah. The princes of Reuben and Gad are wanting here, because mention is made of the western side of the Jordan only; but the prince of Gad may be supplied from 1 Chron. v. 12. Their official authority is magnified by the old law of the days of the Judges in Ex. xxii. 27. As late as the beginning of the Assyrian captivity a prince of Reuben is mentioned, 1 Chron. v. 6.

[2] Judges xix–xxi.

state of the country when ruled by the sons of Gideon surnamed Jerubbaal or Baal's Antagonist, and read rightly the very graphic narrative contained in Judges ix, it becomes clear that Shechem must have been at that time virtually a free city. Its *Lords* or citizens act with perfect independence on the gravest occasions; set up a king of their own blood, and then not only revolt speedily against their own creature in his absence, but forthwith exercise within their precincts severe retribution upon him and upon any merchants whom he may have protected and furnished with letters of safe-conduct,[1] as only a city accustomed to self-government would do. They are compelled notwithstanding to endure the garrison maintained there by the Prince, which may have retained adherents among the minority of the citizens; yet in defiance of this garrison they receive within their walls a leader hostile to the Prince,[2] with more and more of his men to aid them in their defence; and then on the approach of danger force him to keep his promise. Can anything be imagined more closely resembling the history of the German and Italian towns in the Middle Ages? It might indeed be urged that Shechem acted thus only as the capital of central Canaan, of the tribe of Ephraim, and consequently of all the tribes (p. 278). But not only is this city represented in the narrative as acting without the slightest reference to Ephraim or to any combination of tribes, but it evidently occupied the position of chief city in a sort of civic league; just as the free cities of Europe in the Middle Ages always endeavoured to secure themselves by mutual alliances. The Baal-berith, i.e. the 'Covenant-god,' was just then, as tradition relates, the favourite deity;[3] there was in Shechem a temple to him—evidently his principal temple. Not only was its treasury very rich, but it was applied precisely to the military purposes of the city.[4] It was an unusually large temple; and ultimately, when the fortunes of the city were on the decline, all the inhabitants of the fortress took refuge in it, preferring to perish with it.[5] It is impossible not to perceive that Shechem, as its ancient importance and greatness well deserved, was thereby marked out as the head of a great civic league. We are indeed now unable

[1] No other interpretation can be given to the brief words (sufficiently intelligible in their connection) in ver. 25: king Abimelech, it is plain, was then greatly engaged in a distant region, and could not give immediate assistance.

[2] In ver. 29 לגעל בן יובל must necessarily be read instead of לאבימלך, as it is impossible otherwise to extract any tolerable meaning. On the topography of Shechem, the hill Salmon, and the so-called Jotham's Pulpit, see John Mills' *Nabloos* p. 58 sqq., 76 sqq., *Göt. Gel. Anz.* 1865, p. 1671 sq.

[3] Judges viii. 33.

[4] Judges ix. 3 sq.

[5] Judges ix. 46–49.

to name any other city belonging to the federation except Thebez on the north-east, which king Abimelech was obliged to besiege after the fall of Shechem, and where he met an ignominious death through the daring of a courageous woman.[1] But the reason is simply this, that on account of that prince's death the narrative, short as it is, could not avoid mentioning this particular city. But the example of such free civic life and civic leagues was obviously given to these northern regions by their Phenician neighbours and by the ancient Canaanite customs. It is self-evident that the old tribal relations and the division into lots had now lost all real meaning, and that a new principle now predominated, which gave trading and manufacturing cities exclusive franchises and means of prosperity, and even supremacy in the country. It is also easy to understand that with this new federal constitution the new Covenant-god, with his temples, should have been introduced from Phenicia, to take his place beside the ancient national God Jahveh.[2] Indeed even this short narrative speaks for itself as to the sudden spread of Canaanite ideas, besides the worship of the Covenant-Baal. For when Gaal, son of Jobel,[3] marching into Shechem against Abimelech's lieutenant, exclaims to the populace: 'Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? Is he not son of Baal's antagonist, and Zebul his lieutenant? *Serve the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem!* and why should *we* serve this man?' he here is allowed without protest to exalt the posterity of the Canaanite inhabitants of Shechem and its neighbourhood (i. p. 378 sq.), among whom he reckons himself and his warriors, above the chiefs of Hebrew blood,[4] and recalls with effect the ancient Canaanite renown of the city. Indeed we are here justified in going an important step further. As a free city-life and a civic league like this do not spring up in a moment, and as the great Gideon, whose sons and successors were destroyed with the help of his bastard Abimelech by Shechem, the seat of the worship of the Covenant-Baal, bears the name and fame of 'Baal's Antagonist,' we have a right to assume further that the beginning of this league and of the Covenant-Baal's worship date from Gideon's time, and

[1] Judges ix. 50–57.

[2] The 'Covenant-Baal,' Judges viii. 33, ix. 4, is in ix. 46 named more in accordance with Hebrew idiom, the 'Covenant-God.'

[3] The LXX. adopt throughout this chapter an intrinsically more probable reading, יובל for עבר; יעבל is also more likely to be an ancient Canaanite name.

[4] Zebul was according to this the commander of the city, who was friendly to the Hebrew king, and could therefore be compared by Gaal in ver. 28 with Shechem, who according to Gen. xxxiv. went over to Israel.

that he bravely and successfully withstood the Canaanite customs, and was therefore surnamed 'Baal's Antagonist;' until his 70 sons and successors perished in the struggle, and thus after Gideon's death the Covenant-Baal became, as tradition has it, the 'Favourite god.'

The further fortunes of this civic life we cannot follow in detail; internal dissensions and the growing power of the Philistines may have injured it not a little; yet the northern portion of the country always retained a decided inclination to a freer, or even quite unshackled national life. There lay the great danger of Absalom's revolt; and thence proceeded the irrepressible demands for freedom after Solomon's death, when Shechem was again the place of meeting and centre of agitation.

The relaxation of the tribal bond in the region beyond Jordan was accelerated by other causes, mentioned at p. 323. This is evident even from the circumstance, that in the history of this and the following centuries we almost always hear of the land of 'Gilead.' The several tribes of Gad and Reuben being little mentioned or distinguished—not at all, indeed, in any relation to the state, as independent and self-contained tribes,—the term 'land of Gilead'—the general name for all the country inhabited by Israel beyond the Jordan, with its countless small territories, all claiming independence—takes their place. In the song of Deborah Gilead is still used to designate Gad beyond Jordan, in contradistinction to Reuben;[1] this distinction is afterwards obliterated in the wider use of the name Gilead. Even where such weighty matters are in question as the formal transfer of the supreme power to a single individual, the transaction is conducted by 'the Elders of Gilead'[2] only; under which appellation the land of Bashan in the north may also be included.[3] We have other evidence to the same effect. The dissevered 'half Manasseh' could not strictly be regarded as having any further connection with the tribes; and it is expressly related, that on one occasion of a great national Assembly the city Jabesh in Gilead, out of pure caprice, entirely excluded itself;[4] which could not have happened, had it still belonged to the union of tribes.

2. Manners of the Levites.

If the canker-worm of internal decay was thus eating into the vitals of the constitution both of nation and of tribes, and the

[1] Judges v. 15–17; comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 7.
[2] Judges xi. 4–11.
[3] As Deut. xxxiv. 1.
[4] Judges xxi. 5–12.

highest powers of the state, as they were when first established, were tottering to their fall,—we cannot wonder that the priestly caste, whose duty, as protector of the Jahveh-religion in which the political constitution was included, was strenuously to resist the growing corruption, was on the contrary itself tainted by the infection. It is unfortunately too frequent an experience, that the classes which occupy a middle place between the highest and the lowest, even when they are especially bound to the protection of spiritual interests, seem to imbibe the pestilential influences from above, more fatally than those who dwell lower. If moreover such a caste is endowed, as the tribe of Levi was, with permanent worldly possessions, which may in the beginning appear useful and necessary, but which in fact chain it down tighter and tighter to aims and wishes most incompatible with its true office; and if the office is at the same time hereditary, so that sons and grandsons are tempted to look only to its worldly advantages; then the resistance of this privileged class to the ruin which creeps down over the whole community, will scarcely be whole-hearted and effective. With the degeneracy and disgrace of the ruling powers, this body also will sink; with their return to a better spirit and higher repute, it will rise again. We shall in the course of this history find this to be the case with regard to the tribe Levi.

It would no doubt be a great mistake to suppose that this tribe had already sunk as low in the estimation of the people, or fallen away as far from the religion of Jahveh as in the days of the great Prophets. According to the last author of the Book of Judges, indeed, it might appear so; since he speaks of the people's continual relapses into the worship of strange gods, Baal, Astarte, and others, which is scarcely conceivable without the participation of the priesthood. But it has been already explained (i. p. 162 sq.) how the vague and general pictures of the dark side of that period, given by that writer, are to be understood. If we were to take too literally such generalisations of later writers with regard to this period, they would be inconsistent with the more ancient authorities, no less than with the real facts of the case. With respect to actual worship of other gods,[1] we have in the first place only the ancient testimony, that from the causes above explained (p. 342 sqq.), temples were dedicated in the northern cities to Baal-berith. Of course, however, men capable of such folly and

[1] That an expression in Deborah's Song, Judges v. 8, has been incorrectly brought forward in this connection, needs no further explanation: see my *Dichter des Alten Bundes* i. p. 126.

weakness might at other times adore other false gods. Periods of indolence, disorganisation, and the voluptuousness and cruelty which were here and there becoming apparent, are favourable to the worship of many new gods; besides which the remains of old superstitions long continued to exist in secret.[1] But taking a broad general view of these centuries, it is impossible not to perceive, that a living memory of the high standard which life had attained through Jahveh was still too deeply rooted in the popular mind, and the general state of the nation, as compared with other nations, had still too much primitive simplicity and straightforwardness, for any great intentional apostasy from Jahveh to have been possible. All the expressions which have come to us from these centuries or even from the time of David, flow from the almost unshaken feeling that none but Jahveh is Israel's God, and scarcely breathe the possibility of any other god being ever worshipped by Israel in the Holy Land. Jahveh is Israel's God and giver of victory, as Chemosh is Moab's God and giver of victory, says Jephthah.[2] In these words is fully expressed the feeling of joy and confidence which pervaded these centuries, against which such isolated exceptions as that of the Covenant-Baal can prove but little. The great apostasy from Jahveh to other gods begins only after Solomon, from causes which only that period could originate. Isolated instances may however have often occurred still earlier, even where we cannot now prove their existence.

In like manner, during this period there was long paid to the Levites a certain unqualified childlike reverence; as if the memory of the glorious days of Moses and the greatness of the tribe Levi under him still threw on the person of a Levite a peculiar splendour. We have seen (p. 308 sqq.) how this feeling was shown at the time of the occupation of the country; and how powerful must once have been the spiritual influence of this tribe, we may judge by the continued and at length superstitious awe of the Levite priest and his oracle; as shown in the extremely clear narrative of Judges xvii, xviii, and in the whole life of David. The cruelty perpetrated by the *canaille* of a Benjamite city on the concubine of a Levite (Judges xix–xxi)

[1] See my *Alterthümer* p. 255 sq.

[2] Judges xi. 25. The prophets after the ninth century indeed speak of the false gods of their fathers: Amos ii. 4 (on his notions of time see ix. 11); and especially Jer. ix. 13, xi. 10, xiv. 20, xvi. 11 sq., xxiii. 27; see, especially with reference to the chronology, xxiii. 39, xxxii. 31, xliv. 9, 17. But these expressions are of a very general character, and no period has been without occasional deflexions into idolatry. On Moses' time the passage of Amos v. 27–29 would be more decisive, if it really had the sense given it by the LXX. and retained in Acts vii. 42 sq. But this is not the original meaning, as I have shown long since in my *Propheten des Alten Bundes* i, and elsewhere.

is the furthest possible from proving the contrary, since the wrath of the whole people thereby aroused was of the hottest and most determined character.

In two respects, however, we cannot but see how the Levites were affected by the corruption of the time. In the first place, many of them took up unsettled habits, and accordingly hired themselves where they were best paid. No doubt the general loss of fixity in all national relations at that time contributed very much to this change of habits. If, for example, one or another of the cities, which as we have seen (p. 309) were assigned to the Levites as their portion at the occupation of the country, was conquered, or became a permanent possession of the enemy,[1] the Levites had to go forth to seek a dwelling elsewhere. But they thus became more and more dependent on the vicissitudes and pressure of the times, as well as on the caprice of those with whom they bartered their position and abilities for bread. We cannot therefore wonder that, in the second place, a dangerous tendency to materialise the Jahveh-religion became prevalent with most of them. The populace too would for the most part like best to behold their Jahveh in the form and fashion of their old household-gods, to set up a gorgeous image of him in their houses, and seek an oracle from him in the manner to which they had been accustomed from the ancient Premosaic time (i. p. 321 sq.). The deeper Mosaic ideas gradually lost their freshness and sharpness, as the clear daylight of the Mosaic period sank deeper and deeper in the mists of remote history; and in this general decay how should the fear of Moses' reproving aspect retain its power to scathe, as it once did, the apostates from the spiritual religion? The lower view of the Jahveh-religion was manifestly on the increase; even Judges favoured it,[2] and most of the priests no doubt preferred rather to resemble Aaron,[3] who yielded to the pleasure of the people, than Moses, who was wroth against it. We still possess in Judges xvii, xviii. a story which describes very vividly these two allurements to which the priesthood now sacrificed its higher dignity.

A young man, Micah of the mountains of Ephraim, whose father seems to have died early, takes to himself a hereditary property of 1100 pieces of silver, entrusted to his mother, to trade with.[4] His mother's blessing accompanies him, and his affairs prosper rapidly. Like a dutiful son, he restores to her

[1] As we see, pp. 310, 328 sq. in the case of Gazer.

[2] Even the great Gideon, Judges viii. 27.

[3] Ex. xxxii; see p. 182 sqq.

[4] The absurd notion that Micah confesses to having stolen the money from his

the amount of the money formerly in her charge; but she, with true maternal feeling, returns the gift, by having part of it converted into a gorgeous image of God, to be thenceforward the protector of his house. As priest to this god, who is soon set up in a little domestic temple, he first appoints one of his own sons. But a young Levite of Bethlehem in Judah, where he had probably been born during the flight of his parents, and hitherto lived among strangers, comes by in search of employment, and gains the favour of the Ephraimite, who makes him his domestic priest to their mutual satisfaction. But the priest gives a favourable oracle to five spies of the tribe of Dan who pass that way, and who afterwards discover a very suitable place for a new settlement at the city Laish in the far north (p. 290). The same men subsequently conduct 600 armed men of their tribe to Laish, and on their way again pass Micah's house in the master's absence. As the young Levite goes in front of the house to welcome the multitude, the five climb secretly to the chamber in the roof containing the shrine, and carry off the god. The Levite vainly cries out against the deed; they drag him off by force and reduce him to silence. Even he very soon acquiesces, flattered at becoming priest to a whole race, and Micah pursues them in vain. This form of Jahveh-worship, too materialistic especially for a whole community, is actually adopted in the city seized by the freebooters as the public religion, under this priest with his image, and under his posterity! And this Levite, as the narrative further states,[1] was a grandson of Moses himself; so soon did the wide-spreading corruption reach the posterity even of the great champion of Jahveh himself. For although by the usage of the time the word grandson is intended to signify only that this event occurred somewhere near the end of the first century after Moses, what a gulf seems interposed in so brief a time between Moses and this Levite!

From a somewhat later period we possess a remarkable testi-

mother, and receives her blessing notwithstanding, only needs to be plainly stated to be confuted; only לָךְ xvii. 1 is not מֵאִתָּךְ, and לְקַחְתִּיו, like הקדשתי in ver. 3, is the perfect of the will.

[1] Judges xviii. 30 is evidently an addition by the last compiler of the Book of Judges, since it entirely and unnecessarily interrupts the context, and since, the name of this Levite not having been mentioned in the whole story, it here seems a mere extraneous addition. But the information itself, as to the name and lineage of this Levite, is unquestionably historical and derived from some other ancient authority (for any seeming contradiction with 1 Kings xii. 29–31 will be explained hereafter). It is fully acknowledged at the present day that it was only the perverse ingenuity of later times to alter the name מנשה into מנשה, professedly to save Moses' honour by substituting for his family the tribe Manasseh, which had no especial claims to sanctity.

mony, how much this restless wandering of beggared Levites increased in course of time, and how greatly the whole tribe was consequently in danger of forfeiting the respect in which it was held among the people. Jacob's Blessing even ranks the tribe of Levi, in respect of its dispersion and dependence, with that of Simeon, long since fallen very low, and utterly unlike Levi too, and pronounces on both rather a curse than a benediction, in Gen. xlix. 5–7 :

> Simeon and Levi, brothers,
> Whose pastoral crooks are cruel weapons,
> Let not my soul enter into their counsel,
> Nor mine honour be united with their assembly.
> For in their anger they slew the man,
> And in their caprice they houghed the steer;
> Cursed be their anger, that it is unrelenting,
> And their wrath, that it cannot be appeased;
> I will divide them over Jacob,
> And scatter them over Israel!

It is clear, in the first place, that this sad dispersion of Levi cannot possibly refer to the forty-eight cities which the Levites, according to p. 308 sq., received at the time of the settlement of the tribes. For these were gifts of honour; and had the Levites been able faithfully to maintain their original independence and dignity, no poet could have dared to speak thus of them, or to place them on a footing with the unhappy tribe of Simeon. In the second place, the deed of the two brothers in the Patriarchal times, which is here alluded to (i. p. 378 sqq.), is manifestly introduced by the poet only as a suitable ground for Jacob's words, which would otherwise have seemed too harsh in the Patriarch's mouth. But if we picture to ourselves the state of the Levites as described in Judges xvii and xviii, only in a more advanced stage of degeneracy, and consider how, by the end of this period, they must have continually sunk in the esteem of all thoughtful men (before David, or probably even Eli, raised their dignity again), all becomes intelligible; and we thus possess in this sentence a very instructive piece of evidence on one phase in the many-coloured history of a tribe, which always varied with the varying fortunes of the people at large.

And if we follow this tribe down to the end of this whole period, the aberrations of ordinary Levites, reported from the second or third century after Moses, appear even insignificant beside the artfully-devised transgressions which are related of the sons of Eli. Never is the hopeless moral degeneracy of the higher classes so clearly seen as when the younger generation

values its rank only for the immunity it secures to its crimes. Thus the sons both of Eli and of Samuel afford a most telling proof, that at the end of this period the powers of government were irremediably corrupt, and that if the ruin of the entire state were to be averted in time, some new and healthy energies must be called into play to prevent the pestilential upper air from gradually sinking down over the mass of the people, to the irreparable destruction of all.

3. The Manners of the People.

It has been already said of the people at large, that they were as yet but little tainted with the moral corruption of the degenerate age. A certain relapse into savagery could not but show itself in such times and places as had long suffered from the scourge of war. Yet such acts as cutting off the king of Bezek's thumbs and great toes are not unheard of in the early history of nations not exactly savage;[1] and the confusion of these times rather delayed the growth of gentler manners and arts, than stifled that germ of them which lay in the Jahveh-religion. The loosening of the stricter bonds of order and morals at times drew many into a state of warfare with society; especially in the land beyond the Jordan, where the mixture of races was greatest, and where a wandering life was rendered easy by the cavernous mountains and extent of desert country. Of these Jephthah is an example.[2] In other ways again might the strict old popular notions be relaxed, in the growing civic life of the northern country, whose tendency to Canaanite customs was alluded to at p. 342 sq. But in general there was maintained a primitive simplicity and soundness of heart, full of dignity and elevation; sustained by the consciousness of a higher strength in Jahveh, giver of victory to Israel, and terrible to Israel's foes. Something better than the Arab's love of isolation and wildness, or than the Phenician greed of gain, must have lain deep in Israel's heart. But these were probably the two great moral dangers to be avoided; and against both of these Israel's better self strove bravely, even in the worst of times. This is most evident from the songs of Deborah, with

[1] Judges i. 6. *Ancient Persian Inscriptions of Bisutun* ii. 13 sq. Cæsar relates (*B. G.* viii. 44) with perfectly frivolous excuses, how he caused the hands of all the men bearing arms in the city Uxelodunum to be chopped off. In comparison with this, what is told of the king of Bezek is mere child's play, especially as it was only a slight retaliation. The practice was indeed an ancient Arab custom; see W. Roth's '*Oqba der Eroberer Nordafrika's* p. 35 sq.

[2] Judges xi. 13; see with reference to David 1 Sam. xxii. 2.

her sharp rebukes of the pastoral tribes on the east, and the Phenician tendencies of the two most to the west. And what a pure patriotic spirit, what an inexhaustible vitality, what joyous trust in Jahveh, breathes through these songs of Deborah, despite their savage longing for slaughter and revenge, nourished through years of warfare! What true heroism and self-abnegation must have directed the actions, both in war and in hard-won peace, of Gideon, 'Baal's Antagonist,' who emerged suddenly from the lower ranks of the people to be the liberator of his nation and its ruler for many a year; though in worshipping Jahveh by an image he too paid tribute to his age! How many a city in Israel may have been able to boast, like Abel on the Phenician frontier in the furthest north, of its fair fame before all the world and of its faithful adherence to the wise precepts handed down from olden times![1] We have already shown (p. 320, 324) what unbroken national strength was preserved, amid all the unfavourable influences of the times, in the larger compact groups—especially in the whole of Judah and the countries beyond the Jordan. Even the saying current in old times, 'such folly should not be wrought in Israel,'[2] points to a national life still sound and morally awake; provided that such beautiful words are used honestly, and have really, as in those days, a direct influence for good upon the whole people.

But we see here, as happens naturally to any nation in a time of such general relaxation of better influences, that the insubordination and boundless profligacy which lurked in all this social disorder and mental confusion, very soon comes to the surface, not all at once nor in equal strength, but here and there all the more audaciously. The tribe of Benjamin, leaning on Joseph, was from the first both bold and warlike (p. 281 sqq.); if in the decadence of the times it inclined somewhat to Canaanite manners and licentiousness, this only affords a parallel to what we have observed (p. 342 sq.) with regard to Ephraim. Now licentiousness in the sexual relations is shown by the traditions respecting Sodom, Moab, and Ammon,[3] to have been at an early period by no means unknown to the Canaanites. At Gibeah, one of the Benjamite cities on the road from Jerusalem

[1] 2 Sam. xx. 17 sq.

[2] This saying is found in early writings, Gen. xxxiv. 7 (comp. 31), Josh. vii. 15, Judges xix. 23 (comp. xx. 10), 2 Sam. xiii. 12 sq.; afterwards repeated in Deut. xxii. 21 and elsewhere.

[3] Gen. xix. 1–10, 30–38. Undoubtedly these traditions indicate a difference between the Canaanites and Lot's children; but we should greatly err if we failed to notice the extreme disapprobation of such customs expressed in the tradition on the subject in Gen. xix. 30–38.

to Shiloh, occurred in the latter half[1] of this anarchical period a deed of horror, followed immediately by evil consequences for Israel. It is detailed minutely in Judges xix–xxi. as a terrible example of the days before the monarchy, and is adduced even by Prophets[2] as an instance of the extremest crimes of which Israel was capable in early times.

A Levite in the northern mountains of Ephraim, who, like the one before mentioned (p. 348), does duty for wages, is deserted by his concubine, who is not happy with him[3] and betakes herself to her father in Bethlehem of Judah. Four months after he follows her, succeeds in satisfying her, and is well received by her father. As if from some foreboding of his daughter's unhappy fate, the father endeavours from hour to hour to detain him, whenever he wishes to return home. At last he starts one afternoon from Bethlehem, refuses to stop the night in the then Canaanite city of Jerusalem, and arrives late at Gibeah, where he obtains a night's lodging with difficulty, and only in the house of a poor old man, himself a foreigner from Ephraim. But in the night the Benjamite scoundrels want to make game of him; to save his own life he is compelled to give out to them his concubine, whom they abuse to death. After this dreadful deed, the national Assembly is called together at Mizpeh, near the scene of horror, by the token mentioned at p. 340; and in proportion to the enormity of a crime 'unheard of in Israel,' is the horror of the Assembly, and the firm resolve to inflict fitting retribution. As the tribe Benjamin will not deliver up the guilty persons, the campaign is at once fixed by the Assembly (which always came together armed) to begin immediately on the return to Gibeah of the tenth men sent to procure necessary provisions; and Judah was chosen by the Oracle to go first. In the first two attempts, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, they fail to overcome a tribe highly proficient in war, and now fighting in desperation for life and honour. But the Oracle in Bethel, the nearest sacred place, still requires each time that the war should be carried on without hesitation. At the third time it is only by a stratagem that they succeed in obtaining a decided advantage over Benjamin. Whilst the main body retreat to

[1] The event described in Judges xx. 28 is placed at the end of the first century after Moses; yet many indications induce us to transfer it to a much later period; partly because, in Saul's time, the tribe of Benjamin had evidently not yet recovered from this great misfortune, 1 Sam. ix. 21.

[2] Hos. ix. 9, x. 9.

[3] For ותזנה xix. 2 read ותתזנח, in the sense 'she complained of him,' was not contented in her marriage; as indeed may be easily supposed of a concubine who was evidently well-descended.

the north and east in feigned flight, an ambush makes its way into the city; and the smoke of the burning Gibeah is to the army the preconcerted signal to face round suddenly from their feigned flight, and turn upon the Benjamites,[1] who are now assailed without intermission on two sides. Then begins the carnage, close to the east of Gibeah; and of 25,700[2] armed Benjamites only 600 escape, who hide in a rock,[3] close to the desert near the Jordan. But although in the first outburst of wrath the Benjamite cities were destroyed with fire and sword, and every one had sworn at the first never to give his daughter to any one of the few survivors of the tribe, the people were soon overpowered by pity, and by the fear of losing a whole tribe out of Israel. The Elders, taking advantage of this favourable change of feeling, enquired at the national assembly, which was immediately held at Shiloh,[4] whether any city had absented itself from this raid of vengeance; whereupon it was found that Jabesh beyond the Jordan had not appeared. There was again a campaign of devastation against Jabesh, from which only 400 virgins were spared, being destined for so many of the Benjamites. To the remaining Benjamites they gave permission to carry off a sufficient number of women at the approaching festival at the Sanctuary of Shiloh, and offered their mediation with the relatives of the women thus captured.[5]

4. Progress in Art and Literature.

It would be extremely perverse to conclude from these single outbreaks of savage licentiousness, that such was the condition

[1] The narrative in ch. xx. is somewhat confused, since the latest compiler does not keep close enough to his evidently very copious authority. Verse 23 tells what should precede ver. 22; in 32-35 the writer first gives in an abbreviated form what he afterwards, adhering more faithfully to his authority, describes at greater length in vv. 36-46. Moreover, הָרֵב in ver. 38 is מַרְבֵּב *flight*; in ver. 43 לֹא is wanting after מְנוּחָה.

[2] On comparing the numbers in xx. 15 sq. with ver. 35 and then with vv. 44-46 (where only by some oversight the 100 men, again mentioned in ver. 35, can have been omitted), the meaning seems to be, that all except the 600 who escaped fell on that one day; of the insignificant number who probably fell in the two first days, no count is taken. But then certainly in ver. 15, at least in the original authority, חמשת must have stood instead of ששה. The former is better also, because all the numbers given in the narrative on both sides are only round numbers.

[3] At Rimmon, probably, the present Rumman, to the east of Bethel.

[4] The narrative from xxi. 5 refers (according to ver. 12) to the resolution taken at Shiloh, not in Bethel (ver. 2), where only the immediate mourning solemnity was held.

[5] By entreating them to regard those who had been carried off as gifts to themselves (the Elders), because at Jabesh they had not obtained a sufficient number of female prisoners to fulfil their promise to the 600. Thus also they who had taken the oath would not directly give their daughters to the Benjamites, which, of course, would have been a crime. This is the sense of the words in xxi. 22; נָעָה is as brief an expression as אָנָה in Jer. xxii. 15 sq.

of all the cities and tribes—the more so since we have seen them followed up by immediate punishment through a powerful movement on the part of the whole people. On the contrary, we see that much antique virtue and unperverted strength was preserved under the shelter of the Jahveh-religion. Thus shielded, the people continued to make progress in many of the arts of life, notwithstanding the unfavourable aspect of the times; of which we have general as well as special evidence.

In general, it is unquestionable that the great bulk of the people had become perfectly settled, and had recourse to war only on the most pressing occasions. In most parts of the country cultivating the rich soil; in some, as in Judah, compelled by local circumstances to make pasturage their chief object,—all cling with equal love to the conquered land, now for some centuries held as their own. Those times were soon over, when every tribe, as at first all Israel (p. 260), had only a camp for its head-quarters,[1] and was always fully prepared for war. Indeed their love for the soil and for peaceful labour soon goes so far as to induce many (p. 327 sqq.) even to submit themselves to individual Canaanites; and towards the close of this period almost all prefer becoming tributary to the Philistines. That they were long subject to such tribute, will be further shown hereafter.

Some portions of the people, too, soon arrive at a stage beyond husbandry. It has already been mentioned (p. 291, 342 sq.) that the cities bordering on Phenicia and on the sea soon began to take part in the arts and commerce of their neighbours. The dutiful son in Ephraim, who (according to p. 348) could give back his money with interest, must have embarked it in trade and commerce; and the civic league which we have seen at p. 342 sq. had certainly something more than husbandry in view.

How the more delicate arts of life, poetry, music, and wit, were cultivated and prized, we can still see tolerably clearly. The few great songs of this period which have been preserved in a perfect condition, the ancient Passover-Song in Ex. xv, which must have been expanded, shortly after the conquest of the country, out of the short song of triumph sung at the time under Moses on the shore of the Red Sea, and was no doubt sung yearly at the Sanctuary in Shiloh, and still more Deborah's two songs, with fragments of many others, prove most certainly that poetry flourished in those days, and formed one of the noblest elements in the national life. And though the poetry remained

[1] From which state of things, for example, dates the local name 'Dan's Camp,' Judges xiii. 25, comp. xviii. 7, 11.

almost entirely lyric, yet the songs of Deborah, so artistic, with all their antique simplicity, show to what refined art lyric poetry very early aspired, and what a delicate perception of beauty breathed already beneath its still stiff and cumbrous garb.[1] A people which thus on every higher occasion felt itself elevated by refined poetry, and in which songs full of art and wit, sung in alternate choirs by all who bore part in the solemnity, formed the real life and best consecration of a popular festival (and Deborah's songs are clearly of this kind), cannot be considered to stand upon any low level. This is neither the old Arabian lay, which always seems the mere strain of a solitary wandering minstrel, nor the Homeric song, ministering to the placid delight of the multitude. It has not the peculiarly high finish nor the long-drawn threads of the Epos, but germinates in the very heart of the people, and cannot be fully developed without their personal cooperation. But the Lyric always presupposes dance and song; and though many indications lead us to suppose that in ordinary life, from the warlike character of these rude times, such arts were mostly left to women[2] (who had also the honour of distributing the spoil in the rejoicings after victory,[3] and in general enjoyed unusual freedom and respect),[4]

[1] I have already treated of these ancient songs elsewhere. As, however, since 1838, I have made many fresh observations on the strophes of the songs and the plan of the choruses, which all lead to the conclusion that the art displayed in them was much greater than I then believed, I now add the following remarks on these two great ancient songs. Deborah's song, on closer examination of its subject and form, is found to consist of two songs: the Hymn, vv. 2–11, and the actual Song of victory sung later on the same day in the triumphal procession, vv. 12–31. The hymn consists of three, and this Epinikion of six, exactly similar strophes: 3–5, 6–8, 9–11. Ver. 2 is prelude and challenge, as is also ver. 12; and after every three strophes comes a short spirited refrain, evidently intended to be sung in chorus by the whole people: the last clause of ver. 11, and of ver. 21, and ver. 31. I will only remark further, that מְחֻצִּים in ver. 11 must signify (as the LXX. take it) *Singers*, properly *those who keep line* or *order*, and hence *rhythm*; and that לָחֻם in ver. 8, according to my *Lehrb.* § 131 b, is to be pronounced as a passive *lochém*; (comp. also וְהָגִיד, as must be read in 2 Sam. xv. 31); see also *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 156. The song in Ex. xv. falls into four equal strophes, if we assume what for many reasons is probable, that after ver. 12 some lines are lost; ver. 1 being the prelude and ver. 18 the *coda*. The next great song, Ps. xviii., consists of ten strophes of five verses each: 1) vv. 2–4 [1–3]), prelude; 2) vv. 5–9 [4–8]; 10–14 [9–13]; 15–20 [14–19]; –21–25 [–20–24]; 26–31 [25–30]; –32–36 [—31–35]; 37–41 [36–40]; 42–46 [41–45]; 3) vv. 47–51 [46–50], coda. In 2 Sam. i. 19–24, three short strophes may be discriminated; vv. 19 sq., 21 sq., 23 sq. In 1 Sam. ii. 1–3; 4–6; 7 sq.; 9 sq; four strophes in all. This one additional remark in passing—that the great song Deut. xxxii. falls into six strophes of seven verses each: vv. 1–7; 8–14; 15–21; 22–27; 28–35; 36–42; 43, the coda or short concluding strophe.

[2] Comp. Ex. xv. 20 sq., Judges v. 12, xi. 34, 1 Sam. xviii. 6–9, xxi. 12.

[3] Judges v. 11, Ps. lxviii. 12 [11] sq.; comp. Is. ix. 2 [3].

[4] Think of Miriam, Deborah, Abigail, the maiden of Solomon's Song, and many similar proofs how little Hebrew antiquity can have corresponded to the Islamite East.

we yet see from other testimony that the man and the warrior was not necessarily dishonoured by participating in such pursuits.[1] Even in the heroes of this period playful wit and competition in various sports and ingenious inventions were considered graceful accomplishments in prosperity and a solace under difficulties; and the people found in these innocent resources an effective weapon against the evil times, to ward off despair of themselves or of their better destiny. This is shown in the history of Samson, who in this is the type and ideal of his nation.

The surest sign of the intellectual activity of this period is the appearance of a popular literature, a fact which on closer inspection seems indisputable. It has been already explained (p. 19 sqq., i. p. 45 sqq.) that the first beginnings of Hebrew literature go back to the days of Moses and Joshua. That these beginnings not only retained their vitality under the darkening shadows of the time, but were further developed, may have been very much owing to the example of Israel's Phenician neighbours, who were long practised in writing. But the growth of a tolerably extensive popular literature in these centuries is attested by many proofs. We have seen (p. 164 sqq.) the strong tendency of the age to a half-poetical literature of legal ordinances. And further, we have in the Old Testament most important remains of an historical work composed in the second half of this period, which has been described at i. p. 68 sqq., as the oldest known to us of such length. This work contained not only a great wealth of stories, but also attempts to describe the historical origin of the laws; not mere citations from popular songs, but also artistic compositions, such as the Blessing of Jacob in Gen. xlix. And this was certainly not the first historical work; as is proved (i. p. 64 sqq.) by many fragments and traces of very early writings. Besides, it was impossible that songs so long and so artistic as those of Deborah, with so marked and sustained an individual character, could remain many years unwritten; and that they were in fact very early written down, we see from their being imitated by the writer of Jacob's Blessing, which also falls within this period (p. 291 sq.). Such indications prove beyond dispute that literature had by this time advanced far beyond its first poor beginnings.

Thus under all the pressure and disquietude of the times, the

[1] We do not here refer so much to David (who in this respect rather represents a new phase), 1 Sam. xvi. 18, xviii. 10, 2 Sam. vi. 14–23, and from a later time Ps. xxx. 12 [11], cxlix. 3, as to the participation of the men which is assumed in Judges v. 1, 9 sq., and to Samson in Judges xvi. 25.

more delicate intellectual arts still grew and flourished; nor could the crushing weight keep permanently back those germs of a higher life which lay enfolded in the Jahveh-religion. But in this period, when all superior authority incessantly fluctuated, it was scarcely to be hoped that all the people's endeavours would take firm root; and unless a new and sounder national life had arisen, the first blossoms of an upward-striving culture would in all probability have been nipped in the bud.

C. The Commencement of an imperfect Human Government. The Judges.

I. Introductory.

We have now sufficiently seen in what manner a gradual, irremediable decay came upon that form of the Jahveh-religion in which it first appeared among the people which it sought to influence. Amid its youthful luxuriance and vigour there was one defect, at first imperceptible, but soon the root of ever-growing mischief. The Theocracy, by pronouncing any human ruler unnecessary as a permanent element of the state, lapsed into anarchy, weakness, and confusion. Strengthened in this belief by her first success, she gradually came to look on such a human ruler as opposed to her very essence; she was stiffened into inaction amid the evils already springing out of this delusion, and repelled the salutary measures which might have saved her. Indeed it is the most remarkable phenomenon of these centuries of disorganisation, and at the same time the explanation of all their fortunes, that for a long time no one dared so much as to breathe the thought of nominating a man as king.

1. But where disorganisation is at work in the domain of the soul, new life is already trying, though secretly, to develop itself; and if the body be strong enough to overleap all the intermediate stages between the decaying past and its better counterpart, and thus await the fortunate moment of the new birth, it may hope not in vain to begin a fresh youth under better external conditions. When a nation is without a government strong enough to repress lawlessness within and to protect from foes without, and all is thus resolved into a condition[1] which philosophers of modern times falsely call the

[1] As is very strikingly described in Is. iii. 1–7.

state of nature, the whole people very soon divides once more into the two ranks of master and servant; around those who seem strong enough to protect, gather others who serve them in peace and war for the sake of their protection; and this without the sanction of existing law, but by internal necessity, as if by the very nature of human things a new order must spring out of chaos. According to the very clear descriptions in Deborah's songs, all Israel, as far as it lay within her circle of vision, was divided into princes and people;[1] the people, that is to say, adhered to certain individual leaders, each of whom might act according to his own pleasure. Hence the nation consisted of innumerable self-constituted and self-sustained kingdoms, formed wherever some chieftain elevated himself, whom individuals or the body of citizens of a town were willing to serve. But in each one of these states a more permanent order and subordination have a tendency to arise. Gaal son of Jobel entered Shechem with troops raised by himself (p. 343), just like a *Condottiere* in Italy in the Middle Ages. If upon some extraordinary occasion the National Assembly was ever convened, the division into tribes was far from being the ruling principle, as in the days of Moses and Joshua; but the 'corner-stones'—i.e. the supports or princes of the whole nation—'of all the tribes of Israel' appear in the assembly with their armed followers;[2] and still the single city of Jabesh purposely absents itself (p. 353). This gives a clear intimation what form things were assuming, in the disintegration of the constitution as a whole, and the corresponding relaxation of the ancient relations among the tribes.

Some effort to escape from the confusion of this period of anarchy might indeed appear in various ways; even the civic league referred to at p. 342 sqq. might originate, as far as there was any good in it, in a blundering attempt of this kind, though by erecting temples to the Covenant-Baal, as well as to Jahveh, it recorded its own condemnation. Yet no solution of the difficulty was more easily attained than this—that from among, or in place of, those chieftains whom an inevitable necessity had created, one ruler with power to reunite and

[1] The chiefs are in these songs not once called 'the elders,' as they were probably in prose, using the old name which was retained from the division into tribes; but 'the tops' ver. 2; 'the arbiters' vv. 9, 14; 'the nobles' ver. 13, comp. 25; 'the princes' ver. 15, comp. Judges x. 18; 'the holders of the staff of judgment,' ver. 14. They are described as those who ride upon white asses, in contrast to those who sit in vehicles, or those who (being still poorer) walk on the road; for it is better (even in ver. 10) to distinguish only these two main classes of men; see Judges x. 4, xii. 14.

[2] Judges xx. 2.

protect the whole nation should at length go forth and endeavour to reconcile a true human national government with the Theocracy. As it became evident that the nation could not permanently dispense with an earthly government, it was forced to consent, if it would not utterly perish, to rally round some powerful human leader, and to obey, next to Jahveh, a king chosen from among themselves. And in fact we see during this period not a few rulers whom the whole people more or less obeyed; as if that human monarchy which seemed to be an inscrutable necessity were everywhere likely to assert itself, and to supply a deficiency which only became more oppressive with delay.

But, on the other hand, the feeling founded on the Theocracy of Jahveh (p. 145 sqq.) remained in all the best of the nation for centuries so fresh and strong, that leaders who owed their elevation to circumstances could not be easily transformed into regular kings, even if they could reconcile it with their own religion; which, as the example of Gideon shows, was by no means always the case. To exceptional dictators the state offered no strong resistance; their power over the people arises from the very necessity of things, and is therefore in its commencement the strongest imaginable force, the immediate working of an irresistible spirit, carrying the people with it by the manifest results of its innate energy; infinitely higher and stronger than that of many a king, however properly anointed and enthroned, in after times, when the monarchy had been established once for all. The Book of Judges not only represents these rulers as in general raised up by Jahveh,[1] but also, in the case of those whose origin or whose great deeds it more particularly describes, mentions how, moved by a sudden access of Jahveh's spirit, they began to express their greatness.[2] Indeed we have every reason to suppose that these vivid descriptions, how the spirit of Jahveh came irresistibly upon them and protected them from the people, existed in the ancient authorities on which our present Book of Judges is founded. Even from the scanty memorials which we still possess, we can distinctly see that these giant creators and pioneers of human sovereignty in combination with the Theocracy, had the origin of their power not in chance nor in their own will, but in

[1] Judges ii. 16; comp. iii. 9, 15—words of the last author.

[2] Besides Deborah, who as prophetess professes of course the power of the Spirit, this is mentioned in iii. 10, xi. 29, xiii. 25, and elsewhere of Samson; of Gideon in more poetic language in vi. 34; but curiously not of Ehud, whose act was more deliberately carried out, and was, moreover, not quite worthy of a prophet, according to the idea of the later narrators.

tremendous contests with the evils of the time. In the earliest Judges most of all, as Ehud and Gideon, the native power of rule is first involuntarily roused at some critical moment of oppression by foreigners, when all other help is gone, and nothing remains but the deadly resolve and incalculable energy of the individual. When by such wondrous deeds against enemies they have become the saviours and benefactors of the people, and their commission to rule has thus received the seal of Heaven, then, and not till then, is their preeminence even in times of peace gladly acknowledged.

We may therefore say that at least in the earliest and most powerful of the Judges, something of the same spirit was continued which displayed itself first and with mightiest force in Moses. For as he first, in time of urgent need, was impelled solely by the Spirit to become the redeemer of his people, and then maintained his authority solely by the Spirit; so they also, though with less measure of the Divine Spirit. What in him was most marvellous and sublime, is continued for a long time in them, though in ever feebler oscillations; as in the New Testament the working of miracles is continued to the Apostles. And whenever that once mighty Spirit began to breathe again with greater strength, it restored for the time a more stirring life and a firmer cohesion to the relaxed disjointed body. Thus we still see even in the Judges a foundation for the same wonderful manifestations as in Moses. Where free spiritual activity is at its highest tension, the most marvellous results are evolved; and in these great men the human spirit, in perfect trust, allowed itself to be guided by an inspiration of free Divine energy. This is the miracle incomprehensible to the world.

Yet, great as these rulers might be, their power over the people was after all only something casual—a favour bestowed by Heaven upon themselves, which might come and go without any alteration in the legal bases of the state; it was at best only tolerated, not regarded as legal and necessary. It was not without reason that these rulers never bore the name *Melek* or *Moshel* (answering to the Greek *βασιλεύς*), *King*. That name would have ascribed to them a power which they could not claim—a power logically and necessarily coextensive with the state itself. Therefore the name *Shôfet*, i.e. Judge, was finally adopted, after it had become apparent that in time of peace the people gladly availed themselves, in judicial matters, either of their influence and possible decision by the strong hand, or of their wise counsel. But the name is quite unknown in

Deborah's songs, and obviously did not arise till a later time.[1] There could of course in their case be no question of anointing, nor of hereditary rank. Their power manifestly extended over the tribes only as far as they were able to enforce it; indeed not more than two or three among them appear to have ruled with equal authority over all. Not unfitly was the whole long period between Joshua and the kings named after them, although a considerable time evidently elapsed before any Judge appeared, and the earlier ones, at least, never succeeded each other immediately. But all that was greatest in those times was certainly due to them; and some of their names shine eternally like bright stars in the long night of a troubled age.

2. It thus appears that in those centuries the people received the blessings of unity and fixed order as rarely as the land the refreshment of thunder showers. As in very ancient times it was only at certain moments that men first felt the full power and presence of the Divine, so this ancient people only became at times aware of the necessity as well as the blessings of an earthly sovereignty. Separate portions indeed—tribes, cities, or provinces, by themselves—might possibly flourish, if fortune favoured; but the advantages of order and security for the whole nation never endured but for a while.

With the manner of life and the official proceedings of the individual Judges we are little acquainted in detail, because the Book of Judges only gives extracts from longer narratives, often of a very meagre description, and sometimes only the faint echoes of earlier tradition. But with respect to Samuel, the last, and in a certain sense the most distinguished of the Judges, we possess some more circumstantial descriptions of the mode of his internal administration, whence we can form an approximate idea with regard to many of the other Judges; although it is certain that any fixed habits would have little chance of establishing themselves in such a sphere.

During the long oppression of a stormy time, the nation at last gathered more and more unanimously around Samuel, like terrified chickens around the parent hen. In his spirit they learned to put their trust; he summons a National Assembly,

[1] The well-known Carthaginian *Suffetes* derive their name from the same word, but being a permanent and legal dignity in the state, are not in the least worthy of comparison. Yet it was assuredly not without some influence from Phenician phraseology that the name became finally established; especially as the peculiar Israelite name for such a dignity would rather be קָצִין Judges xi. 6, 11, Is. iii. 6 sq. Josephus, however, likes to call these rulers Monarchs, and their government Monarchy, as differing both from the antecedent priestly 'Aristocracy,' and from the Kingdom which succeeded.

which willingly allows itself to be guided, reproved, admonished, and judged, by him.[1] This commences his position as a Judge; but this had really existed before, at all events in the memory of an earlier age; and could thus easily be repeated in his case. Yet even he still needed a glorious victory, and the complete deliverance of the people, to confirm his dignity.[2] But afterwards he governs even in peace, with the abiding confidence of the people in his proved strength of spirit; and to facilitate, both for himself and the people, his judicial functions, he makes a yearly circuit through several places of ancient sanctity in the centre of the country,—Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh,—which were also not too remote from his dwelling-place; possibly visiting one of these places upon each of the three chief yearly festivals, when any who wished their cause heard could easily await him.[3] But he always returned to Ramah, his birthplace, where he had his altar and his house, and finally his tomb; and whither those who sought justice constantly repaired to him. The Book of Judges in like manner mentions the dwelling and burial-place of each of the Judges after Gideon.[4] It may hence be inferred that no Judge had his seat necessarily in the centre of the kingdom; only Eli, being at the same time High Priest, dwelt in Shiloh; each of the others remained in his natural home. The National Assembly is if possible gathered around him; and he stands in the same relation to it as in the legalised constitution of our own countries the prince to the Estates. It is not however necessarily bound by his final decision:[5] Samuel in old age appoints his sons as his assistants; and the power of Gideon and other Judges seems gradually to have devolved on their sons; but this is not compulsory on the people;[6] and through the whole of this long period there was no successful attempt to make the highest dignity actually hereditary. So simple and so wholly dependent on mutual confidence this office always continued to be; and scarcely anywhere in early antiquity is it so easy to trace the original character of a new supreme power.

3. This office, however circumscribed and dependent on personal qualities, and however slow it might be in attaining importance, at least supplied in some measure the sore need of the age, and thus could not but obtain by degrees a certain prescriptive right, and so accomplish its circle of possible

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 2, 5 sq.
[2] Ibid. vv. 7–15.
[3] Ibid. v. 16.
[4] Judges viii. 32, x. 2, 4. xii. 7, 10, 12, 15, xvi. 31; in like manner respecting Joshua, Josh. xxiv. 30.
[5] 1 Sam. viii. 4–22.
[6] 1 Sam. viii. 1 sq., 5.

development. From the inmost heart of the nation these rulers sprang; from its grievous oppression, from its very blood. The priesthood, until far later times, had no part therein; the prophetess Deborah, in her office as Judge, stands in no connection with the sacerdotal order. Moreover, the necessity for the office extended only to those parts of the country where the evils of political disorganisation were most severely felt. It has already been shown (p. 317 sq.) that except Othniel (whom the arranger of the series introduces here and places first, from a motive peculiar to himself as a Judean), all these Judges taken from the people belong to the northern and eastern tribes. With the great Gideon the office reaches its culminating point on this stage;[1] it seems ready to pass into monarchy, if the strong objections already explained did not present a continual hindrance. Once indeed, on an extraordinary occasion in the middle of this period, a ray of the much-needed light flashes suddenly across the darkness: when the people, in a moment of high-wrought enthusiasm, offer to the great Gideon the hereditary dignity. But in implicit reverence for the national faith, he unhesitatingly declines it.[2] Afterwards, when Abimelech, the worst of his sons, by the aid of a city infatuated with a delusive idea of freedom, forcibly made himself king,[3] his short but cruel and detested reign strengthened the former dread of such a government, and long postponed the necessity which must come sooner or later. The general helplessness and confusion were but increased, and matters brought to such an extremity, that no choice remained but total destruction or the subordination of that fear to a higher one.

II. Number, Order, and Chronology of the Judges.

It is clear from what has just been said, that even in the unconnected series of these exceptional rulers, there is an internal law of progress, and that with the development of the age the time of the Judges must be divided into three distinct periods. Gideon and his times form the culminating point of these centuries and their rulers; the Judges who preceded him differ from him as widely as those who followed. But we must first give some general expositions of the chronology of the several Judges and the entire period.

1. The Book of Judges, or the authority on which it relies

[1] Not without reason is Gideon placed foremost, even in Heb. xi. 32.

[2] Judg. viii. 22 sq.

[3] Judges ix.

in iii. 7–xvi, enumerates, including Samson and Abimelech (king for a short time), precisely twelve rulers before Eli, each with a definite computation of his period of rule and of the preceding interval of oppression by external enemies; so that all the periods named might be consecutive.[1] This is evidently a first attempt to make a sort of survey of times, events, and rulers belonging to this dark period, using for that purpose the conspicuous names of the Judges. But although such an attempt to hold all these scattered memories together on one uniting thread is better than nothing, we must be on our guard against finding in it more than it contains.

For in the first place, certain traces lead us to the conclusion that before Eli and Samuel there were more of these rulers than the twelve. We cannot indeed appeal with certainty to a passage in one of Samuel's speeches, where a certain Bedan seems to be named.[2] This discourse is only given by the last author but one of the Books of Samuel; and we have no right to expect from such a source a perfect acquaintance with high antiquity, or an addition to the number of great men known to us. We have rather every reason to regard this name as only a corruption of Abdon, so called elsewhere;[3] respecting whose deeds, however, the author must have known from earlier writings more than we now have in the Book of Judges. But Deborah's song (ver. 6) distinctly names two Judges before her own time, one of whom at least is foreign to the series of twelve. The first of the two, Shamgar, we certainly do find introduced with a very brief notice in iii. 31; but that this is a mere interpolation by the last author but one (who was induced by Deborah's song to introduce what very little he knew of Shamgar from other sources), is shown by the absence of any chronological data, the exceptional style in which this

[1] This is however by no means clear from x. 8, where the present author, following his authority, appears to continue from the year last named in ver. 3; though he has rendered the connection too remote by interpolating vv. 5–7. Comp. i. p. 64.

[2] 1 Sam. xii. 11. The LXX. made a false guess at Barak; quite as incorrectly, the Rabbis explain it by בֶּן דָּן *Dan's Son*, i.e. Samson. But a man's name בְּדָן is found in 1 Chron. vii. 17. The judge بداق, mentioned by Ibn-Abu-Osaibia in the *Journ. As.* 1854, ii, p. 213 is a corruption of Barak. Also Samer, who ruled one year (in Theophilus *to Autolycus* iii. 24) seems only to have originated in Shamgar, but is curiously placed after Samson, whom in other respects he greatly resembles; and the Samanja placed after Samson in Josephi *Hypomnest.* xi. edit. Fabric. (or even Samanja and Samir according to the Latin translation, which here and elsewhere often differs, without any explanation from Fabricius) must also certainly be the same. The Ἀβεδδαδάν in the long epistle of Ignatius to the Magnesians iii. is probably a corruption from Ἀὰβ καὶ Ἀμὰν Ἀμαδάδου (1 Kings and Esther), and not a Judge at all.

[3] Judg. xii. 13–15.

one hero is mentioned,[1] and the undeniable break of the context.[2] This leads us conversely to the important fact that the series of twelve, with the chronological data, were previously known to this author from an earlier book. The other Judge named by Deborah, Jael, is indeed involved in still greater obscurity;[3] but it is very probable that he is really identical with the Jair, who is now ranked as far down as the seventh of the twelve. The letters of the names do not differ too much; and other independent reasons which will presently appear, are in favour of the opinion that this Jair lived in very early times, and before Deborah.

Further, the rulers appear at the first glance as if judging the whole country; and certainly there would be no opposition if ever a ruler were applied to by tribes beyond his own immediate domain. But on looking into the matter by the help of all traces that are still discernible, we find the circle of each Judge's functions very distinctly limited. Except Othniel, who stands first and in a peculiar position, they belong (those mentioned by Deborah included) neither to Judah nor to Simeon, as was explained at p. 317 sq.; and granting that with the exception of these two tribes, the influence of Deborah and Gideon may perhaps have extended to all the rest, yet the achievements of Jephthah belong principally to the east, and those of Samson to the narrow limits of the Philistine west. It is still more evident that each hero had his own special scene of action, where even after his death his deeds were properly praised and commemorated. Deborah is the typical prophetess of the northern, Gideon the great hero of the central tribes; Jephthah the pride of the land beyond the Jordan, which boasted of him as its deliverer and protector; Samson the ideal of joyous strength, struggling at unequal odds against Philistine ascendancy. In fact, it is clear as day, that the most important authorities employed by the first author of this book, were collected from various parts of the country. Thus we have, first, Deborah's song; then two large portions respecting Gideon and his sons, chap. vi–viii, and ix, each of which may be still distinguished by its very peculiar language, ch. ix. containing especially vivid delineations of ancient times;

[1] For it is clear that elsewhere, even where a short notice of some Judges is given, as x. 1–4, xii. 8–15, the historical method and treatment are quite different from iii. 31.

[2] For Deborah's time is in iv. 1 immediately connected with Ehud's death in iii. 30, exactly like viii. 33, x. 1; so that from whatever side we regard it, Shamgar appears to be interpolated.

[3] He certainly cannot be identical with the woman named by Deborah in ver. 24; since he is placed by Deborah in earlier times, while she was Deborah's contemporary, a woman of a nomad race, and anything but a Judge.

and then the Book of Samson, again widely different, which evidently originally embodied a complete cycle of peculiar traditions. We may safely say that all parts of the country contributed, from their ancient deeds and their special literature, to the formation of this Book of the Twelve Judges. Its first compiler, certainly a Judean, felt himself bound to name one Judge of that tribe, and found none but Othniel. And that period of separation and dismemberment is faithfully mirrored in this book devoted to it, in which the histories of single regions or individual heroes, into which in the absence of any real unity the national history is broken up, are but slightly and outwardly connected, not fused into a compact whole, as was possible in the history of Moses or of David.

But of the Twelve Judges, whom an early compiler took pains to muster in a compact series, we see that several were afterwards remembered only in the most general way. Of five —Tola and Jair x. 1-4, Ibzan,[1] Elon and Abdon xii. 8-15— our knowledge from the present book is very slight; and though the last author may have still further abbreviated or even transposed—as in the case of Abdon, who according to p. 364 is elsewhere placed between Gideon and Jephthah, but stands in the present Book of Judges after the latter—he can hardly have altered much, as he found the round number twelve and the chronology already fixed. And the fact that those Judges of whom very little is related seem in the present series intentionally placed together, and pushed down to near the end, enables us to estimate what a very faint remembrance must have been preserved of them. In like manner, the chronology under some of the Judges approves itself as an accurate recollection; as when Jephthah is said to have ruled six years, Ibzan seven, Elon ten, Abdon eight; even the twenty-three years of Tola's rule, and the twenty-two of Jair's might be added to this list. But the other numbers appear at the first glance to be merely round estimates. Eighteen years is the duration both of Moab's and of Ammon's ascendancy;[2] eight years that of the more distant Arameans, and seven that of the equally remote Midianites;[3] the land has eighty years' peace after Ehud's victory, forty after Deborah's and after Gideon's;[4] the supremacy of the Canaanites lasts twenty years, that of the Philistines, forty; and during

[1] The LXX pronounce this Ἀβαισσάν, which is אבצן; Clem. Alex. Ἀβαρθαν; Eusebius Ἐσεβών, even Ἐσβών in Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* iii. 24; while the city Heshbon, mentioned p. 205, is found in Judith v. 15 as Ἐσεβών.

[2] Judg. iii. 14, x. 8.

[3] Ibid. iii. 8, vi. 1.

[4] Ibid. iii. 30, v. 31, viii. 28.

twenty of these forty years, Samson is Judge.[1] These are almost all the chronological data which the book affords.

Now it is very plain that those who at the time when the present series of twelve was arranged, were still known as the greatest among these rulers, must have actually lived in the order in which they are arranged. Deborah in her song, ver. 6, alludes to earlier Judges between the time of Moses and herself; Gideon with his sons belongs evidently to a period in many respects further developed than that of Deborah—an epoch of full bloom, beyond which everything was always falling into confusion; Jephthah is in the very midst of this increasing confusion; Samson contends against it, but only as an individual—with giant strength, but in vain. So far, therefore, the succession of these heroes is historical. But with regard to the others, whose remembrance had already almost died out, it is obvious that their present order is not strictly accurate. They are all crowded together around Jephthah at the end of the series;[2] and they seem to be arranged among themselves conventionally according to tribes. Thus the two from Zebulon are placed together;[3] and if Abdon,[4] according to the indication just noticed (p. 364), stood originally before Jephthah and second after Gideon, the representatives of Ephraim go in pairs, as well as those of Gilead; and the series would only then pass to Zebulon, the most northern tribe. Finally, nothing is told of any of them but their descent and their dwelling and burial-place, and of three their numerous offspring. And so it might happen, that the only one of the five (except Abdon) who is again mentioned, Jair of Gilead, is in this arrangement placed immediately before Jephthah, although shown by indications which will be pointed out presently, to have belonged to the first third, or even the first quarter, of the period.

2. It follows from all this that we cannot employ the dates respecting this entire period given in the Book of Judges ch. iii–xvi. for a continuous chronology; or rather that the last author himself did not design that they should be so employed. For when he represents the people, after the death of a great hero, as falling again into sin, then subjugated, and then delivered by a succeeding hero, he gives the duration of the subjugation, and of the repose which followed victory, but not that

[1] Judges iv. 3, xiii. 1, xv. 20. That these twenty years in xv. 20 (repeated xvi. 31) ought to be included in the forty mentioned in xiii. 1. is clearly marked by the addition בימי פלשתים; comp. viii. 28. But what here becomes evident on close investigation, may have originally occurred in many other similar cases.

[2] Judges x. 1–4, xii. 8–15.

[3] Ibid. xii. 8–12.

[4] Ibid. xii. 13–16.

of the interval preceding the subjugation; for it cannot be meant that the subjugation always followed immediately upon the ruler's death. On reckoning together all the successive dates, we should obtain a result of 390 years[1] from Cushan-Rishathaim to the death of Samson; but the deceptive character of such a computation is self-evident. If therefore we wish to draw up some more definite chronology, we must both look around for other testimony, and examine carefully the various forms which the dates in the Book of Judges, from the causes above stated, may have assumed.

Now here we come across the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, that 480 years elapsed from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign. But for this statement, we should find in the Old Testament no general determination whatever of the whole period from Moses to the building of the Temple. This statement, however, approves itself as perfectly accurate, whether we look to the sources whence it is apparently derived (i. p. 76), or compare it with all other landmarks of history and chronology among the Hebrews and other nations. How admirably it adapts itself to the early history, has been already shown in i. pp. 392, 401 sqq.; how exactly it fits into the well-ascertained chronology of later times, will appear from the life of Solomon.[2] But it has been already proved (i. p. 204 sqq.), that during these centuries there existed in Israel a continuous chronology which was reckoned from the Exodus, the deliverance of the nation. We need not assume that this chronology was commenced immediately in the first moment of liberation; it is more probable that the forty years of the desert and the period of the first conquest of Canaan were already passed, before the chronology, like so many other things (p. 259 sqq.), was arranged, beginning from the first year of the Exodus; for Israel then felt too proud to conform its chronology to that of any foreign people, Egyptians, Phenicians, or Babylonians. But as apparently this sacerdotal chronology was not then used in common life, and as (according to i. p. 133 sqq.) historiography separated more and more into the popular and the sacerdotal, it is not surprising that the events of the times after Moses and Joshua are often

[1] 370 in Lactantius *Institut.* iv. 5, by a slip of the pen.

[2] This number has been again rejected in modern times, especially by Clinton in his *Fasti Hellenici* i. p. 313. But his whole treatise, 'Scripture Chronology,' rests upon the assumption, now recognised as untenable, of the literal accuracy of Scripture; and yet he is here compelled by a chronological statement in the New Testament to reject one found in the Old! On equally superficial grounds P. J. Junker (in his *Forschungen über die Geschichte des Alterthumes*, Leipzig, 1863) rejects the number 480. See also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 260.

related without the constraint of this continuous chronology, and with only more general notices of time; the years of the Judges being specified when the deeds of those heroes were the principal subject (so in Judges iii–xvi), and single events being defined by the time of some High Priest, or other such general indications.

As the rule of the Judges was neither unbroken nor legally recognised throughout the whole country, the priests naturally attended but little to the years of an individual's rule, so long as he still lived. But when the entire period was past, and men began to desire a distinct retrospect of its more important points, they doubtless grouped together the twelve Judges who form the nucleus of the existing book (p. 364), with such brief notices of them as we still find with regard to five of the number (p. 367); giving the length of rule as far as remembrance was possible in each individual case. Another independent object must have been combined with this: to connect in some broad, intelligible scheme the many successive wars and victories of those 480 years. Looking back at the expiration of the 480 years on their many vicissitudes, it might seem fitting to divide the whole into twelve equal parts of forty years each. That the number forty is among certain nations a round number, is easily said; but even every round number must have had in the beginning a real meaning, and therefore a limited application. In this case approximate numbers may have existed for some of the twelve periods. For the forty years' sojourn of Israel in the desert was certainly a very ancient belief. David had reigned rather longer than forty years,[1] but the surplus might be easily dispensed with. But the division of the whole time till the death of David into twelve times forty years, was probably suggested by the number 480 itself, the accepted basis of the calculation; it being then easy to assume twelve generations, of forty years each.[2] Thus to every forty years a great hero and

[1] Forty years and a half, according to 2 Sam. v. 4 sq.; though in 1 Kings ii. 11 the half year is omitted for the sake of brevity. The notorious assumption that Saul, David, and Solomon each reigned forty years is found on investigation to be as baseless as that which reveals still grosser ignorance, that Saul, David, and Solomon, were significant names.

[2] The chronology was no doubt variously reckoned: e.g. from Samuel up to Levi exactly twenty generations, and therefore up to Moses about ten or twelve, were counted in 1 Chron. v. 7–13, comp. vv. 18–23; whereas from Judah to David only ten, and from Moses to David only five generations are reckoned in Ruth iv. 18–22, 1 Chron. ii. 10–13, comp. with Num. i. 7. But in the High Priest's family they really counted from Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, who was High Priest under David, twelve generations back to Aaron, 1 Chron. v. 29–35, which nearly (though not exactly) tallies. It was therefore possible that twelve such High Priests should pretty nearly correspond to those twelve cycles of forty years; and that several narrators did actually carry out this idea, is evident from the statements of Clem. Alex. *Stromata* i. 21, where 'Οζιούς (עזיה) ὁ τοῦ 'Αβησσοῦ (the

an important event appear to have been assigned, perhaps thus: 1) Moses and the desert. 2) Joshua and the prosperous rule of the elders.[1] 3) The war with Chushan-rishathaim, and Othniel. 4) The Moabites and Ehud. 5) The Arameans and Jair.[2] 6) The Canaanites under Jabin, and Deborah. 7) The Midianites and Gideon. 8) Tola, of whose adversaries we are now ignorant. 9) The Ammonites and the Philistines, or Jephthah and Samson.[3] 10) The Philistines and Eli. 11) Samuel and Saul.[4] 12) David. Without some such hypothesis, the origin of the leading numbers given, both in Judges iii–xvi, and in reference to Eli, and to Samuel and Saul, is inexplicable. For at some one definite time the beginning must have been made of resolving all these periods into forties, as the fundamental number.[5] Moreover Jephthah says, what quite accords with this, that 300 years had elapsed from the occupation of the districts between Moab and Ammon in the last year of Moses' life, to his own time.[6] It is easy to understand that within every forty years, smaller numbers, as 20, 18, 22, &c., might be admitted for particular events. Finally, as we have a right to assume, the twelve Judges from Othniel to Samson must have been connected with this different mode of reckoning; and many changes must have been gone through, before the numbers and the series of Judges assumed the form in which the last author but one put

patronymic is wanting; the pronunciation אֲבִיעֶזֶר, though conceivable, is incorrect according to the laws for forming Hebrew names, for אֲבִיאֵשׁ is quite correctly made a contemporary of Deborah; see on Judg. xviii. 30 and xx. 28, p. 313 *note*. Yet Josephus *Ant.* xx. 10 reckons thirteen High Priests for the entire period, without naming them.

[1] As according to p. 254 *note*, not forty but only about twenty-five years are ascribed to Joshua, it might be assumed that the 'Elders' ruled for the rest of the forty years. In the existing narrative of Judges ii. 7–10 (Josh. xxiv. 31), the number of these years is omitted; in Josephus *Ant.* vi. 5. 4, and Georgius Syncellus *Chron.* i. p. 284, the 'Anarchy,' i.e. the interval between Joshua and the Judges, lasts eighteen years. Africanus assigned even thirty years to the Elders, according to Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* x. 10, *Chron.* i. p. 157; originally the number was probably fixed at fifteen years only. Othniel (Γοθονιὴλ in the LXX.), according to all traditions, marks the succeeding generation.

[2] That the eighty years in Judges iii. 30 are formed from twice forty is clear from the context; and as we see from p. 301 sq., 365, Jair may very well be removed to this period; that he gained his cities by victories over the Arameans, follows from what has been said at p. 301 sq. According to Judges x. 5, his grave continued to be shown at Kamon; which, by the description in Polybius *Hist.* v. 70, was not far from Pella, and consequently on the further side of the northern Jordan.

[3] It follows from Judges x. 7, that according to the original meaning of the arrangement these two should be contemporaries; therefore the number in xiii. 1 must be derived from a fresh source, the Book of Samson.

[4] That these two should in all probability occupy a period of forty years, will be shown afterwards, in treating of Saul; on Eli see 1 Sam. iv. 18.

[5] Such numbers as the three years until the beginning of Abimelech's overthrow in Judges ix. 22, are of a very different description and colouring, and are derived unquestionably from very ancient authorities.

[6] Judges xi. 26. But the converse opinion that the number 480 in 1 Kings vi. 1 was attained merely by an artificial calculation of twelve generations, I consider incorrect, because the number would then be 484, and because there is no sufficient basis for any such hypothesis.

them together, obviously from manifold authorities, in the passage Judges iii–xvi.

Thus the two calculations, when the one has been traced to its origin, are found not to differ near so widely as might at first sight appear; and we have only to regret that so few books have been preserved to us out of the former wealth of historical works, and that we are therefore in many cases thrown back on internal evidence.

3. But after the Grecian period the readers of the now sacred books, perceiving the apparent contradictions between the statement in 1 Kings vi. 1 and most of the other accounts,[1] and wanting a clue to the right solution, were led, by the then prevalent desire for definite views on every point, into manifold errors; which, with the freedom assumed then and even till the second century after Christ, they had little hesitation in transferring to the text itself. Similar phenomena reappear with regard to many of the Old Testament dates, as has already been shown at i. pp. 276, 400 sqq. As some of these hypotheses have acquired historical importance, we must here add a brief explanation.

Even the LXX. made some alterations. In 1 Kings vi. 1 they read 440 years for 480, probably from some peculiar mode of computation of all ancient numbers; like Josephus when he assigns to Solomon eighty years instead of forty.[2] In like manner in Josh. v. 6 (Cod. Vat.) they alter the forty years in the desert into forty-two; evidently from taking the threat of forty years' abode therein Num. xiv, which strictly speaking is certainly assigned to the second year of the Exodus, to mean literally that the full forty years were then to follow.

Very different was the method pursued by the learned men of that school which Josephus and others followed; they accepted the separate numbers in the Book of Judges as a standard. Josephus, never a good chronologer, reckoned 592 years[3] instead of the 480; and this number comes out if we add to the 390 spoken of at p. 368, the twenty years of Samson (p. 367), and

[1] This is all that can be said, for as appears on the surface, Jephthah ought to have spoken in Judges xi. 26 not of 300, but of more than 350 years.

[2] Josephus *Ant.* viii. 7. 8.

[3] Ibid. viii. 3. 1; also x. 8. 5; but comp. the statements in vii. 3. 2; xi. 4. 8; and ix. 14. 1. On the other hand, in *Ant.* xx. 10, and *Against Apion* ii. 2, he reckons for this same period 612 years; which is certainly more correct according to his own views; for he assigns to the Elders after Joshua, though only incidentally (*Ant.* vi. 5. 4), eighteen years, which he here forgets to reckon; and to Saul, according to another reading, he gave twenty-two years. If we add to this the twenty years named in 1 Sam. vii. 2, the total amounts to 632 years! and some actually reckoned so many. Theophilus *ad Autolyc.* iii. 21 allows 566 years; but comp. ch. 24.

then the forty years of Eli, thus obtaining 450 years as the period of the Judges up to Samuel;[1] and if to these 450 we then add the forty of the Desert, twenty-six of Joshua, twelve of Samuel, twenty of Saul,[2] forty of David, and four of Solomon to the building of the Temple; making altogether 142 years more.

The great reputation enjoyed by Josephus long turned the scale among many, both Jews and Christians, in favour of this ill-grounded number 592; and the Exodus was consequently pushed back to somewhere about the middle of the 18th Egyptian dynasty. But no unanimous opinion ever prevailed on the subject. The survey of the whole period which is given by Clemens Alexandrinus with some remarkable variations from the ordinary accounts,[3] shows that at that time the interval between Moses and Solomon was estimated by some at 450 years, by others at 543 years 7 months. Africanus reckoned even 744 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple. Eusebius, who disapproves of this, and wrote a long treatise on the question, computed the years given by the addition of all the numbers at exactly 600; but he considers this number too high, because only five generations are reckoned between Moses and David, and therefore approves the 480 years given in 1 Kings vi. 1. Yet he harmonises the two computations by reckoning in all the years of foreign rule with those of the Judges.[4] These years however together are only 111, not 120 or 112. This led a scholar in modern times to suggest the converse idea, that the author of the Books of Kings purposely deducted the 111

[1] Up to this point the calculation in Acts xiii. 20 is in entire accordance with this. Its deviation commences with Saul, to whom it ascribes forty years, which view however is manifestly more antique if we consider it to include Samuel's years.

[2] Josephus *Ant.* v. 1. 29; vi. 13. 5; xiv. 9. In the ordinary text twenty-five years are ascribed to Joshua, and twenty-two to Saul; the ancient various readings, twenty-six and twenty, have already been pointed out by Haverkamp.

[3] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21. He omits Jair, puts *Boleas*, evidently by a slip of the pen, for Θωλέας or Tola, but singularly names him *υἱὸς Βηδὰν υἱοῦ Χαββάν*, quite different from Judges x. 1; *Ἐβρών* for *Ἀβδών*, *Ἐγλώμ* for *Αἰλώμ* LXX. אֵלוֹן are probably only slips of the pen; Eusebius *Præp. Ev.* x. 9. also has *Labdon* for Abdon. Several errors in the numbers also occur there. But yet one would be glad to know the origin of some of these variations.

[4] Eusebius *Chron. Arm.* i. p. 156–170 ed. Venet.; comp. Georgius Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 333 ed. Bonn., who deliberately rejected the good foundation laid by Eusebius. Eusebius, however, does certainly make out the 480 years capriciously, entirely omitting the Judge Elon, together with Abassan (which had been done by some even in Clement's time), and allowing only twenty years for the time of the Philistine oppression, together with Samson. The statements of later writers, of the Fathers and other Christians, as well as of the Moslim (comp. Hamza's *Annals* p. 85 sqq., Tabari i. p. 6 sqq. Dub., Abulfida's *Ann. Anteisl.* p. 34 sq., Jelaleldin's *Hist. of Jerusalem*, trans. by Reynolds, London, 1836, p. 41 sq.), have no independent value. Some modern attempts to alter the number 480 may be found in Perizonii *Orig. Ægyp.* p. 277, and in the *Zeits. d. Deut. Morg. Ges.* iii. p. 87 sqq. According to the very meagre and corrupt accounts in the *Chron. Samarit.* xxxix. sq., only 260 elapsed from the beginning of Joshua to Samson's death.

years of foreign rule from the 592 years of Josephus, in order to efface the memory of the disgrace. But we cannot consider such conjectures otherwise than wrong in principle, because they start from the possibility of harmonising two entirely opposite modes of reckoning.

III. History of the Judges.

1. The First Judges, to Deborah.

The first Judges show most plainly from what sudden internal excitement in a time of strong pressure their irresistible strength issued. The two of whom we now know most, Ehud and Deborah, are by unequivocal signs recognised as prophets as well, and may in this respect be even remotely compared to Moses.

Ehud's[1] deed is as vividly narrated as if it had never passed through the process of tradition.[2] Even the account of the Moabite king Eglon rising in reverence, notwithstanding his corpulency, when Ehud announces to him a 'word of God,' need not stagger any one who reflects that the earlier the age, the more profound is the reverence for the Oracle, and the more implicit the belief in its truth. In fact, we can best compare Ehud to an African Marabout of the present day: to him as a holy man, trusted by his own people and respected by the enemy, is entrusted the office of bearing the yearly tribute to the Moabites. Yet he is a Benjamite, expert in the use of the left hand,[3] equalled by few in arms and in stratagem. If he must undertake the unwelcome business of delivering the tribute, not in vain will he look the national enemy in the face. Silently he nerves himself for the daring deed; and circumstances favour the boldest resolve. The Moabite king, after a victory over Israel, had occupied the fortress of Jericho the City of Palms, which had been deserted since Joshua's time, and had thus gained a firm footing in Canaan, sufficient to extort tribute from the neighbouring districts; and the tribe of Benjamin, in whose territory Jericho was situated,[4] had naturally the most to contribute. But there was greater freedom of action in the

[1] According to the LXX. Ἀώδ.

[2] Judges iii. 13–30; the passage is undoubtedly retained unaltered from an earlier work, as is the case with Judges xvii–xxi; see i. p. 151 sq.

[3] Ehud was in this respect, according to p. 282, little more than every genuine ancient Benjamite; he was what the Hindus would call a *Savjasâcin* (Mahâ-Bhâr. Nivâtakavacabadha iv. 15, Bhag. Gîtâ xi. 33), a Roman *Scævola*.

[4] According to Josh. xviii. 21; but Gilgal, being not enumerated in Josh. xviii, would appear to have belonged to Ephraim as a sacred city.

mountain-region further north towards Ephraim,[1] where even the extreme frontier-outpost of the Moabites was apparently not far distant, being near the Sanctuary of Gilgal.[2] Now, if the oppressed people were to descend victorious from those mountains, and preoccupy the neighbouring ford of the Jordan (p. 246), the whole hostile army might easily be destroyed without a chance of escape. Ehud therefore, after delivering the tribute, and finding all safe at this frontier-post on his return thither with the porters, returns alone with a sword concealed on his right side, and requests a private interview with the Moabite, as if he had some secret intelligence to communicate. Then, when alone with him in the cool apartment on the house-top, he announces an oracle, which the king rises to receive. Hereupon he plunges the sword (which he draws with his left hand) with such force into the corpulent body of the king, that even the hilt enters the flesh. Then, rushing out into the gallery which runs round the roof,[3] and barring the door, that any one who comes may be long kept in ignorance of the king's condition, he escapes to the mountains, summons and leads the men of Ephraim to the place, where 10,000 Moabites fall, and the land on the west of the Jordan is liberated, and long remains free.

Of Shamgar (p. 317) tradition tells, that—like a precursor of Samson—he slew 600 men at once with an ox-goad, and in nearly the same region which afterwards witnessed the feats of Samson, and where the tribe of Dan had very early a sharp conflict to wage, partly with Canaanites and partly with Philistines; p. 289 sq. But we unfortunately know no particulars whatever of the state of the Philistines in such early times; so that this detached notice is especially obscure.[4]

Deborah indeed, in the exultation of the great victory of her time, speaks somewhat scornfully of her immediate predecessors, saying that under their rule the Canaanites ranged freely in search of spoil,[5] made the ways unsafe and deserted, and

[1] Under the special designation *ha-Seirah*, Judges iii. 26: an arm which, according to Josh. xv. 10, stretched as far as the northern point of Judah.

[2] On the stone images at Gilgal, here named, see p. 246. That the frontier guard was stationed there, is certainly only to be gathered from the context; see also p. 244 sqq.

[3] In my *Krit. Gram.* p. 519, I gave the only valid explanation of ver. 22, namely, that פרשׁן (whatever interpretation be given to the root) must be identical with מסרן in ver. 23; whence necessarily follows that the words ויצא חם, ver. 22, are only a various reading or explanation to the first words of ver. 23. Both words signify, according to the context and some early translations, a gallery enclosed by the roof, comp. Ezek. xlii. 5.

[4] That Shamgar ruled for one year, is an arbitrary assumption in Joseph. *Ant.* v. 4. 3; comp. also p. 364.

[5] Judges v. 6 sq., compared with the last words in ver. 19 and with ver. 30.

virtually annihilated the independent government of Jahveh's once illustrious people, until she herself arose, a Mother or guide in Israel, and the people chose new leaders, sanctioned by Jahveh. And in truth the uprising to which this wonderful woman roused the people from the farthest north even to Benjamin, must have been something extraordinary, both in itself and in its consequences; to judge only by her own songs and the short narrative in Judges iv. This narrative is drawn up without reference to the song, at least so far as the book employed by the last author but one is concerned. But though it relates more in detail the events preceding the victory, it describes the persons and the circumstances connected with it, far less fully and graphically than the song. Taking the two together, we obtain the following picture of the event which destroyed for ever the Canaanite supremacy.

Deborah, wife of a certain Lapidoth, had long been renowned as a prophetess; like Barak, her fellow-conqueror, she came of the tribe Issachar,[1] but seems like him to have abandoned the level country, to avoid the armies of the Canaanite tyrant of Hazor (p. 253) and his general Sisera, which ranged there with unchecked facility. She took up her abode to the south of Bethel on the 'Mountains of Ephraim,' strictly speaking, on Benjamite ground; and judged the assembled people under a Palm-tree.[2] We are quite ignorant how long the people of the northern tribes were swayed by her prophetic powers, or what immediate cause finally determined her to rise against the Canaanites. Suffice it to say, the people took heart under her influence; chose new rulers;[3] and when she gave the signal for attack, all were evidently strung to the right pitch, and fully prepared for the important moment. Tradition relates, that when she urged Barak, who was stationed at Kadesh in the extreme north, to advance with 10,000 men of Naphtali and Zebulon towards Mount

[1] This is perfectly clear from the song, ver. 15, where this tribe, with Deborah, Barak, and its other leaders, is contrasted with the other tribes and leaders, but at the same time specially exalted even above the others. Another Judge, also from the tribe Issachar, was settled in Ephraim, Judges x. 1 sq.

[2] It is remarkable that according to Gen. xxxv. 8, the 'Oak of Deborah,' Rebekah's nurse, stood likewise *below*, i.e. *south*, of Bethel; but since the existence of the ancient heroine is certain from other considerations (i. p. 293 sq.), it would seem rather as if this latter Deborah may have chosen the same sacred spot as her abiding place, and thus have been named after her predecessor. This is the more probable, as the name Deborah originally signifies only *Guide* or *Leader* (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 205 sq.), and is thus used even by Deborah herself in her song, v. 7. Hence we perceive that the personal name of this heroic woman has been lost, in favour of the honourable appellation applied to her by the nation.

[3] That this is the sense of the words in ver. 8 of the song, has been already explained in the *Dichter des A. B.* i. p. 126; and we shall probably have to content ourselves with this meaning.

Tabor with the prophetic promise of Divine assistance and victory at the river Kishon (where the victory was in fact gained), he, too cautious and hesitating, only promised to advance if she went with him. This she declared herself ready to do, but punished him by the prophetic words, that he now would forfeit the chief glory of the expedition to a woman, who would be Sisera's conqueror; and in fact it was eventually not Barak his pursuer, but the woman Jael, that slew the dreaded general.[1]

Deborah's selection of Tabor for the gathering-place of the troops agrees with the fact that both she and Barak were of the tribe Issachar,[2] and consequently familiar with the region which was to bear so decisive a part in the destiny of the whole northern country. According to the later narrative, Deborah would seem to have gone first to Kadesh, and thence to have advanced upon Tabor with Barak and the 10,000 men of those two northern tribes, which would thus have gained the entire victory.[3] But that there are great omissions here, is evident from the song; according to which, besides those two tribes, Benjamin, part of Ephraim,[4] Manasseh, and Issachar, took their share, and the entire attacking force comprised about 40,000 men; though of these, as was to be expected from the exigency of the time, only very few, or perhaps none, were heavily armed.

Hearing of this great mustering at Mount Tabor, Sisera drew in his army (consisting, according to the later narrative, of 900 chariots of iron, and many other forces, with much baggage) into the broad plain to the south of the river Kishon and south-west of Mount Tabor. But Deborah and Barak suddenly turned and rushed down from the heights into the valley; and there, at Taanach, by the brook Megiddo, ensued a concussion, whose violence and decisive force could not be better depicted than by the figure in the song, that the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. For it might indeed well appear as if only supernal, heavenly

[1] This is the sense of the words in iv. 6–9, with which iv. 11, 17–22, must be compared, not to miss the meaning of the narrative. On this account the addition made by the LXX. in iv. 8 is unsuitable, and only derived from iv. 14 and v. 23.

[2] Tabor was situated in the territory of this tribe or on its borders, Josh. xix. 12. The city Daberath, mentioned here and in xxi. 28, is pretty certainly the village Deburieh on the west of Mount Tabor, Δάβειρα in Eus. *Onomast.* To connect this with our Deborah is, however, pure illusion; the name of the place might be more probably connected with that of the mountain.

[3] Judges iv. 14, compared with vv. 6 and 10, and v. 8. In iii. 29 (comp. vii. 3) also the narrator uses this round number.

[4] Only those from the Mountain of Amalek, as is quite distinctly stated in v. 14; comp. xii. 15. That even these were at first only roused to action by the Benjamites, agrees with the spirit always displayed by that tribe, as well as with the site of Deborah's abode.

powers could thus put to flight one who possessed the prestige of victory, and led such vast forces to battle; and assuredly, what then impelled Israel to the desperate struggle, was again that pure, heaven-born courage, to which alone Jahveh and all heavenly powers give their support. No further particulars are given of the grand event. Its results are more easily surveyed. Sisera's army, driven north-westwards, suffered irreparable loss in the waters of the Kishon, just then at their highest. And unremitting, as if urged by some heavenly leader, was Israel's pursuit of the northward-flying remnant. As always in such cases, the stream of victorious pursuit swells as it goes, and the 'gates' of every city fly open. The city Meroz,[1] however, pusillanimously hesitates to bear part in the destruction of the flying foe, but receives instant retribution, being cursed and annihilated as if by Jahveh's own guiding angel. Sisera, with the remnant of his army, is driven in the wild career of flight to Harosheth of the Gentiles, his dwelling-place, where he kept a splendid court, but little dependent on his sovereign,[2] but even there he is allowed no peace. Finally he hastens alone and on foot, in more and more desperate flight north-eastwards, to near Lake Merom,[3] anxious only not to be taken by Barak. At last near Kadesh he obtains shelter and protection (as he thinks) in the tent of Heber, a Kenite (p. 286) on friendly terms with his own king. But Heber's wife Jael, after confirming him in his security by various obliging services, with her own hand drives a tent-nail into his brain when sleeping. Barak, anticipated, as tradition adds, by a woman, arrives too late to put the crown to his work with his own hand. The power of the Canaanite king, the last of that race by whom the northern tribes were harassed, was soon wholly shattered; and the elevation of spirit which continued to pervade the nation, is best shown by the songs of Deborah, sung at the triumphal feast by the whole people during the distribution of the rich spoil. Thankfulness to Jahveh, merry jest or biting sarcasm, joyous

[1] This place, Judges v. 23, occurs nowhere else; unless it was really utterly destroyed at that time, we might conjecture an early mistake for מרון, which would be the same as מראון, Josh. xii. 20, and with the place in Galilee also written מירון *Mairun* in later Jewish writings. At any rate the attempts of John Wilson (ii. p. 89–107) to find a suitable Meroz are all most unsatisfactory. The affair here referred to in poetic language is doubtless the same which is very prosaically described in reference to Gideon in Judges viii. 4–17. The mention of the more easterly city Endor, in Ps. lxxxiii. 10 [9] sq. is curious, but originated, no doubt, in some more detailed accounts, accessible to that poet.

[2] According to Judges iv. 3, xiii. 16, comp. v. 28–31. From these notices the place seems to have lain north of Mount Tabor, but south of Hazor.

[3] There, according to Judges iv. 11, stood the 'Terebinths of the Marsh-dwellers.' On בצעננים see *Jahrb. de Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 52 sq.

anticipations of a boundless future of happiness, preponderate in these songs over even the strongly-expressed feelings of gratified revenge.

It really needs only a close study of these two great songs, to perceive clearly what refined skill Israel had then attained, despite the long oppression of Canaanite rule, in the mechanical arts, as well as in poetry and song;[1] and how elevated was then the general tone of national life. The noblest of the captives, led in solemn procession, with the choicest articles of the spoil, were necessary to the pomp of the great triumphal feast, which was doubtless celebrated at Shiloh as soon as tranquillity was perfectly restored. But the solemnities of the day began in the morning, far from all turmoil, with a song of thanks to Jahveh as the only giver of victory to his people.[2] This thanksgiving-song is complete in itself and well rounded off; antique in its brevity, yet full of manifold and lucidly arranged matter; presenting amid the merriment of the day a serious survey of the whole preceding history of Israel. Not till later in the day is formed the triumphal procession of the people; music and song of a different character are heard, in which the assembled populace can bear a part, and which from the length of the procession are extended to double the usual length;[3] jest also and sarcasm find their place in the great popular play. But if this second song cannot without various sly sarcasms speak of those tribes who had kept away from the war and therefore shared not this feast, the first song calls even upon them, wherever they may be, at least to join in thankful rejoicing before God for that day.[4]

To ourselves, indeed, the history of Deborah's great victory has an additional interest, as showing at first hand how infinitely more impressive was a victory in those old times, when aided by some sympathetic impulse, as it were, of inanimate nature—a storm, a hurricane, or a flood. That Israel's arm is doubly steeled, when even in the so-called elemental forces some divine energy and impulse responds, as it were, to its own courage, is a frequent occurrence in its history, even in later times. For to a nation so often and so sorely pressed from without, driven so frequently to the last extremity, and

[1] The many-coloured embroidered fabrics (Judges v. 30) were no doubt made in great quantities in Israel at that time in competition with Phenician manufacture, and would be accounted valuable articles of booty. Respecting poetry, see p. 354 sqq.

[2] Judges v. 2–11, an independent song of praise.

[3] Judges v. 12–31, the proper triumphal song, which is double the length.

[4] This is the meaning of the words referring to Reuben and other tribes in Judges v. 11, compared with vv. 15–17.

compelled to think rather of defence than of attack or conquest, nothing is naturally more helpful than unusual terrors and disturbances of nature, which always injure most the prosperous and the arrogant. But for the Israel of ancient times all these things had a still deeper significance. Forbidden, as we have seen (p. 127 sqq.), to recognise and as it were grasp the God of Heaven in any material form, or to adore even in the heavens themselves any constant symbols of his being and his power, yet yearning the more in spirit for clearer manifestations of his invisible existence—such a purely spiritual God being scarcely dreamt of in the whole ancient world besides—its mind was ever on the stretch for any hint in nature of the unseen Celestial, for any seeming glimpse of his mysterious ways, in hurricane, earthquake, or flood. And its courage rose to a far higher pitch, when Divine encouragement and impulse seemed to give answer even from the material world: when it beheld the haughty foe assailed and annihilated by sudden floods and tempests, or fearful thunders. A quick feeling for nature in all her aspects characterises ancient Israel throughout (p. 152); but in this aspect it assumed a somewhat peculiar form. In Deborah's song we have the most striking example of its power; but the same feeling was earlier manifested in all the great crises of Israel's history (p. 70 sqq., 251 sqq.), and not unfrequently recurs even in later times.[1]

2. Gideon and his Sons.

Gideon is indeed one of the heroes raised up instantaneously by Jahveh; but as the time to which he belongs had already attained a point of civilisation and development, at which the sudden evils of the national condition were more deeply felt, and the desire for a more perfect system of human government was thus becoming universal, the issue of his and his sons' government is quite different from that of the earlier judges. In a period thus inclining towards human sovereignty, Gideon was the best ruler that could be found—the noblest in character, most prompt and yet efficient in word and deed; formed for rule, yet without lust of rule; preferring renunciation, and yielding to the higher duties of religion.

In refusing, through his loyalty to that Jahveh-religion which lived within him, the royal dignity offered to him by the

[1] Among the Armenians we find more of this feeling than among any other people: see e.g. the Armenian history of Matthias of Edessa pp. 96 sq., 105, 29 of the French translation.

people, he shows and exemplifies the highest point which the mere Judge can attain, and becomes almost a real sovereign without the name or rank, and almost against his own will. But though his lofty nature enabled him to hold this position without danger, its essential incongruity reveals itself only the more sharply after his death; and the fate of his sons is melancholy in the extreme.

His own history, forming the middle portion of this period, is also its brightest side. No great Judge's exploits and achievement took such abiding hold of the popular mind, or became so proverbial, as Gideon's.[1] It is only the natural result of this historic greatness, that in the existing narrative respecting Gideon his very first appearance in the history is connected with the exercise of divine powers, as if he still belonged to an age whose heroes might be compared to the Patriarchs; and in fact the description in Judges vi. and vii. quite recalls the Patriarchal legends.

But on a closer examination of Gideon's exploits, we are at once struck by the fact that they belong to two classes, representing two widely different sides of his life. He is the great conqueror of the eastern nomads comprehended under the name of Midian; and he is also renowned, as his epithet Jerubbaal[2]

[1] This is shown even by Is. ix. 3 [4], x. 26. Whether 'Hierombal, priest of the God Jevo' mentioned in Eus. *Præp. Evan.* i. 9, from whom Sanchoniathon of Berytus had received important communications, was identical with Gideon-Jerubbaal, is perhaps a matter of indifference, since nothing further is there said of him; but some one else must certainly be meant, if only because Gideon could not be regarded as a priest. See my treatise *Ueber die Phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung und Sanchuniathon* p. 52.

[2] Whether this, however, was the original meaning of the word, is rendered doubtful by the following considerations. We find interchanged, as if synonymous with the name Jerubbaal, Jerubbesheth (not Jerubbosheth) in 2 Sam. xi. 21. Now, since בֹּשֶׁת *Shame*, which properly signifies only Astarte, in Hos. ix. 10, Jer. iii. 24, xi. 13, shows itself almost interchangeable with Baal, this seems at first sight a confirmation of the meaning, 'Antagonist of the Baal of the Heathen.' But it is highly improbable that Saul's son, king אִישׁ־בֹּשֶׁת 2 Sam. ii. sqq., whose name is interchanged with אִישְׁבַּעַל in 1 Chron. viii. 38, and other persons in Saul's house of the name מְרִיבֹּשֶׁת (which we should certainly everywhere read for מִפִּיב), which (2 Sam. xxi. 7 sqq.) is similarly exchanged for מְרִיב בַּעַל in 1 Chron. ix. 40, had taken names derived from heathen deities. Baal in itself may signify any god; and with אֶלְיָדָע 2 Sam. v. 16, is interchanged בְּעַלְיָדָע 1 Chron. xiv. 7. Moreover the names of places beginning with Baal do not necessarily denote places dedicated to heathen gods; see 2 Sam. v. 20. In the same way בֹּשֶׁת, like *αἰδώς*, may have had originally a good meaning (*reverence*), as פַּחַד in Gen. xxxi. 53. Now reflecting that in those early times words may have borne a very different sense on these subjects, and also that the great struggle against the Baals did not begin till after David's time, we find it far from improbable that Jerubbaal, given as a title of honour to the great conqueror, may have originally signified only *God's Warrior*. In that case this name would have had the same fortunes as the ancient name of Israel, see i. pp. 344, 358 sq. And before the ninth or eighth century the present explanation of the name Jerubbaal cannot well have been written; but this does not make the story that Gideon opposed the Covenant-Baal necessarily unhistorical.

betokens, as the antagonist of Baal. But the Baal whom he opposes cannot, either from the description in chapter vi, or according to the possibilities of the case, be the deity of those nations which he conquers. He is unquestionably the same Phenician god whom the northern tribes adored again immediately upon his death, as the 'Covenant-Baal' (p. 342 sq.); as if only the hero's strenuous resistance had restrained them during his lifetime from worshipping him openly. Now, was the hero first Gideon or Jerubbaal? Had he, before his victories over the external enemies of the Jahveh-religion, contended so successfully against its internal foes as to win the name of 'Baal's Antagonist?' Everything leads to the conclusion, that not until after his victories over the foes without, did he acquire power to subdue also those within. This is not only the natural order of things, but is attested by all the recognisable vestiges of history. The civic league above described (p. 342 sq.), with its worship of the Covenant-Baal, may have been constituted before Gideon's victories over Midian, and have excited by its Phenician tendencies the wrath of many a noble Hebrew; but Gideon, according even to the later traditions, was of the family then least in Manasseh (we know not from what special cause), that of Abiezer,[1] and even a younger son of his house. The immediate and most powerful incitement to his enterprise against the Midianites (as is incidentally mentioned[2]) was the barbarous massacre of his nearest relatives on Mount Tabor, which it fell to him to avenge. But when he returned home the mighty conqueror of the Midianites, and his position was once for all firmly established among the people, he might easily lend his weight to counterbalance the power of the civic league, until his death again allowed it free scope.

However, the historical relation between the civic league and the worship of Baal in those days, seems to have been early lost sight of; and as the narrator was desirous of placing the two sides of Gideon's work in close connection from the very beginning, and regarded the resistance to Baal as the more important, as in fact the consecration of the true Champion of Jahveh, he consequently formed a peculiar conception of the hero's first entrance on his great career. That Gideon's first successes were achieved with the least adequate means, was no doubt fa-

[1] Judges vi. 15, comp. 11, 34, viii. 2; comp. also Josh. xvii. 2. As it would here seem that the family of Abiezer was formerly the first and most powerful of Manasseh, its decline is probably connected with the circumstances mentioned at p. 279 sq. The exact site of Gideon's birthplace Ophrah has not as yet been discovered. Van de Velde, indeed, finds it in Erfai near Akrabe; but this lies too far south for the ancient Manasseh.

[2] Judges viii. 18 sq.

miliar to the narrator as one of the most enduring traditions of his life. That in the very midst of his victorious career he gave an instance of the noblest renunciation in the spirit of the true Jahveh-religion, was equally a recognised trait in the stories about him. Accordingly the first of the three great traditional pictures of his life, the history of him as 'Baal's Antagonist,' takes the following form:[1]

While the peaceful inhabitant of Ophrah in the tribe of Manasseh, from fear of the plundering Midianites, was threshing his wheat furtively in the wine-press, instead of in the open field, he feels the first whisper of the Divine call. The exhortation to become the deliverer of his people grows gradually louder and more distinct, the more honestly the lowly son of Joash expresses his doubts. While he would fain reflect and oppose, the exhortation becomes too powerful to be longer resisted, when at length by a visible sign[2] he sees his sacrifice accepted, and in the unknown Encourager, at the very moment of vanishing, recognises Jahveh himself. Nor is he annihilated, as from his early belief he might have dreaded, by the recognition of that immediate presence. So he erects an altar on the spot, and names it 'Jahveh is Salvation.' Unquestionably, as the narrator expressly states,[3] the altar so named was still standing in his own time, and contributed to give this beautiful turn to the story. No more fitting expression could well be found of the overpowering might with which a great thought may seize and possess even him who thinks himself weak.

But the thought, once conceived, must fructify in action; and thus in a single night is conceived and executed the divinely-prompted resolve, to overthrow the altar of Baal which the whole city worshipped, to cut down the sacred grove which surrounded it, and to make use of the wood in sacrificing a bullock of the seventh year, the only one of the sort possessed by his father,[4] upon an altar hastily erected to Jahveh on the very spot. On the following morning, all is astonishment and horror among the inhabitants of the city. They are about to punish with death the discovered violator of Baal, but are checked

[1] Judges vi. 11–32.

[2] An offering on the altar consumed by a gentle self-kindled fire from heaven, as Lev. ix. 24. See my *Alterthümer* p. 30 sqq.

[3] Judges vi. 24.

[4] The somewhat perplexing words of ver. 25 must in their context mean 'thy father's bull, the bull that has years, seven years;' that is, which is now not a mere bullock; שֵׁנִי as أسنّ *annosus*; —ו like vii. 22. On the two peculiarities of this sacrifice see my *Alterthümer*, pp. 35, 36. The tower-like heathen altar, rising like a fortress, is therefore to be desecrated and destroyed by putting the true altar in proper form (במערכה) on the top of it; so also the loftiest decorations of conquered temples were brought down to form the thresholds of their own.

(as the legend finely concludes) by the young man's prudent father, who (apparently in his heart approving his son's conduct) reminds them to leave to Baal himself the vindication of his own honour and the punishment of the destroyer of his altar; since immediate death would rather be merited by him who did not believe his revered Baal capable even of avenging himself. Thus Gideon received the name of Jerubbaal, in the sense 'Let Baal attack him, if he dare!' as the legend derisively adds.

The Champion of Jahveh is hereby prepared to contend in good earnest against the overpowering force of the Midianites; and this, his second great work, begins immediately. But even from the scanty notices which remain to us, we see that the struggle against Midian was a most tedious war, wide in its ramifications and varying in its fortunes, in which the whole greatness of the leader might be gloriously displayed. We find traces of at least three or four great battles against Midian, in very different localities. The first was fought in the great (Galilean) plain of Jezreel. Another is gained by the Ephraimites beyond the Jordan at the 'Raven Rock' and the 'Wolf's Coop,'[1] where the two Midianite princes Oreb and Zeeb ('Raven' and 'Wolf') are slain. This battle is brought less prominently forward in the Book of Judges because it was fought without Gideon's direct cooperation; but it is treated as very important by other narrators whom Isaiah[2] follows. The last successes are won by Gideon in the extreme east.[3] There was further a positive recollection that Gideon began the war with few resources, and gained the first victory with the smallest number of warriors; but afterwards drew to his side the great tribe of Ephraim and all the other northern tribes. His 300 picked men accompany him throughout his whole military career; and from the fact that his own family, the Abiezrites, had to take vengeance for blood upon the Midianites, as well as from a proverbial saying[4] incidentally quoted, we may infer that his own family formed the nucleus of these 300 men. The first victory was thus his greatest and most difficult achievement, and therefore in the existing narrative he is accompanied by the encouragement and guidance of the higher powers only until this first stage towards the accomplishment of the whole work is reached, and the path entirely smoothed for the rest.

[1] According to Judges vii. 24 sq., viii. 3.

[2] Is. x. 26.; of less importance is the late repetition in Ps. lxxxiii. 12 [11]. A place Ζήβ is mentioned in the *Onom.* of the Fathers; it lay fifteen Roman miles west of Ammon, the modern 'Ammān.

[3] According to Judges viii. 10 sq.

[4] Judges viii. 2.

Here however we come upon the traces of many popular legends and proverbs, which from the life of the great hero had been taken into the cycle of stories about him. The existing account[1] which ennobles and idealises all it touches, avails itself of one of these in describing Gideon's passage from the threshing-floor to the battle-field. The able commander, to fill his position worthily, must be warm and overflowing with zeal and care, even when all besides are indifferent and dry; and on the other hand he must at times maintain the greatest coolness and dryness when all other hearts are overflowing with unseasonable impatience and excitement. This once granted, it is easy to see how legend may have reported of Gideon, the great commander, that he wore on his breast a fleece, which was moist when all around was dry, and dry even when all else was moist. And if Gideon, as a general, was distinguished by this spontaneously-varying fleece, a narrator of a poetical turn might represent him before his entrance on his mission as supplicating from Jahveh the wondrous fleece, as a sign and pledge of his fitness for the arduous campaign. And so runs our existing account.[2]

Bearing such a fleece on his breast, he is soon surrounded by a numerous host—far too numerous, proceeds the narrative, for the Divine purpose of delivering Israel by a few, and thus showing that not strength of numbers but Jahveh is the true Deliverer. Therefore he proclaims, Divinely prompted:

> Whoever fears and trembles,
> Turn and depart from Gilead's Mount![3]

and there returned of the people 22,000 men, and only 10,000 remained upon the hill in the great northern plain of Jezreel, which from this occurrence was called En-harod, i.e. *Well of Trembling*. But even this number is too great to be fully reliable; and the well of pure water flows close at hand, as if expressly for the ordeal. Those only are the true warriors of Jahveh, who, when an enjoyment is offered, as for instance refreshment at a living well, taste it only in passing, and while standing on the alert; not seeking enjoyment, and crouching down to it in indolent comfort, but, mindful every minute of the business in hand and the desired victory, only lapping the water like dogs upon their way. As such only 300 approved themselves at

[1] The peculiar original authority employed here by the first narrator of the history of the twelve Judges, comprises the portion from vi. 11 to viii. 27 very little altered; from viii. 29 he evidently makes use of another.

[2] Judges vi. 36–40.

[3] It is very easy to perceive from these rare words and their arrangement, that they embody an ancient proverbial saying,

the testing water.[1] But even this select band of 300 is to suffice, according to the Divine appointment, to begin the glorious work victoriously; and should any one of them waver, he must be reassured by any propitious augury, which Gideon can announce at the last moment before the decisive crisis. When he descends into the plain,[2] alone with his armour-bearer Phurah, to reconnoitre the hostile camp, and approaches it quite close in the darkness, he hears one Midianite telling as his dream, that he had seen a crust of dry barley-bread roll down into the camp, and then suddenly strike the tent with such violence that it overturned; and another Midianite expounding the dream as referring to the sword of Gideon against the camp![3] Encouraged at the last moment by these tidings, each of the consecrated band, following Gideon's example in everything, hangs round him a horn besides his regular arms, and takes in his hand a blazing torch, screening[4] its light by an earthen pitcher held in the other hand; and in three bodies of 100 each (adopting an ordinary military stratagem), Gideon heading the first, all move towards the camp in the valley just as the second of the three night-watches had been changed. Arriving, they break the earthen pitchers with such a crash, disclosing at the same moment all the blazing torches, and blow the horns with such energy, that the enemies, met by the war-cry 'The sword of Jahveh and of Gideon!' can but believe that a hundred thousand are behind them. Blindly taking to flight, they rush straight onwards towards the south-east as far

the first and obvious meaning of which may have referred specially to the tribe of Manasseh. Mount Gilead, the place of Jacob's severest contests (i. p. 347), might from Patriarchal times have become a proverbial expression for a field of battle, and in this speech of Gideon's was evidently not intended to have any further meaning. But (according to p. 299 sqq.) the tribe of Manasseh had also often had special experience of Mount Gilead as a battle-field. A weaker repetition of this fine old saying is given in Deut. xx. 8.

[1] Here also undoubtedly some old proverb respecting Gideon lies at the foundation. The hero, who (as viii. 4–17 shows) with his chosen 300 dashed on to victory despite all opposition from ill-affected Israelites, and whom they willingly followed at their fullest speed, regardless of hunger and thirst, seemed to lead warriors who like dogs only lapped the water, always on the alert, ready for further pursuit and victory, never sunk in slothful enjoyment. Nothing is more absurd than the notion that such traits were only invented by a later narrator or historian. It should also be noticed that these 300 quite remind us of David's 600; which also seems to confirm their historical character.

[2] As is done also by Jonathan, 1 Sam. xiv. 1 sqq., and by the Homeric heroes.

[3] This again is unquestionably derived from a primitive popular legend, dating from Gideon's own lifetime. The crust of dry barley-bread, which is carried by the wind, and overturns the great tent, is the little half-famished band of Israelite peasants, borne onward by the storm-wind of inspiration to overthrow the wide-spreading but unstable band of nomad tent-dwellers. This appropriate image suggested itself naturally to the people of the time, and might at last easily take the form of a dream dreamed by some Midianite in the night before the decisive battle. צְלוֹל is a dry crust, from צָלַל *to rattle, crackle.*

[4] See also Aristoph. *Lys.* 1003.

as the Desert of the Jordan, on the frontier of Issachar and Ephraim,[1] pursued by the quickly-mustering northern tribes.[2]

As the stream of flight thus rolled towards the tribe Ephraim, and as in this territory many scattered Midianites may have previously taken up their abode, it was only a matter of course that Gideon should inform this powerful tribe of the victory, and call upon them to aid in the pursuit. Ephraim accordingly occupies all the small Wadis of the western Jordan valley as far as the ford of Beth-barah, together with the central Jordan itself, destroying by these means an uncomputed number of enemies. The same tribe also pursues the fugitives over the Jordan, where at the places 'Raven's Rock' and 'Wolf's Coop' (whose situation is now unknown to us) fall two Midianite princes, named 'Raven' and 'Wolf,' whose heads are brought to Gideon from beyond the Jordan. (Comp. p. 383.) By what cause Gideon was so long detained on the western side of the river, we have now no means of knowing; but when at length he traversed Ephraim with his sacred band of 300, to end the war, this principal tribe, arrogant from recent victory, calls him roughly to account, why he had begun the war without its previous knowledge? But the hero, as self-controlled as he was brave, smothers the smouldering fire of internal dissension by the gentleness of his wise words; representing to them that they had already achieved a greater victory than he, and that he himself makes no proud pretensions:—'Is not the gleaning of the grapes (the later-gained victory) of Ephraim better than the vintage (the first victory) of Abiezer (Gideon's insignificant family)?'—Unquestionably a genuine proverb, preserved to us from Gideon's own lips.[3]

When he thus crosses Jordan in full pursuit with his overwearied 300, and begs refreshment for them from the citizens of Succoth,[4] he is rudely refused by them (though still trembling

[1] To this conclusion we are led by the somewhat obscure mention of some small places in vii. 22, whose situation is as yet not quite clear, even if, following 1 Kings xi. 26, we read צרדה instead of צררה. If צְרֹרָה in Josh. iii. 16 and 1 Kings iv. 12 were synonymous with this, because צְרֵרָתָה is in 1 Chron. iv. 17 exchanged for the latter, occurring in 1 Kings vii. 46, we should at least know that it was situated on this side exactly opposite to Succoth on the opposite; but the synonymousness of the two names by no means follows certainly from these passages. See also Robinson ii. 14, 16 sq. On a place, *Shuttah*, to the south-east of Solam, see Wilson ii. p. 87.

[2] Judges vii. 1–23; consider the victories gained among other nations with very similar means: *Mujmil altawârîkh* in the *Jour. As.* 1841, ii. p. 516 sq.; also an instance given ibid. 1856, ii. p. 464; Platen's *Neapolitanische Geschichten* in his *Werke* p. 376; even as late as 1849 in Hungary, *Allg. Zeit.* 1849, p. 5219.

[3] Judges vii. 24–viii. 3.

[4] Even in the latest map accompanying Robinson's *Palestine*, this city is placed on the western side of the Jordan; and on his last journey (*Zeits. d. Deut. Morgenl. Ges.*, 1853, p. 59, and *Travels*, iii. 309

at the flying foe), as well as by the inhabitants of the neighbouring Penuel, with the enquiry whether Zebah and Zalmunna, the two remaining Midianite princes, are already in his hand? But vowing sharp vengeance on his return upon his heartless countrymen, he pursues his course without stopping, conquers the hostile force, which had already dwindled down from 135,000 to 15,000, and was moreover unguardedly encamped in the extreme south-east near Karkor,[1] captures the two princes on their escape from the camp, and destroys the camp itself, according to ancient custom, by the ban (p. 154). Returning with the two princes by an unexpected route[2] to Succoth, he wreaks upon the seventy-seven elders of the city the vengeance which he had threatened, having them torn to pieces[3] without mercy; and destroys both fortress and men of the neighbouring Penuel. Then it is the turn of the two Midianite princes to receive their chastisement; for these untutored savages (the tradition humorously adds) had replied to Gideon's question what sort of men they were whom they had slaughtered at Tabor, as declaring only too frankly, that they entirely resembled him in their kingly stature (p. 381); and when his young son, whom he commands to strike them down, naturally shrinks from the office, instead of begging for their lives, they are so silly as to call upon him to strike them down himself; so rude and uncivilised were these still powerful princes of the desert![4]

Here begins, in the extant narrative, the third and last period

sqq.) Robinson claims to have just discovered the remains of a *Sâkût*, south of Baisân. Yet the more intelligible passages of the Old Testament (see especially the Book of Origins in Josh. xiii. 27) point to a position on the farther side, which, being close to the Jordan and powerful from early times, had possessions on this side also; to which 1 Kings vii. 46 refers.

[1] *Karkaria* in the *Onomast.* of Eusebius; according to him a day's journey from Petra. The Karkar in Abulfida's *Geography* p. 246 must be a different place, as it lies too far north.

[2] It seems in fact that this must be the import of the words in ver. 13, מִלְחֶמֶת הַחֹרֶס 'from above Heres hither;' the place indeed is no further mentioned, but that alone would in no way make against the hypothesis, supposing the general sense of the passage to be in its favour. On the other hand, in going thither, according to ver. 11, he took the great highway eastwards from the Nobah and Jogbehah mentioned at p. 206; the latter is probably the present Jebeiha north of 'Ammôn. For הַחֹרִיר ver. 12 read הַחֹרֶס.

[3] We need not follow viii. 7 and the LXX. in reading וַיִּדְרֹשׁ for וַיִּדְרַע in viii. 16; but in this narrative, which is given throughout in somewhat popular style, it signifies, 'through them [through the bloody chastisement of the Elders] he *sharpened the wits of* the [other] men of Succoth.' On the other hand ver. 7 should be translated 'I make the thorns of the wilderness and the flints to tear your bodies.' (*Lehrb.* § 234 e.) We can only picture this as follows: upon an open threshing-floor, strewn with thorns, the prisoners were forced to cast themselves down, and over them were drawn flails shod with flints: a cruel mode of capital punishment, like our breaking on the wheel, but more speedy in its operation. This punishment occurs elsewhere of foreign foes: 2 Sam. viii. 2, Amos i. 3; but on this occasion domestic foes were to endure it.

[4] Judges viii. 4–21.

of Gideon's life, his rule as a Judge; of which however very little has come down to us.[1] That out of reverence for the ancient Jahveh-religion (p. 146) he, who seemed born for sovereignty, in the first flush of victory, refused the proffered hereditary royalty, is a thoroughly credible account. In the northern part of the country at that time all things tended towards monarchy, as is further shown by the history of his sons; but not less clear is it that he himself never accepted any such position. He remained in his native city Ophrah, content with the respect voluntarily accorded him. There many spontaneously sought his judicial decision and his protection, and thus he exercised extensive authority. This is attested by the story of his much-sought gilded household-god,[2] which, doubtless only in compliance with the custom of the time, he is said to have made out of the gold taken in the spoil, which was voluntarily cast by the assembled people into a general's mantle spread out to receive it.[3] Yet this god could not but become the god of all who resorted to Gideon for protection, without his being himself very greatly to blame, as things were in those times. It was at least Jahveh whom he and his followers worshipped in this image.

The greatness of this hero is still more fully manifested in the circumstances that followed his death. The statement that he had seventy sons can only be understood in the same way as similar ones with respect to three other Judges: that Jair and Ibzan had each thirty sons,[4] Abdon forty sons and thirty grandsons;[5] Priam in Homer also boasts of the great number of his sons. It seemed only suitable to the dignity of so great a man to have many wives; and after he had become so powerful, many fathers would of their own free-will offer him their daughters; so Mohammed in his later years took many wives, and died in fact a bridegroom. This is nothing therefore but an indication of the power and popular consideration of these Judges. What is also recorded of Ibzan, that he had thirty daughters married into other families, and thirty brought into his own house for his sons, is only meant to give a higher notion of his power, since he thus secured the adherence of sixty important families to the fortunes of his own. The merely political significance of these traditions is still more evident, when we

[1] Judges viii. 22–28.

[2] *Ephod*: see my *Alterthümer* p. 257.

[3] חַשְׁמָלָה viii. 25. That he retained the golden neck-rings of both kings' camels, is recorded in ver. 21 (comp. ver. 26) only to indicate how very strictly he carried out the ban, in which however he was only following ancient custom.

[4] Judges x. 4, xii. 9.

[5] Judges xii. 14.

read that Abdon's forty sons and thirty grandsons had seventy ass's foals, and Jair's thirty sons, thirty ass's foals, for riding, besides thirty cities (p. 299 sq.). Riding upon an ass's foal, in trappings of state, indicates according to ancient Israelite custom the commander of a division, just as the pennon or the horse-tail among other nations; and with this was easily connected the play upon words between *Air* 'ass's foal' and *Ar* 'city,' as if any one thus honourably distinguished must also necessarily have a city under his command.[1] The tendency towards hereditary possession which everywhere creeps into human affairs, was here evidently making gradual way. The family of a Judge during his lifetime acquired more or less of power from his power, as is seen in the sons of Eli and of Samuel; but obviously without entailing any obligation on the people. Thus unquestionably are to be understood the seventy sons of Gideon (evidently a round number). They acquired even in their father's lifetime some share of his high consideration among the people; and seem after his death, each in his own territory, but meeting for common council at Ophrah, to have still carried on the government in the spirit of 'Baal's Antagonist.'

The rank of Judge was thus tending to become hereditary, and thus in fact a permanent monarchy, while yet the conditions of such a power were nowhere defined, and it was itself forbidden by the existing religion. This false position became patent soon after Gideon's death, in a most disastrous way. Besides the seventy sons just spoken of, Gideon, as the story runs, had one bastard named Abimelech, born of a woman of Shechem. This son regards the tempting fruit as ripe to be gathered by his hand alone; and the civic league, with Shechem at its head (p. 342 sqq.), prompted by the basest motives, falls in with his views of erecting an actual monarchy. But the right organisation of a project is something different from its mere desirability; and in the present case, this element of success was wholly wanting on both sides. Neither the citizens of Shechem nor the ignobly ambitious bastard understood what true monarchy was, and still less what it ought to be in the community of Jahveh. His kingdom had the worst possible beginning, for he slew all his 'seventy brothers' at Ophrah 'on one stone,' it is said. It is quite characteristic of the Book of the twelve Judges, that following out only one side of the considerations involved in this affair, it depicts with striking truth the inevitable results

[1] The constant recurrence here of the number seventy, or something approximate, is to be explained only by what I have remarked in my *Alterthümer*, pp. 284–6.

of a sovereignty thus begun; how Jôtham, the youngest and only surviving son of Gideon, uses both parable and plain words to represent to the Shechemites their injustice, but to no purpose, for he is compelled to flee to Beer;[1] and how his words of warning are quickly fulfilled upon themselves, and upon the king of their creation, in his ignominious fall. What further bearing on the general historical development of this period is to be found here, has been already explained, p. 341 sqq.

3. The last Judges.

We have thus seen how in the most vigorous portion of this period human sovereignty was felt to be necessary, yet was refused by the noble-minded Gideon for the sake of the Jahveh-religion, and then was no sooner attempted than disgraced by his bastard-son Abimelech. The nation now relapsed entirely into its former disorganisation; and it was indeed better that human sovereignty should be yet deferred till the men appeared who might lay its foundations aright. For it might even then be dimly felt that such a sovereignty, to stand beside the strict rule of the Jahveh-religion, must be very different from the same form of government among the heathen. The extreme difficulty of introducing it into such a community, moreover, still further delays any repetition of the first unsuccessful attempt. But all the more rapid is the progress of internal barbarism and decay, and of external weakness; and now follows the most unfortunate part of the whole so-called Period of the Judges; when the old national constitution had been proved imperfect and impotent, and yet no new vigorous organisation could be formed to supplement deficiencies and rekindle vitality in the old. Even now, since the Jahveh-religion had hitherto been the religion of Israel alone, and even among that people was but very imperfectly developed, the freedom and the power of Israel, indeed all that was great in its early constitution, must have perished,—had not the nation been still sufficiently youthful, vigorous, and healthy, to brace itself in time, though even in the extreme of peril, for a new life, and to guard the treasures so nearly lost. It is instructive to observe, in what manner and by what means the inmost heart of the people rose in strong resistance to the threatening danger.

[1] This place, mentioned without any particulars in ix. 21, seems most likely to be the ancient sanctuary, much revered even from the days of Moses himself, mentioned in Num. xxi. 16–18, and more fully spoken of at pp. 203 sq., 209. This is probable from the name, and because the distance was sufficiently great, and because the migrations of the tribe of Manasseh were always across the Jordan.

Literature also and the power of song rose up against it; we can clearly discern this by a few tokens, even from those distant times. In a profound feeling of the evils of the time, a poet arises, who finds at least in the memory of Jacob their common ancestor a firm basis for a true national unity, comprehending all the tribes; and pronounces with the Patriarch's hallowed voice and in his spirit fitting words of admonition or rebuke, of praise or encouragement, to the respective tribes. Such is the 'Blessing of Jacob,'[1] a poem in its way of incomparable beauty, singularly appropriate, and no doubt most effectual for its purpose. And all that could be done by a historian, in retrospect of the past and anticipation of the future, to animate and cheer the people, was done by the author of the Book of Covenants (see i. p. 69 sqq.). But there is every reason to believe that it was the same author, who with this special view reproduced the early history of his nation, and incorporated in his great work the Blessing of Jacob modified to suit the spirit of the times.

But authors and poets alone could not save their country then, nor ever, against such a weight of circumstances; and accordingly we soon find other forces enlisted. In the absence of all external help the resisting power of a few of the strongest spirits at first retreats within, and waits to strike a convulsive unexpected blow in the real world of life and action, and deliver the people of Israel, sorely endangered by foes constantly advancing in power and number.

Then appears a new power of the age, the binding Vow—a spasmodic impulse, dangerous to many, yet in the greatest emergencies of life indispensable; bracing up the deepest energies, and working the greatest marvels; often renovating, or else entirely transforming whole nations and religions; assuming a thousand forms, and in all, while the first vitality endures, exercising an indomitable power. What Rome witnessed in the time of the Decii, what has been so often repeated in the Christian church (to say nothing of the beginnings of Buddhism, and similar scattered manifestations in Brahmanism), this same power we find marvellously active in Israel even thus early. We see it working first in individual cases, then seizing upon ever larger multitudes; simple and artless in the beginning, then gradually matured and methodised; proceeding at first from the vague, immeasurable yearning of the great commonalty, then allying itself with the highest dignities of the state. Thus

[1] Gen. xlix.; see i pp. 69–72, 296 and 409 sqq.

arises a new movement in Israel, which steadily gathers strength and becomes more irresistible, though at first aiming singly to free itself by force from the many dangers which assail the Jahveh-religion within and without. Even if this movement does not succeed in producing what we have shown to be Israel's one great want, yet the whole people is transformed by it to so new a life that the need can be at last more easily understood and more certainly supplied. For the full splendour of David's time was but the culminating point of this wondrous movement. But for the previous glorious days of Moses and Joshua those times could never have been; but once in being, and attaining their climax, they restored for a long time a glory similar to that of the Mosaic age.

The Judges born from the people, who now succeed, show the dawning of this new life, as prototypes of their age, whose light had been preserved brightest in memory. Jephthah is the prototype of the simple, Samson of the more complex vow. But in both alike it becomes evident that even in this form the Judgeship can no longer work out the abiding welfare of the whole people. The Judgeship as it has hitherto been, a power springing from the people itself, is now exhausted and incapable of further service. Whether it can ally itself to any good purpose with the other high powers yet remaining among the people, will be seen in Eli and Samuel.

1) *Jephthah and Samson.*

a.) *Jephthah, the Hero of Gilead.*

This Hero of the Vow shows nothing more clearly, in both the beginning and the end of his victorious career, than the immense strides with which barbarism has advanced since the days of Gideon. To be sure, Jephthah is properly the hero of the land beyond the Jordan only; but even when his history touches upon the country on this side, we find it almost as much barbarised as that beyond.

When called by the special necessities of the time to work out a higher destiny, Jephthah was the leader of a band of freebooters which infested the land of Tob beyond the Jordan. Of such bands, on both sides of the river, the age was prolific (p. 358 sq.). He evidently took this position not entirely from choice, but rather as a victim to the barbarism of the times; because, as the legend relates, 'his brethren had driven him out of his father's house, as the son of a harlot.' But in calling him

the son of Gilead, the legend can hardly have meant that any one man bearing this name was his father; but he was in fact a foundling belonging to the whole land, as is clear from other traces.[1]

When the Ammonites became all-powerful, first beyond the river and then on this side also (p. 336 sq.), and the inhabitants of the land beyond, driven to desperation, sought some protection against them, their Elders turned their eyes upon the disowned son of their country, who as leader of his freebooters, something like David before he became king, must have won a name for himself by raids against the Ammonites and other races dwelling still deeper in the desert. After a few hard words, he does not wholly reject their entreaties; but obtains their promise to acknowledge him after the victory as their prince and head. The times are indeed changed, when such a condition can be stipulated and accepted even as a preliminary. It would appear from the extant narrative, that the Ammonites had already laid siege to Mizpeh,[2] the renowned old capital of the land beyond the Jordan. By the mere appearance of his dreaded freebooters Jephthah seems really to have gained some breathing-space for the oppressed country and freed the capital; for in Mizpeh 'he now speaks his words before Jahveh;' i.e. in the holy place he promises protection to the people, and receives in return a sort of homage.[3] He thereupon attempts, though in vain, to win Ephraim to an alliance against their common foe,[4] and treats with the Ammonite king coolly and on terms of equality.

This preliminary negotiation[5] is the same as that observed by a Roman general on the point of commencing hostilities, in

[1] For according to xi. 7 Jephthah reproaches all his elder brothers with hatred towards himself, and with driving him from his father's house; and Gilead, at that period, is always in the first instance the name of the country. For a very similar history among the Ionians see Nicolaus Damascenus in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 387.

[2] Comp. i. p. 347; by Hosea vi. 8, xii. 12, this city is also called Gilead, from the district. According to this, perhaps we should read בְּעָרוֹ גִלְעָד in Judges xii. 7, since the notices of the burial-places of the Judges are so carefully given from Gideon downwards; though certainly elsewhere in chapters x–xii. the city is always called Mizpah, or according to xi. 29 Mizpeh, which would be a more correct punctuation throughout. Abulfida calls the Judges Jair and Jephthah simply men of *Gerasa*, as being more intelligible in the Greek period.

[3] The concluding words of the first division of the story of this hero, x. 17–xi. 11, admit of no other meaning; and during the following war his house is always conceived as being quite within Mizpeh, xi. 34.

[4] This is to be inferred from the later words, Judges xii. 2 sq. These words might indeed be interpreted as merely spoken by Jephthah as Prince in the first person, in the name of the country. In this case it would be the Elders who had tried this unsuccessful step, probably before they made Jephthah their chief. But this interpretation is both forced and unnecessary.

[5] Judges xi. 12–28

despatching the Fetiales into the enemy's territory. The controversy on the boundaries of the respective nations, on which the negotiation turns, has been already treated of, pp. 204, 336 sq.

When the negotiations opened by Jephthah are broken off by the Ammonite king refusing to listen to the reasonable proposition that he should retire within his original boundaries, the hero is carried away as by an access of divine wrath, and sweeps through the land beyond the Jordan wherever Israelites dwelt from end to end, to kindle the torch of war and raise the population. He then defeats the Ammonites in a great battle, and takes from them twenty cities.[1] Thereupon the Ammonites, who according to one account[2] had penetrated even into the land on the west of the Jordan, were there also easily expelled, probably by Jephthah himself; but the Ephraimites, now at last rising up to war, and with no Gideon this time to soothe their pride as the leading tribe, advance presumptuously across the Jordan towards Zaphon,[3] and would fain chastise the former freebooter for having commenced the war without them. There, however, their arrogance is so effectually checked, that 42,000 of their number are said to have fallen.[4]

But still this first great victory of Jephthah, that over Ammon, is not without the direst results to himself, the hero of a barbarised age. Even the freebooter may attain to high honours, and may become in a certain sense the benefactor of those who need his services: but where the commencement is of so equivocal a character, the end is rarely quite prosperous, and may at least leave a bitter aftertaste. Brave and honest as is this chosen leader of the people, he has yet imbibed the wildness of his age and country. The Gileadite hero, in the fervour of his wrath against the Ammonite king and his zeal for Israel, had vowed to sacrifice to Jahveh whatever on his victorious return should first meet him from his own house. His thought was probably of a herd of cattle, or at most of slaves; not that his young daughter and only child would be the first to meet him. But on his prosperous return to Mizpeh, forth comes his daughter first from his house, leading the maidens of the city with dance and song in celebration of the victory. Fearfully is avenged upon the father and ruler the

[1] 'From Aroer up to Minnith and Abel *of the vineyards*,' xi. 33: i.e. as in 1 Sam. vii. 14, exclusive of these cities. Aroer, however, is not the southern city in Moab, referred to at p. 295, but one much more to the north, perhaps the present 'Aireh; although the *Onomasticon* s.v. 'Αρουήρ is not sufficiently clear for us on this point.

[2] Judges x. 9.

[3] The city mentioned also Josh. xiii. 27 in the tribe of Gad.

[4] Comp. p. 321 *note* 4; a similar history to that in xii. 5 sq., of *Shibboleth*, is found in the *Jour. As.* 1845, ii. p. 483.

thoughtless vow of the soldier of a brutalised age. No Levite or other sage arises to give a different direction to his conscientious resolve; for it is evident that his contemporaries, also trained to barbarism, considered the precious sacrifice to be appointed by a higher necessity to fall for the sins of the fatherland. And when such a belief pervades even the best, the courage which shrinks not from acting or suffering in obedience to it, must be accounted greatness of soul; and equally so on both sides. Even so it is here. Not without bitter grief, yet full of resolve, and proud that she should be the sacrifice demanded by Jahveh to save her country, this worthy daughter of a hero, after bewailing her virginity for two months on the mountains among her companions, accepts the sacrificial death from the hand of her own father, who in her sacrifices all that is dearest to him.[1] From the words with which the narrative concludes, that hence arose a custom in Israel, that 'the daughters of Israel went yearly to keep a festival to the daughter of Jephthah four days long,' which sounds as if it still continued in the time of the First Narrator,[2] we can but conclude, that at least in the land beyond the Jordan the heroic belief must once have been very widely held, that Jephthah's daughter was probably only the chief sacrifice offered by his hand; and that even in later times, when such sacrifices were no longer offered, the belief in them, as well as in the blessedness of the old heroic age was still alive and vigorous. Jephthah, it is said, ruled only six years.

[1] We find here for the first time a striking resemblance to Greek legends. Idomeneus of Crete, familiar to us in the Iliad, purchased from Poseidon a prosperous homeward voyage by the vow to sacrifice to him whatever should first meet him in his own land. He was consequently obliged to sacrifice his own son; but was punished by the gods with a plague, and by his fellow-citizens with banishment. So at least (for Homer is silent on this point) says Servius on Virg. *Æn.* iii. 121, xi. 264. Better known is the legend of Iphigeneia; and an affinity might even be imagined among the three names, Iphi, Idomeneus, and Jephthah. To this must be added the analogies which are to some extent unquestionable, between the next Judge Samson and Hercules. Nor can we deny either that such legends did pass from one nation to another, or that the Greeks received many from Asia. But on which side the origination of these stories lies, cannot be doubtful. That in Samson's life many traits were introduced from a sphere of thought foreign to the ordinary Mosaic mind, will be presently explained; but nothing can be more certain than that Jephthah and Samson were real Hebrew heroes of their age. The timid modern notion, repeated even in the most recent books (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 203), requires no further refutation. A very similar instance, which however by a sort of artifice is made to end less tragically, occurs as late as Mohammed's father. See Tabari i. p. 171, Dubeux.

[2] See an event of even a later age among the Samaritans, in Epiphan. *Hær.* lv. 1, lxxviii. 23.

b.) *Samson, the Nazirite*[1] *and Judge.*

The history of Shimshon (in the Hellenistic pronunciation Sampson), as related by the only authority now accessible to us,[2] seems at first of so totally different a character, that even early scholars were struck by a resemblance to the pagan history of Hercules;[3] and many of the moderns, sometimes upon very baseless grounds, have viewed it in a yet more singular light. To call him the Hebrew Hercules is certainly quite admissible, but is certain to introduce misapprehension, if the true Hebraic character of this singular hero be not kept clearly in view.

(*i*) In fact, much as Samson's history has fallen into the domain of legend, we have in his case an historic background still tolerably distinct. His constant sphere of activity is the very reduced territory of Dan, where also he was buried[4] in the family sepulchre of his father Manoah; only twice, and then as a fugitive, according to the existing legends, does he enter the domain of Judah.[5] Under every change of circumstances, he contends always and only against the Philistines; whom he pursues, as Hannibal the Romans, without intermission from early youth till death. The twenty years of his power[6] belong evidently to the first period of Philistine ascendancy, when this people was the most formidable, and menaced the little tribe of Dan in particular with utter destruction. His memory is also largely affected by his character as a Nazirite. The nature of the Nazirite was quite peculiar and exceptional; and so Samson was the only Nazirite in the roll of the twelve Judges which concludes with him. And this peculiarity and distinction of his ought to be historically investigated most sharply, if we would rightly appreciate the singular memory which he left behind him.

Whether there were Nazirites before Samson, is doubtful;

[1] Not *Nazarite*; for the Heb. is נָזִיר.

[2] But it is alluded to as early as Jacob's Blessing, i. p. 70.

[3] Even Josephus *Ant.* v. 8. 4 explains the name Σαμψών by ἰσχυρός; and in Georgius Syncellus *Chronogr.* i. p. 309 Samson is named the Hellenic Hercules. The name of Samson, it is true, does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament; but we know too little of the ancient families of Dan to draw any conclusion from this circumstance. That it was derived from שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun*, is conceivable; but as the Egyptian ϣⲉⲙϣⲓ is primarily connected with ܫܡܫ *to serve*, it might originally signify the *servant* of God, i.e. the Nazirite. The discourse on Samson in the works of Philo edited by Aucher, ii. pp. 559–78, is mutilated at the beginning and the end. On a recent work see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* xi. p. 251 sq.

[4] Judges xvi. 31; to be supplemented from xiii. 25. See Tobler's *Dritte Wandering*, p. 181 sq.

[5] Judges xv. 8 sqq., xvi. 3.

[6] Judges xv. 20, xvi. 31; comp. p. 388 sqq.

except Samuel, his near successor, he is the only Nazirite who has made for himself a name in history; and those whom we know of in later times,[1] may have followed the example of so great a hero. We do not by any means intend to deny that the simple rudiments of Nazirism existed long before Samson's time. Its ultimate basis is the vow, whose power and origin extend beyond the limits of history. That this vow may hold in itself almost incalculable power, and endless capabilities of extension and application, is not less evident. And it is also unquestionable, that even before the time of Samson it may have extended to total abstinence from wine and other intoxicating pleasures; for in proportion to the especial evils of such immoderation in those parts, has always been the strength and sternness of resistance to them.[2] But when Samson's image comes before our eyes, Nazirism had greatly overpassed its first harmless beginnings. The vow of abstinence is now taken by parents on behalf of an infant or unborn child. The child now grows up in the belief that he is a *Nezir-Elohîm*, i.e. one belonging specially to God and different from ordinary mortals, so long as he preserves inviolate the external sign and pledge under which he has been nurtured—the hair, touched by none, far less shortened or injured, which was his warrant for believing himself equally inviolate and inviolable by the world, and consequently endowed with special Divine power. And finally, one thus consecrated can now adopt a single, purely historic object, such as the ever-renewed struggle against the Philistines. In all these points we find indications of a lofty and peculiar development of those mysterious powers, such as was possible only under the conditions and necessities of a particular period, in which Samson was probably the most powerful, or at least the most famous and popular hero of this class, but certainly not its only example.

And indeed it is not difficult to trace the causes which favoured the development of Nazirism at this particular time. An age like this, which allows the people to sink lower and lower, and fall more and more helplessly a prey to the ravages of foes within and without, must be stirred to its very depths, to reanimate all the occult and mysterious powers of the human spirit, or the ruin is inevitable, and the people must perish out of sheer sloth, bewilderment, and cowardice.

[1] See my *Alterthümer* p. 96 sqq.

[2] The regulations of Mohammed on drinking wine were scarcely anything new; and to leave the hair uncut in consequence of a vow was also usual among Arabian tribes: *Hamâsa*, p. 2 below, and p. 3; Korân sur. ii. 192.

Such slumbering powers are awakened and goaded into activity by very necessity. If then at the right moment, capacities before undreamed of emerge fresh from the inexhaustible depths of the spirit, then there is gained the first possibility of stout resistance to urgent danger, a hopeful beginning of successful efforts for radical improvement. Thus from the moment when the Judgeship had proved itself incapable of yielding permanent aid, powers hitherto latent in the community emerge to sight in new and unexpected energy, most strenuous, often most marvellous; allying themselves as far as might be with the already existing authority of the Judgeship, and renovating and strengthening it wherever possible. And one of the first powers to make a determined stand against prevalent evils, is the vow, whose growing ascendancy has been shortly before displayed in the case of Jephthah, p. 394. As the existing evils were aggravated to an unendurable pitch by new and fiercer assaults from external foes, so the vow itself was proportionably strengthened and artfully contrived, till it attained the very singular form of which Samson is the greatest historical example. And as so elaborate a scheme and mode of life, growing up as it did out of overpowering impulses of the age, cannot possibly have existed in one isolated case only, we must regard Samson only as one of the first or most conspicuous instances of this new manifestation. So too we shall soon see Prophecy also awaking with quite new powers, and Samuel, also a Nazirite,[1] standing forth prominently as its mightiest and most illustrious representative. Amos very properly ranks the Nazirites with the Prophets.[2] Different as may be their mode of action, they agree in a belief which strings up every power to its highest tension, that they are Jahveh's very own, consecrated by him to a wholly special calling.

Thus the passage about Samson in the Old Testament has the peculiar advantage of preserving to us the memory of so singular and once powerful a manifestation of the Jahveh-religion as Nazirism, so as to leave us in no uncertainty about it. And that he whom the narrative puts forward as the first, or at all events as the type, of all Nazirites, was really in his time a formidable hero and champion of his people, admits of no doubt. We can take but one view of the subject: that when the rule of the Philistines, the sorest trial to which the heavily burdened people could be subjected, was still new and powerful, and had forced at least the south-western portion of

[1] 1 Sam. i. 11. [2] Amos ii. 11.

Israel to bend their necks to it without resistance,[1] he first proved his overflowing strength, seemingly given and consecrated for that end alone, in the task of humiliating them, and pledged his life on the vindication of Hebrew honour against their insolence.[2] From infancy he had learnt to believe that he was God's own, more than thousands of others; he had also, to the best of his ability, kept the vow to which this belief was attached. What immense power an individual might derive from this belief in the most imminent danger and in opposition to whole masses, and what power he actually displayed, is shown by Samson in a great example; which may be repeated elsewhere, though in fainter lineaments. In a state of universal depression, all must ultimately depend upon the indomitable strength which is aroused in individuals; and of what such strength is capable, when working in such a faith, is here clearly shown. His sphere of action was indeed almost limited to the little tribe of Dan; but this tribe was then the most exposed, and upon it and its resistance all eyes were necessarily turned. And if even his most marvellous displays of strength reacted on the whole but little on the people at large, still the exercise even of his solitary powers with even partial success was so much clear gain.

But conjoined with the immense power given by this faith, he possessed within himself a second gift, which it was not possible for others or even for himself personally to call forth at will; which might indeed be latent at that very time in the whole people, but displayed itself in him with a peculiar creative force; and it is only the combination of this with the former very different power that gave to his career its distinctive splendour. It is not (as is said of Hannibal) a merely hereditary hate without scruple and without affection, that urges him against the enemies of his people; on the other hand he overflows with inexhaustible joyousness in word and deed, light-heartedness under the heaviest disasters, and sportive wit that accompanies him even to the moment of his self-chosen tragic end. In a love not easily repulsed, he feels himself drawn even to the oppressors of his people, and advances frankly to meet them. And when, in his intercourse with them, the wrathful Deity within suddenly urges him to show himself the inviolable consecrated servant of Jahveh, and to let the

[1] This is confessed, as if casually, but no doubt very truly, in Judges xiv. 4, xv. 11; comp. xiii. 1.

[2] It is only from not having the remotest idea what is concealed under the extant scanty legends, that modern writers could possibly doubt whether Samson was really a Judge.

insolent 'uncircumcised' feel the irresistible might of his arm, even this he takes almost as a jest, as something forced upon him against his will, and the fruit of a love misunderstood and scorned. His activity against the foe is thus only called forth casually and without premeditation; it is rather a sort of teasing, a reiterated mark of mortifying humiliation; more a sign of what his strength could do in need and in earnest, than of what it does. But in fact this seeming half-heartedness of his nature not only affords testimony to the disposition of his nation, at that time scarcely capable of hatred, but in default of something better was really the best for those unhappy times. For if a nation, in the main well disposed and civilised, has long to endure such grievous wrong from a haughty foe, it is a great gain if it loses not its buoyant mood, but while nothing better is possible, prepares itself for better times, at least by the lighter exercises of wit and playful fancy, or by occasional dashing strokes, and sometimes by the successful parry of attack, and unexpected flashes, bursting out here and there, of suppressed military ardour. It is only by realising vividly the whole weight of long continued foreign rule which then pressed upon the people, that we can understand the full value in such times of those inalienable weapons, playful wit and jest; and again, in the proper place, of daring revolt against local injustice; or the heroism of individual self-sacrifice. And thus Samson, in whom all that was strongest and all that was most splendid in his age attained its climax, is the true image of his people, unsubdued in mind and body even under long continued oppression; and we feel that a nation which even under misfortune overflowed with such health and vivacity, might soon again pass from these preparatory sports and skirmishes to contests of a happier character.

But inasmuch as Samson's wit displayed itself in a form very unusual both in the Old Testament and in such early times generally—in the art of riddles and witty poetical sayings—his whole history indeed being much interwoven with picturesque incident, he recalls vividly an age when this particular art of pointed expression and striking imagery had just come to perfection. Much of this is found, both among the Greeks in Æsop's Fables, and among the Hindus in their celebrated Fable-Books; but neither of these goes back to the extreme antiquity of Samson's time, and while in both the speaking animals appear only as detached fragments of already stereotyped legends, we behold in Samson's history their living origin. That many traces show this form of narrative to have appeared elsewhere among both

the Hebrews and the Phenicians at this early time, will be shown in the history of Solomon. In Samson's case it is sufficiently striking, that one consecrated to God, whose life has a wholly different object, displays notwithstanding a mental superiority even in these sports of new and pointed thought and creative imagery.

But in Samson we behold not merely the immense power given by the belief that he is God's own, combined with a joyousness peculiar to himself in its intensity; the weakness also, which lurks close beside that artificially nurtured strength, is clearly discernible in this prototype of all the Nazirites. So long as the vow is only a sacred force constraining the soul from without, it can never have full freedom of action and development; but must rather relax in one direction the powers which in another are unnaturally strained. Samson keeps his vow of abstinence from intoxication, but is all the weaker and wilder with regard to the love of woman, as if he could here make up for the want of freedom elsewhere; and by a singular sport of chance, or rather by the secret revenge of a heart warped by the vow, his love is always excited by women of that very race which the vow urges him to combat with all the might of his arm, and on whose men the weight of his iron strength always falls at the right time. And again, the vow cannot compel him to fight at every moment of his life; and so, though the weight of his arm is fearful whenever anything occurs to remind him strongly of his vow, long intervals of relaxation and inactivity are also not impossible. Finally, he who relies on the external sign of his vow, is thereby rendered confident, and after numerous successes even foolhardy and careless; all the more terribly, therefore, will he be undeceived, when that external sign is destroyed. Thus then, even the end of this greatest of the Nazirites was mournful; and his whole powerful life only resembles a light blazing up brightly at moments and shining afar, but often dimmed, and utterly extinguished before its time—a proof that Nazirism arises only from some temporary necessity in a nation's history. Yet is this singular hero great and worthy of himself even in death. If he, the individual whose solitary life prevented him from forming around him a permanent community, could not lift from its hinges the age against which he fought like a giant, at least he so shook and loosened it, that before long weaker men with united forces were successful where Samson failed.

(*ii*) Now if (following the traces of the book on Samson em-

ployed by the Last Narrator [1]) we examine the form into which the remembrance of this hero had shaped itself when it was first committed to writing, we cannot but perceive from the first that the memory of no other Judge has been so far seized upon by tradition as Samson's. With this discovery another is connected, that the first writer of these Samson-legends lived evidently no less than two or three centuries after the hero, and made use of oral tradition only; for even the few short verses interwoven with the narrative are so homogeneous, that they can only partially have been perpetuated by a primitive tradition. The causes of this are not very difficult to discover. A hero in himself so singular, whose exploits were limited to the south-western districts, who effected only a partial relief, and after whose untimely end the same national sufferings long continued, would naturally not be made the subject of written history, so easily as a more successful and dazzling Judge; but partly from standing in nearer relation to the people, partly as an extraordinary phenomenon, he might be longer commemorated in popular legend. Samson must have early become a favourite popular hero, whose remembrance was held fast, if only in detached traditions of single striking points. In this respect, however, the Samson-legend, more than any other belonging to this age, has passed through all the phases of which it was intrinsically capable.

In the first place it is only one leading idea which connects together all the separate traditions; only one trait from the hero's life which has been deepest impressed upon it. Samson has become the joyous prototype of the heavily-tasked opponents of overwhelming national foes. The cheerful image of this giant was evidently long the solace of those weaker men who were overpowered in the unequal contest with the Philistines. All who heard his deeds recounted, strengthened themselves by the bold and buoyant spirit, which quailed before no superiority of the foe; which when nothing else was possible, could rise superior to brute force at least in prompt self-possession and scornful mood. And it is a fine trait of the Israelite tradition, that with all his gigantic strength this hero in external appearance is no Goliath; but opposes to Philistine rudeness only his quick and subtle wit, his brave and manly heart.

But when Samson had once become a general type, such as

[1] That the present version of Samson's life presupposes a former work, will presently appear plainly from the contents; and this is confirmed by the very peculiar colouring of the picture and the language, which is still perceptible even in its extant form.

one of the Patriarchs in a different line (i. p. 347 sq.) might be, the circle of traditions respecting him might be easily enlarged by the admission of many floating legends—some much older, others belonging originally to quite a different connection—which in any way were capable of being linked with something already related of him. We have clear examples of both possibilities. At the thirsting hero's call, for instance, the depth of the rock, cloven as by God himself, gives forth water:[1] a legend as grand as any relating to the Patriarchs. But because the word jaw-bone (לְחִי) could easily be applied to the jutting rock, therefore, and for no other reason, this legend was tacked on to that of Samson's weapon, the jawbone of an ass. Other legends, again, such as those of the bees in the lion, of the burning foxes in the vineyard, are so general, that it is scarcely possible to say to what place or what circle they originally belonged. Finally, all the many legends that have been preserved have been fitted into careful series with artfully compacted lines, so as to form a charming poetic picture in florid language, in which the interspersed verses gleam forth like the brighter pearls in a circlet. This is even more perceptible here than with regard to the Patriarchs, because a freer action was open to the poetic imagination in giving new life to the memory of this man of the people, than would be permitted with regard to one of the revered Patriarchs. And on giving sufficient attention to all discoverable traces of the earlier narrative, such regular and well-sustained proportions come into view, as to exhibit the plan of a drama, whose action, rising gradually through five acts, finds its solution only in the last.

The impulse, which, against his own will, yet ever by a higher necessity, directs against the Philistines the flashing wit and daring deeds of the good-natured hero, is a perpetually recurring love for women in their midst. Such a love towards the race of the foreign oppressors seems at first sight dangerous and undesirable, and at last, when it kindles into passion, does indeed become its own avenger. Yet it is not essentially culpable, but may on the contrary, without human intention or calculation, subserve a Divinely-ordered combination of circumstances, whose unexpected issue puts even cavillers to shame. Thus is formed four times a relation, which is always at first favourable to the Philistines, but disastrous in the end through their own insolence and provocation of the fettered giant of the Jahveh-

[1] Judges xv. 18 sq.

religion. The action develops itself in each by triple stages; for the only exception to this in the present arrangement (xvi. 1–3) is certainly not original. But while on the first two occasions the Hebrew giant has both innocence and justice entirely on his side, on the third and fourth, in the very midst of his victories, through reckless and overweening self-confidence, his inner nature falls to a lower grade. His love turns from the wife to the mistress, and even to the traitress, whilst outwardly his strength and wit still bloom in undiminished force. Finally in the fifth act of the drama he is beguiled by her arts of his secret, his vow, his giant strength and his joyous wit. And when, in the depth of his ensuing misery, he feels again some gradual return of strength, then—full recovery of his former state being in his blinded state impossible—these returning powers serve only for one last most tremendous deed, one last fearful jest, in the overthrow of his enemies' house of rejoicing, and his own self-chosen death; wherein his own destruction inflicted on their insolence one last woeful vengeance. Thus after twelve giant deeds, from first to last, against the Philistines, the thirteenth crowns them all in the self-immolation rendered inevitable by his own guilt.

a) 'The spirit of Jahveh began to move him in the Camp of Dan' (p. 289), in the home of his parents. Of what character this exploit of the giant-child was, is passed over in the extant narrative. On his way down to Timnath (a city therefore then[1] occupied by Philistines), where he found his bride, he rent a powerful young lion as if it were a kid, having nothing whatever in his hand.[2] Returning to his parents, he compels them against their will a year after, to go with him to give him his Philistine bride to wife. On the way however (a most extraordinary occurrence), he finds honey in the carcase of the lion; and so he proposes this riddle to the thirty Philistine companions, who (as if in fear of his giant strength) had been bidden to the wedding-feast:

> Out of the eater came forth meat,
> And out of the strong came forth sweetness!

[1] A trace of the history of the period, as, at the time of the Book of Origins, the city was no longer Philistine, Josh. xix. 43.

[2] According to the present account in Judges xiv. 1-8, his parents were once urged by his importunities to go to give him his bride; on which journey he went aside from the road, and without their knowledge (in itself very improbable) he rent the lion. They then again accompanied him to the wedding. But the first journey of the parents would then be hardly necessary (comp. xv. 2, where less ceremony is observed); while on the other hand the extant narrative in ver. 8 sq. would be very incomplete. The original account therefore probably had some different arrangement.

But the stupid artifice by which they win the solution from his wife[1] drives him to exclaim:

Had ye not ploughed with my heifer,
Ye had not found out my riddle!

He is overpowered with rage at their gross foul play; the justly incensed God of the Hebrews breaks suddenly forth from within him; and in blood he avenges his lost wager.

b) When he is tamed down again, and still full of love for the same wife, they unrightfully take her from him. He exclaims:

This time I am quits with the Philistines,
If 'tis evil I think of doing to them!—

Here however he rightly takes no bloody revenge, but drives three hundred foxes with lighted torches tied to their tails, into the luxuriant gardens and cornfields.[2] But when the brutal Philistines, in utterly misplaced vengeance, immediately set fire to the house of his wife and her father,[3] he takes the part of these relatives; and exclaims:

If ye have done this,
Then I will be avenged on you, before[4] I have done!

And he smites them on hip and thigh,[5] with a great slaughter. But now he is compelled to take refuge in Judah, and conceals himself in a cleft of the rock Etam;[6] and the men of Judah, threatened by the Philistines, deliver him to them bound. Yet scarcely can they believe in such good fortune as to have him in their keeping when he breaks the strongest bands, and slays 1,000 men with the jawbone of an ass which he has snatched up, crying out—

[1] The numbers in xiv. 14, 15, 17 are somewhat confused; another sign that the present is not the original state of the text.

[2] ועד כרם זית, xv. 5; 'to the vineyard, the olive-tree,' is an abbreviated form of enumeration, as in Micah vii. 12; so it is taken even by R. Tanchum. See likewise the description of fire in a forest being spread by the tails of cattle, in Mêghadûta liv. 4; how Hannibal drove forth the oxen with firebrands attached to their horns, Livy xxii. 16 sq.; and how the Greeks also knew the custom of sending lighted torches as a declaration of war into the enemy's country: see the Scholiast to Eurip. *Phœn.* 1386 (1379). Much later, however, are the analogies in the Panchatantra, in Ovid's *Fasti* iv. 701 sqq., and in Babrius *Fab.* xi.

[3] According to xiv. 15 and similar passages the sense of the very condensed words in xv. 6 can scarcely have been other than this.

[4] i.e. not leave off till he had fully carried out his revenge.

[5] A proverbial phrase, as is easily seen; the blow from behind strikes the fugitive first upon the hips, and would of itself be sufficient; but is followed up immediately by one upon the thigh, which makes him instantly fall. Hence it means strictly 'the thigh *over and above*' i.e. *besides* 'the hips.'

[6] Where a city of the same name was situated, 1 Chron. iv. 32 (comp. ver. 3), 2 Chron. xi. 6. The succeeding names of heights and springs happen to occur nowhere else.

With the ass's jawbone score upon score,
With the ass's jawbone I have killed a thousand men![1]

From the throwing-away of the jawbone the place Lehi, as also the neighbouring place Ramath-Lehi (Lehi Height), derives its name; and the likewise neighbouring Machtesh (the Lehi Hollow, more distinctively named En-hakkore) was so called because God there, at the supplication of the hero, dying with thirst after such severe exertion, opened a refreshing spring of water—mere explanations of local names like those in the legends of the Patriarchs.[2]

c) In Gaza he made love to a harlot; and some simpletons of the place, who have spied him out in the house, surround it, that they may capture him early in the morning. So at midnight, while they are asleep, he passes out through the gate, and in derision bears off the gate itself with all its appurtenances on his shoulders, up to the heights before Hebron, where his disappointed enemies might most plainly behold their loss.[3] But what further? Will the Philistines, who have once already by blustering got him back from the men of Judah, now rest content? Will they let their proud gates remain for ever above the capital of Judah? Every one who follows the chain of these charming legends will feel it an impossibility that the new series just begun should end here. There can be no question but that in the present text the two remaining legends belonging to this series have here dropped out;[4] in which, according to the general plan, it may have been told how, though he now fell into Philistine captivity, he freed himself by his strength, and visited his persecutors with still severer rêtribution. Here, in fact, must be the climax of the whole, and here his most marvellous triumphs must have occurred. Moreover, as Hebron is Judah's ancient capital, its people may

[1] *Score* is here put simply as being a definite number which can be used in a general sense; for חֲמוֹר, like חֲמֹר, must signify, not a heap in general, but a heap of some definite number; first twelve, then twice twelve, and so on to 1,000; almost like *sapta jaghâna pûgân Ditê: Sutânâm* Mahâ-Bhârata iii. 11,909. The spring afterwards shown as that here referred to, is described in T. Tobler's *Dritte Wanderung* pp. 145 sqq., 466.

[2] On the use of the jawbone as a magic weapon, comp. Sir G. Grey's *Polynesian Mythology* (1855), pp. 35 sq.

[3] As the Moslem relate that Ali lifted off the gate of Chaibar, and used it as a shield; Pococke's *Hist. Arab.* p. 10, Abulfida's *Annals* i. p. 132.

[4] Either these passages have fallen out of the extant text merely through the fault of later transcribers in xvi. 2 and 13 sqq. (so the LXX. retain some words which notwithstanding their evident necessity are wanting in the Massorétic text), or they had been already omitted by the last compiler. The latter view is supported by the general much abbreviated condition in which this cycle of legends, originally intended to be given with almost poetic detail, now exists. Even at xv. 20 (comp. xvi. 31) the last compiler evidently wished to conclude all the Samson-legends; and it is fortunate for us that he afterwards allowed ch. xvi. to follow.

perhaps, at the period assigned at p. 287, have actually dragged off the gates of Gaza as a trophy, and planted them aloft on their own hill.

d) But his increasing foolhardiness and growing recklessness now leads him to the Traitress[1] in the valley of Sorek. She keeps the Philistine chiefs in the background, ready to seize him, as soon as she can elicit from him the secret of his irresistible strength. He disappoints her and her employers three times; with inexhaustible wit putting her on the wrong track as to his secret, and then at the critical moment easily bursting the constraint attempted on him, because it has not yet hit on his secret. They are imposed upon by the fiction, first, that seven fresh bullock-sinews or tendons, then that seven ropes never before used for any other purpose, and lastly, that securely weaving the seven locks of his hair into another web, would bind him; but he, as often as he wakes from his sleep, snaps the sinews and the ropes like thin threads; and even with his hair so fettered draws out of the wall the warp into which it was woven, together with the strong nail which held it.[2] Thus again is three times proved his infinite strength; but the ground is already mined beneath his feet; he squanders his giant strength in the mere saving of his own life; and at last, as if possessed by insanity, he madly trifles with the very key of his secret; he risks even the tampering with his hair. From this there is but one step to the final catastrophe.

e) The secret once betrayed, he is irretrievably ruined; and although, even in the depth of misery and contempt, his nobler spirit returns in fearful force with the growth of new strength, it is only in his heroic self-destruction that he can wreak a vengeance on his enemies in which all his vast achievements attain their climax.[3]

All is here as beautifully arranged and as highly finished, as is the history of Jonah on a smaller scale, in the well-known book. No drama or epic can boast a better-contrived plan; and

[1] This is the meaning of the name *Delilah*, and the only end that she serves, whether we derive the name from دل or from חֵלֶל; comp. الدليلة المحتالة in the *Thousand and One Nights; Journ. As.* 1856, ii. p. 389 sq.; Seetzen's *Reisen* iv. p. 499.

[2] Compare even now the simple Abyssinian loom, fastened by a peg to the ground; also the descriptions in T. Tobler's *Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*, p. 246; and in Livingstone's *Travels*. The complete text has been here preserved by the LXX.

[3] Compare the similar account of the death of the gladiator Kleomedes of Astypalæa, in Pausanias *Perieg.* vi. 9. 3 and Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* v. 34; also the history in the Ḥamâsa, pp. 104, 9 sq. How by the two central columns Samson might bring down the whole large building, is attempted to be made clear by K. B. Stark, *Gaza und die Philist. Küste*, 1852, p. 382 sqq.

to separate any single particular for independent consideration without regard to the general connection, is simply to understand nothing of the whole.[1]

(*iii*) If in this way the full historic greatness of this singular hero may have suffered somewhat in the mouth of the people, and the series of his thirteen great deeds has been purposely arranged, that the riddle of his strength might be solved only in the story of his last all-surpassing deed; on the other hand the last compiler, from whom proceeds the introduction to Samson's history in xiii. 1–24, through a deeper insight and higher tone, has the merit of virtually restoring to history the true greatness and historic significance of Samson. For it is undeniable that in his day there must have been more sources of information available respecting Samson's greatness as a hero, and especially as the founder of Nazirism; since the Nazirites would assuredly laud their own hero after their own fashion. Thus the last author, as if to give the necessary complement to those thirteen little tales of human life, at the very outset of Samson's life throws off a foreshadowing of his whole career in its Divine significance; as if at his entrance into the world a fitting tribute must be paid to the laws and the dignity of Nazirism, which with him first appeared in full force. Even in sketching this divine picture, the author evidently follows earlier models,[2] sometimes even verbally; and in this respect his comprehensive picture has scarcely anything that can be called his own. But what it was here most necessary to introduce was the character of Nazirism—an institution which, though perhaps previously ordained by higher prescription, first entered the domain of history through Samson and his parents. For if it had some affinity, however little, with Prophecy, and could boast of some few great deeds as wrought by its influence, it might justly seem worthy to have been announced and ordained by an angel from heaven.

2) *Eli, the High Priest and Judge.*

a.) *Eli's Life.*

Since the Judgeship proceeding from the people had proved too weak, even with the additional power of the vow, to effect a general and permanent deliverance of the nation, it was only the natural course of things that this office, now recognised as

[1] The Song of Songs in like manner consists of five acts and thirteen cantos; comp. the article in Zeller's *Theolog. Jahrb.* 1843, p. 752 sqq.

[2] See i. p. 164 note. Here again Josephus shows to very little advantage.

coexistent with the Theocracy, should at last be grasped by the intellectual leaders of the community, to try whether it might not be possible, by the alliance of the two established powers, to arrest the downfall of the entire community. In fact, the convulsive new-birth of the nation is now only passing through its final crisis. All the powers that lie deepest in the people must come forth from their hiding-places, to show whether this Judgeship, not legally sanctioned, but established by long precedent, is capable of healing the wounds of the state; or whether, when all available forces of the community have tried their hand at it in every form, its inadequacy to stem the growing political difficulties will be finally recognised.

The judicial office had originally no connection with the sacerdotal. Exceptional and provisional, it grew up by the side of an office permanent and hereditary; and up to this point not one of the Judges has been of priestly descent. Now, however, in the person of Eli, the renovated sacerdotal power grasps also at the judicial rank. By what immediate circumstances Eli in particular was elevated to be at once High Priest and Judge, we have at present no means of determining. When the Books of Samuel first mention him, he is already grown grey in office; for it is their plan to begin the history of the rise of monarchy not with him but with Samuel. And although the gap between Samson's death and the rule of Eli, already long established, cannot be a very wide one, because at both epochs the Philistines determine the fortunes of Israel, we must admit that it exists, and that we have no assistance from any other quarter towards filling it up. Yet in that passage of the Chronicles where the continuous line of hereditary High Priests from Aaron and Eleazar to the destruction of the Temple is given,[1] there is no mention of Eli and his posterity, who were recognised as High Priests up to the time of Solomon. Josephus[2] says still more distinctly, that in him the family of Ithamar, Aaron's second son, was elevated to the High Priesthood. It would be quite a mistake to conclude from these late and unconnected notices that the race of Eleazar was forcibly

[1] 1 Chron. v. 29–41 [vi. 3–15], and the first half again in vi. 35–38 [50–53]; comp. xxiv. 3 sq. The family to which Eli and Ithamar belonged is however nowhere given.

[2] *Ant.* v. end, according to which the office was held up to the time of Eli by Eleazar, Phinehas, Abiezer (Abishua in the Chronicles), Bukki and Uzzi successively; in contradiction to *Antiquities* viii. 1. 3, according to which under the rule of the house of Eli Bukki Joseph's son, Joatham, Marajoth, Arophæus (אֲחִיטוּב 1 Chron. xii. 5 *Ketib*), Ahitob, and Zadok lived as private individuals; names only partially agreeing with the Chronicles; comp. xx. 10. Thus carelessly did Josephus quote his authorities.

superseded by Eli; such an assumption is wholly opposed to the most ancient traces of the history of the period, which we possess in the Books of Samuel. Here Eli appears as a benevolent Judge, neither committing nor fearing violence; indeed as a holy man who comforts Samuel's mother with such divine consolation as is elsewhere given by an angel from heaven.[1] And even where the narrative prophetically depicts from a higher point of view the divine reasons for the inevitable fall of the house of Eli and rising up of that of Zadok of the race of Eleazar,[2] there is not the remotest hint that this is a retribution for violence formerly used by Eli against Eleazar's descendants. Only the wrong doings of his own sons are made to have caused the ruin of his house. And so appropriate, in this prophetic survey, would have been some allusion to the unjust origin of that greatness which was now to be so deeply humbled, that its omission is the most conclusive evidence that Eli attained his elevation by no violence to the rival family. Eli's house is even spoken of in this place as if it were Aaron's direct successor and thence derived all its high distinction;[3] and this is the very reason why the rejection of this house and the substitution of another in the priestly office appears so impressive; though it receives its divine justification in the corruption of Eli's sons.[4]

But much of what might here seem obscure is explained by the nature of the Judgeship, especially in this last period of its existence. For Eli appears not merely as High Priest, but also distinctly as Judge.[5] It is precisely this combination of two powers hitherto so very different, that is the distinctive novelty in his case; and this must give us the key to the understanding of the meagre remnants of his history. The Judgeship, it is true, had emanated entirely from the people, and was in this respect the exact opposite of that High Priesthood which had shown itself insufficient for popular guidance. But the Judge-

[1] 1 Sam. i. 9–20; comp. Judges xiii.

[2] 1 Sam. ii. 27–36; comp. i. 143 sq.

[3] In the first section, vv. 27–29, 'Eli's father's house' must be understood of the whole tribe of Levi, as is clear from the historical reference to Egypt and the contrast to the other tribes of Israel; but in the second, vv. 30–36, where the discourse passes on to the future, the falling 'house of Eli and his father' is as clearly restricted to his particular branch of the sacerdotal line, which is affirmed to have received above all others the Divine blessing, as that of the High Priest.

[4] We might from this be bold enough to conjecture, that the only reason why the family of Zadok, which furnished High Priests from the time of Solomon, is traced back in the Chronicles to Eleazar Aaron's first-born, is because it supplanted the posterity of Eli. But we should find no actual proof of this assumption; and the fact that Zadok and Abiathar were jointly High Priests as early as David's time, points to an early coexistence of the families of Eleazar and of Ithamar, 2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25 sq.

[5] 1 Sam. iv. 18.

ship being at this time of long standing, the Priesthood might now for its own and the people's safety attempt to strengthen itself by union with the Judgeship; all the more easily from the fact that the Judgeship had proved so inadequate in the Philistine days, and that all hitherto reserved powers of the community were now called forth into action. But although the Judgeship, after Gideon's time, tended more and more to become hereditary, as Eli's sons seem in fact to have regarded the office, yet it is evident that no new Judge, even of priestly rank, could possibly be acknowledged, unless he had proved himself a hero and deliverer of the people. And this is in itself good reason for assuming that Eli in his youth was a great hero and deliverer of Israel, and that like all the Judges he attained his position by extraordinary prowess. We can also perceive that in the forty years ascribed to Eli's rule the Philistines had no longer the same preponderance as in the forty years of their first ascendancy, within which Samson's isolated resistance is comprised. For even in Eli's old age we behold the entire people once more fighting from their central point against the Philistines; how then may he when young have united the people against them! But if Eli raised himself thus to the rank of Judge, ennobled, as we must suppose, by his own strength and successful activity, the office of High Priest at the Sanctuary in Shiloh probably devolved upon him simply as a descendant of Aaron. For this office had then manifestly fallen so low, the disorganised and scattered state of the priestly class was so deep-rooted, and the unity and cohesion afterwards given to it by Solomon were still so remote, that probably any descendant of Aaron who possessed much consideration with the people was readily acknowledged as High Priest in Shiloh by all his adherents. We shall see this state of things virtually perpetuated under David.[1]

We have clear indications how important must have been the influence of this Priest-Judge in his best days. Even after the stroke which hurled him with both his sons into ruin, and gave a blow to his house from which it never recovered, we find his posterity in an honourable position. His great-grandson Ahiah inherited what remained of the power, and possessed it in Saul's time (p. 415); and Ahiah's son Abiathar was for a long time David's sole priest of the oracle.

[1] According to the Samaritan Chronicle xli–xliv, Eli and Samuel were the originators of all apostasy and depravity in Israel; but this is only so conceived from the one-sided Samaritan view of the whole ancient history, and founded upon a perversion of the words in 1 Sam. i–vii.

Yet what was done by Eli for the help and elevation of the people was certainly rather in war than in a permanent and salutary moral influence, even if he himself, as is possible, had formerly been a Nazirite. His rule in the end only affords a proof that even the Priesthood, though straining every nerve for the general deliverance, was in the existing condition of state and people unequal to inaugurating any permanent improvement. The narrative, it is true, particularises only Eli's sons' offences against morals and decorum with regard to the sacrifices offered by individuals at the Sanctuary, in which they saw only an object for their own cupidity and enjoyment; and further their misdemeanours with the women of the Temple;[1] and asserts that the grey-haired father exhorted them vainly, and reminded them of the proverb,

> If one man sin against another, God will mediate for him;
> But if he sin against Jahveh, who shall be his intercessor?[2]

But in these irreclaimable priestly youths in the very bosom of the Sanctuary, we have the clearest sign of the lawless and disorganised times; and if the people were as deeply exasperated as they ought to be by such wanton abuses, practised with the sacrifices by the sons of the Priest-Judge, it is no wonder that in Eli's old age they allowed themselves time after time to be beaten by the Philistines; that the Ark of the Covenant, brought at last into the camp in their despair, might for a moment excite a cry of joy among the soldiers of Israel, and an alarm among the Philistines, but brought no victory; and that inexorable shame and disaster at last overwhelmed the aged Eli and his two sons Hophni and Phinehas. The Philistines, we are told, were encamped at Aphek, the Israelites at Eben-ezer;[3] a battle ensued, in which 4,000 of the latter remained dead upon the field outside the camp. When, to avert further disaster, they had the Ark of the Covenant brought from Shiloh into their camp, the camp itself with the Ark was taken, and 32,000 of them, including Eli's two sons, were left on the field. When the tale of terror reached Shiloh, Eli, then ninety-eight years old, who, notwithstanding his blindness, was sitting impatient

[1] On this point see my *Alterthümer*, p. 326 sqq.

[2] 1 Sam. ii. 25. That this is a very ancient proverb, is evident even from the use of the word אלהים for the highest authority ruling in God's stead (as in Judges v. 8, p. 313 sq.), which in civil offences acts as mediator, and could also save from capital punishment one guilty of a criminal offence against another by the imposition of a fine. Equally rare is the use of פָּלַל and that of הִתְפַּלֵּל in this sense at least.

[3] According to 1 Sam. vii. 12, these places must have lain to the west of Mizpeh (p. 413); but their exact site has not yet been identified. In vii. 12 the very origin of Eben-ezer is ascribed to Samuel.

within the gate of the city which faced the battlefield,[1] fell backwards from his high seat against the wall of the gate and broke his neck. His son Phinehas' wife gave birth prematurely to a son, who it is said received the name Ichabod, i.e. 'dishonoured,' because the Ark of the Covenant, Israel's highest glory, was taken from them.[2] The present narrative does not even think it worth mentioning that another descendant of Eli succeeded him as a feebler Priest of the Sanctuary.

b.) *The Fortunes of the Ancient Sanctuary.*

(*i*) The historical book which tells us of Eli, does not mention what fate befell the sacred city of Shiloh, his place of abode, after these great disasters. We must therefore gather from scattered notices the particulars of a calamitous event of the time which historians willingly passed over in mournful silence, but which was not without influence on the course of succeeding history. We saw at p. 260, that from the days of Joshua Shiloh became the settled station of the Sanctuary of Israel; and we cannot doubt that until the death of Eli it maintained its prerogative. There were indeed in the country many spots which from one cause or other possessed a certain sanctity dating from various times before or after Moses, and had smaller altars of their own. At such of these as were situated in the central portion of the country, in the territories of Ephraim and Benjamin, the national Assembly often met; for we observe at a very early date a remarkable unwillingness to let the Assembly meet at the place where the High Priest had his abode. Such a city was Shechem (p. 278), which however, according to p. 342 sqq., early devoted itself to objects certain to alienate from it the favour of many of the tribes; also Gilgal (p. 244 sqq.), the ancient Bethel; and Mizpeh,[3] lying, like Bethel,[4] north of Jerusalem in

[1] Instead of the perfectly unintelligible יך 1 Sam. iv. 13, should be read from the closely corresponding description in 2 Sam. xviii. 24 בֵּין שְׁנֵי הַשְּׁעָרִים and then בְּרֶרֶךְ: 'he sat on the seat in the inner gate *like* a watcher,' comp. ver. 18; only *like* a watcher or an expectant did he sit there, because he could no longer see.

[2] As the sacerdotal name אִיתָמָר though perfectly analogous in form does not admit of such an interpretation, and as the idiom of the language presents another possibility (see my *Lehrb.* p. 667), this ingenious turn may have been given to the story at a later time.

[3] Robinson i. p. 460 places it conjecturally at the present *Nebi Samvîl*, although the name of this place would rather lead us to suppose it the ancient Ramah of Samuel. The latter was situated, according to 1 Macc. iii. 46, not far north of Jerusalem, and was known even in the days of the Maccabees as an ancient sanctuary.

[4] In Joshua xviii. 22, comp. ver. 26, Bethel is assigned to Benjamin; but from the intimate connection before explained between Ephraim and Benjamin, it is not surprising that in Judg. i. 22 sqq., it appears as Ephraim's conquest, and that

the tribe of Benjamin. How the last place became sacred we do not now know as we do of the others; much, unquestionably, that was once of import in the time of the Judges, is now lost to us; but it certainly was held sacred before Samuel's time.[1] Again, it is quite probable that even in earlier times the ark had sometimes been removed from Shiloh. So once during a war we see it stationed for a considerable period at Bethel, to be nearer the theatre of hostilities,[2] the belief being in those days so deeply rooted that its near presence might forward the victory. But the Tabernacle, with the other sacred relics of Mosaic antiquity, certainly always remained at Shiloh, where the High Priest had his permanent abode, and where the yearly harvest-festival was celebrated by the entire people,[3] while the Passover was then kept by many at Gilgal by preference (p. 262). Now when we see that after the death of Eli Shiloh loses all importance as the chief station of the Sanctuary, that no High Priest again makes it his abode,[4] and that the Tabernacle itself, so far as it is mentioned in later times, seems stationed elsewhere; we must needs suppose that the Philistines took advantage of that great victory to conquer Shiloh and destroy its famous Sanctuary, although the history (which in its present state is much abbreviated throughout) does not even mention it. The city reappears[5] afterwards, it is true, as not quite uninhabited; but evidently as only gradually restored, like so many

in the division of the kingdom of David, when the greater part of Benjamin fell to Judah, 1 Kings xii. 21, Bethel remained with Ephraim, and is therefore rightly distinguished from Benjamin in Hos. v. 8.

[1] This follows from the very clear account in Judges xx. 1–xxi. 8, compared with 1 Sam. vii. 5–12, 16, x. 17.

[2] The expression in Judg. xx. 27 certainly sounds somewhat general; but as the movement of all the tribes there described obviously lasted a considerable time before it was entirely pacified, and the people from the camp at Mizpeh went repeatedly to Bethel to the High Priest, who took part in the war, xx. 18, 23 (where Bethel must be inserted or understood), 26, xxi. 2; there is nothing that forces us to assume any much longer absence of the ark from Shiloh; while on the contrary the words in xix. 18 seem to imply its presence. In Josh. xxiv. 1, the words '*before God*' indicate that the ark was then at Shechem.

[3] The expression in Judges xxi. 19 implies merely a yearly festival; and then, according to every indication, this could be only the autumn-feast.

[4] For the words כהן יהוה בשלה 1 Sam. xiv. 3 are not to be referred to Ahiah but to Eli, as indeed is shown by the connection.

[5] 1 Kings xi. 29, Jer. xli. 5; a place with the fuller ancient name must have remained even in the time of the LXX., since they write Σηλώμ for *Shiloh*; the Samaritans also pronounced *Sailûn* (Chron. xliii. sqq.); and even at the present day is found, just where it might be expected, a village Sailûn, in a valley, but closely encompassed by mountains (Robinson ii. p. 267 sqq.). The Tabernacle would certainly stand well-sheltered on the neighbouring hill, as appears clearly from Ex. xv. 17 (Ps. lxxviii. 54); for the entire context shows that הר is not here to be understood of all Canaan, as perhaps in Deut. iii. 25 (comp. ἡ ὀρεινή, Judith v. 15, vi. 7, xi. 2). And besides, the minute description of the situation of Shiloh in Judges xxi. 19 indicates that when that was written the city was already less known.

other towns in those times, through the people's indomitable zeal for resettlement after a devastation. But the Tabernacle, as might be expected from similar cases, was carried off by watchful Levites before the destruction was completed; and as late as the time of David and of Solomon's building of the Temple, is found established at Gibeon in the tribe of Benjamin.[1] But as the hereditary High Priest would always have his abode in the neighbourhood of the Tabernacle, it is probable that it was first carried from Shiloh to Nob, likewise in the tribe of Benjamin; and not until the destruction of that place by Saul,[2] was removed to Gibeon. For we find a great-grandson of Eli, Ahiah or Ahimelech,[3] son of Ahitub, elder brother of the ill-starred Ichabod mentioned above (p. 413), who therefore might be about twenty by the time Saul became king, permanently residing at Nob, except when he accompanied Saul to war; and under his charge, as we learn from the distinct accounts of David's youth, was the greatest Sanctuary of those times.

(*ii*) But of the fortunes of the Ark of the Covenant, which was carried off and regarded as the best prize of victory, we have fuller information,[4] because it was always accounted the most sacred thing of all. This strange symbol, certainly never before captured, the Philistines carried off, as they would have done the image of a god, to Ashdod, then perhaps reckoned the capital of their five little kingdoms; and set up as a trophy of victory before the image of Dagon, who must have been then accounted their chief god (p. 332). But the neighbourhood or actual presence of a new god brings either great blessing or great bane: such was the feeling of the whole ancient world. When the Philistines, whose hearts and passions were just then inflamed by the pride of their great victory, soon after found their bodies plagued with loathsome diseases,[5] and their fields wasted

[1] 1 Chron. xxi. 29, comp. xvi. 39. 1 Kings iii. 4 sqq., ix. 2.

[2] 1 Sam. xxii.

[3] That Ahiah in 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18 is identical with Ahimelech in xxi. 2 [1] and xxii. 9 is certain, more especially from the latter passage; the only question is which of the two names is the original. But perhaps the two were interchanged indifferently (since *Melech* '*King*' may be applied also to God); as אֲלִימֶלֶךְ in the Book of Ruth, and אֲלִיָּהוּ.

[4] 1 Sam. v. 1–vii. 1. That the additions made by the LXX. are not necessary in v. 3, 6, but are in vi. 1, is shown by the connection, as well as by the necessary increase in the punishments; in v. 3, 6, the additions would even injure the sense. Further, at v. 4 נוֹף or גְּוִית is wanting after רק; in vi. 4 the second חמשה should be struck out, in both cases according to the LXX.; and at vi. 18 עָר should be read for the middle עַד, and אֶבֶן instead of אֶבֶל. Josephus, who in his *Jewish Wars* v. 9. 4 refers to this history, calls the Philistines, after the fashion of his own later times, Assyrians, i.e. Syrians.

[5] As the somewhat obscure word עפלים must from vi. 4 sqq. denote something which could be visibly represented, and in vi. 11, 17 interchanges with טחרים

by a fearfully increasing multitude of all-devouring mice,[1] it is not surprising that in their deadly terror they grew impatient of the new deity in their midst, and resolved to appease the wrath of this god, whose entire mysterious nature must in itself have seemed to them so dread and unnatural, and send back his Sanctuary with costly offerings.[2] We may accept all this as strictly historical; and it is our most ancient testimony to the impression produced on the heathen, even when victorious, by this God of Israel, whose very Sanctuary was so unlike that of any heathen deity. Unless indeed the incorrupt and almost indomitable nation of Israel had then already excited among its enemies an undefined awe of its mysterious God, those terrible experiences alone would never have inspired the Philistines with a reverence for the Ark, of which the Chaldeans, for instance, showed themselves wholly destitute at the burning of the Temple several centuries later; but all things combined to urge the Philistines to this decision. The deep impression which the actual return of this great Sanctuary within the borders of Israel could not but produce upon the people of those unhappy times—unhappy by no fault of their own—may easily be conceived; and we need not be surprised that in the first excitement of gratified feeling the impression was formed, that Dagon in his own sanctuary had fallen prostrate before the Ark,[3] and that this conception became deeply and permanently stamped upon the Israelite narrative. Unfortunately we have the whole narrative only in one form. In this, Dagon falls prostrate the very first night before the Ark, which had been placed

there can be no doubt that it signifies, first the seat (*podex*), then either the bloody flux (which in certain countries accompanies other contagious diseases; see *Ausland*, April 17, 1847), which is nearly the view taken by Josephus, or tumours affecting that part of the body. This view is supported by Deut. xxviii. 27 and *Syrii tumores* in Martial *Epigram.* iv. 43; Porphyry *De Abstin.* iv. 15. Leipsic suffered in February and March 1855 from an epidemic of boils. R. Tanchum understood it as piles. Any way, it is clear even from v. 12 that nothing pestilential can be intended. Similar revolting chastisements are meant in Gen. xx. 17, Herod. i. 105, iv. 67. In general the Israelites, being then a true mountain race, might probably be much healthier than the Philistines in their lowlands and rich commercial cities.

[1] On this punishment see p. 242 note. Even in 1848 the coffee-crop in Ceylon was entirely destroyed by mice; see also Hefter's *Rhodische Gottesdienste* iii. p. 43, and Chwolson's *Ssâbier* ii. pp. 84, 456.

[2] As in Rome at the present day a picture of the mortal peril from which any one has been delivered after taking a vow is hung up in the church of the saint invoked, so then the Philistines dedicated to Jahveh five (enlarged) golden images of the parts affected by the disease, and as many figures of mice as there were towns and villages. An analogy may also be found in the brazen serpent set up by Moses, only that Moses used it to enforce another lesson (see p. 176).

[3] This fall is therefore to be viewed in something the same light as that of the walls of Jericho. Similar occurrences, as if the images of the gods had life and feeling, are related by many heathen nations: see Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien* i. p. 132, Mackenzie's *Collection* ii. p. 41, Cicero *De Divin.* i. 74 sqq., 77, and Klausen's *Æneas* pp. 579, 623, 655.

in his innermost sanctuary; and being set up again by his votaries, falls again in the following night—but this time with head and hands broken off upon the threshold; for which reason, it is said, his priests even in later times preferred to spring over that threshold rather than touch it with the foot.[1] And as at the same time the people of Ashdod began to suffer Divine chastisement, it was resolved to remove the Ark to Gath, nearer to the land of Israel. Then, when in addition to the former judgments, a kind of plague broke out here, it was moved to Ekron.[2] Finally the Ekronites also were unable to endure its presence, as another Divine judgment, a plague of field-mice, fell upon them; and then it was resolved to send it back with due honour within the borders of Israel.[3] This return was conducted with all that scrupulous care which in very ancient days many nations bestowed upon such a sanctuary. Two milch-cows never yet used for the plough were yoked to a new carriage, on which was placed the Ark surrounded by the offerings; and the cows were then driven forward, their young ones being taken from them and shut up.[4] If notwithstanding this they went forward willingly direct to the desired point, this was received as a Divine attestation of the correctness of the whole proceeding; and, as the account goes, they did in fact go direct, followed by the Philistine princes, to within the borders of Israel at Beth-shemesh, a Levitical city in north-western Judah. There the inhabitants, just then busy with the corn harvest, sacrificed the cows with fire kindled from the wood of the carriage; the Levites took possession of the Ark,

[1] That they regarded the threshold as too sacred to be trodden, and therefore preferred to spring over it, was undoubtedly an ancient custom of these priests; yet in its origin it does not greatly differ from the custom among other nations that the priests must not tread the inner temple in shoes. It may thus have been more ancient than is here assumed. See Knudsen's *Gross-Namaqua-Land* (Barmen 1848) p. 12.

[2] Whence we may conclude that Gath, of which the site is scarcely known to us from any other source, was situated almost in the middle between Ashdod and Ekron, but farther east, perhaps on the site of the present Tell-el-Ssâfie. According to Jerome on Micah i. 11, we ought rather to think of the more southerly Tell-el-Hâsi from *Gathi*?). In any case it was different from Gath-Rimmon, Josh. xix. 45; which lay on the road from Eleutheropolis to Lydda, somewhere near Dair-Dubban or Ajjur. The LXX. are wrong in substituting Askelon for Ekron (comp. similar confusions in vii. 14); and this explains the origin of the unnecessarily artificial view taken in Josephus, that the Ark had been first sent to all the five cities of the Philistines.

[3] In like manner the black stone of the Kaaba, stolen by the Carmathians in the year 314 of the Hegira, was voluntarily returned by them in 339.

[4] See something similar in 2 Sam. vi. 3 sqq.; and see how other nations viewed the removal of images of the gods in Livy v. 22, Plut. *Cam.* 30 sqq., Livy xxix. 11. But no doubt the selection of cows for this solemnity was connected with the religion of Dagon, as the god of tillage. See my Essay *Ueber die Phönik. Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung*, p. 19.

and the greatest joy prevailed. According to this account, the Ark had been seven months in a foreign land.

Why the Philistines conducted the Ark only to this Levitical frontier-town is easily explained; but why was it not restored by Israel to its ancient station? This is explained by the destruction which, from what we have seen, must at that very moment have been impending over Shiloh; in consequence of which there was probably at that time absolutely no regular priesthood in Israel, and perhaps as yet no permanent station again assigned to the Tabernacle. Besides, the solemn and honourable removal of a great religious symbol required, according to the feeling of those times,[1] a host of sacrifices and other expenditure, to which Israel was at that time scarcely equal. Thus the Ark remained in Beth-shemesh, where a stone in the field of one Joshua was afterwards shown, whereon the Philistines had set it down. And any place where it had once rested in tranquillity and blessedness was considered as blest by the Ark itself, and could wish nothing better than always to possess it. But though this Sanctuary, now 300 years old, had obtained an almost superstitious reverence in Israel itself, Beth-shemesh soon suffered a repetition of what the Philistines had experienced. A great mortality in the city[2] and neighbourhood, though attributed only to insufficient rejoicings on the part of some of the inhabitants, the sons of Jechoniah, on the arrival of the Sanctuary, excited such consternation that the citizens of Beth-shemesh entreated those of the neighbouring city of Kirjath-jearim (see p. 289 *note* 5) to take the Sanctuary to themselves. The offer was gladly accepted; a certain Abinadab set it up in his own ground upon a hill, and his son Eleazar was consecrated its priest. Of course these men were Levites, though the city was not one of the forty-eight Levitical cities. There the Ark remained quietly till the time of David; but the ancient Tabernacle thus continued bereaved of its greatest symbol.

(*iii*) This entire destruction of the ancient Holy Place, and the dispersal of the sacred symbols, as well as of the principal priests themselves, occurred at a time when the ancient condition and constitution of the nation were already most perilously shaken, and all things were tending to a still more radical revolution. It is not without significance, that the expiration

[1] Comp. 2 Sam. vi. 5 sqq.

[2] In 1 Sam. vi. 19 it runs seventy men, 50,000 men; thus gradually proceeding from the former to the latter number. See a similar case at p. 405; the alteration in the construction advocated by Quatremère (*Mém. de l'Inst.* 1851, p. 476; *Jour. As.* 1861, i. p. 120 sq.), does not suit. We should here read with the LXX. וְלֹא שָׂמְחוּ בְּנֵי יְכָנְיָה for the first ויך.

of each of the three great eras in the history of Israel is marked by the violent destruction of the existing form of an external Sanctuary which had endured for centuries; as if to indicate plainly that this history is after all rather that of a religion than of a nation. Such successive centuries had wrought mighty changes in the inner life of religion in Israel; and so the destruction of the visible Sanctuary which had served both as veil and as sign of that inner life, naturally follows, as the final result and likewise the external attestation of the change. In the first case, that now before us, the destruction is comparatively the most endurable and the most easily remedied; since the general life of the people, notwithstanding its present decline, is the healthiest, and indeed actually powerfully aspiring towards real improvement. Thus this very destruction helped to bring about that better state of things for which all were sighing. The High Priesthood, though renovated, could no longer protect the ancient Sanctuary; the evil of ever-growing weakness pressed heavily on the whole nation, but especially on the Priests. But all this tended to smooth the way for a hero of a new stamp, who, though anything but a High Priest himself, contributed most of all to give a determinate direction to the internal improvement and strengthening of the community, and to facilitate the transition from the ancient constitution to a new one, in which the visible Sanctuary should rise again in still greater glory in the midst of a renovated people. This last hero of the whole period, and mighty inaugurator of a new one, is Samuel.

3) Samuel, the consecrated Prophet and Judge.

Samuel is one of the few great men in history, who in critical times, by sheer force of character and invincible energy, terminate the previous form of a great existing system, at first against their own will, but afterwards, when convinced of the necessity, with all the force and eagerness of their nature; and who then initiate a better form with the happiest results, though amid much personal suffering and persecution. No new truth, stretching beyond the Mosaic first principles, impels him to action; but those principles he grasps with a reality and vividness all his own; and it was the great necessity of his time not to let such truths drop into oblivion. Those truths, rising into intense vitality in his own spirit, he has the strength and the self-devotion to embody afresh in the life of his age, and to reconstitute the whole people in conformity with them in such

manner as the changed conditions of the age admit. Similarly Luther, taking his stand only on the fundamental principles of Christianity, from that recovered ground renovated and transformed his age, so far as seemed possible under the overpowering weight of circumstance. Being rather a man of daring and unwearied energy than of thought and reflection, Samuel at first throws himself entirely into the established system, and avails himself of all its latent powers and existing institutions, with the happiest result in strengthening and renovating his people; giving, even up to his mature years, by the splendour and supremacy of his spirit, the last touch of perfection to all that lay within his reach. Here, against his own preconceptions and wishes, the conviction suddenly forces itself upon him that the whole existing system has become hopelessly unsound, and that the community can be saved only by a totally new organisation. And at this moment which is to decide the fate of centuries, he is the hero required, who can sacrifice his previous convictions and all the honours of his rule to give the age what it lacks; and will take care that this gift may indeed accomplish all that can be hoped from it. Although at first a conscientious opponent of the new state of things which a higher necessity was forcing on his people, yet from the moment when he recognises this necessity, he becomes the most devoted and efficient organiser of the new age, just as Luther required to be first overpowered by the great need of the Reformation, before he would dedicate his whole powers to its service.[1] Thus Samuel stands the spiritual hero of two very different eras, equally illustrious in both, but especially happy to find the second, which he not merely lived through but as it were created, an age not of fermentation only but of progress, in which the good seed sown by him might grow and flourish. For if David's visible deeds are greater and more dazzling than Samuel's, still there can be no doubt that David's blaze of glory would have been impossible without Samuel's less conspicuous but far more influential career, and that all the greatness of which the following century boasts, goes back to him as its real author.

[1] In comparing Samuel (in so far as any historical comparison can approach the perfect similarity which is never attained) with our own Luther, I have in fact rejected all previous attempts to find a parallel for one so generally misunderstood. The Middle Ages, Popes included, understood wonderfully little of this sublime scriptural figure; indeed the entire Old Testament, as conceived by them, was lifeless and unmeaning. But though these Popes might seek and find in some superficially read words of the Old Testament on Samuel a warrant for their own selfish and mischievous revolt against temporal authorities, what enlightened critic could now venture to insult the shade of the noble Biblical hero by comparisons with Gregory VII., Innocent III., and such-like names of ill omen even among the Popes of the present day?

So sublime a figure we must acknowledge Samuel to be, from the few traces yet left to us of his memory. The Books of Samuel, it is true, contain very few words of the true prophetic colouring, which can be referred to him;[1] and are equally scanty in their accounts of his deeds. There is therefore much in the life of this last and most glorious Judge, which we are left to infer, in the absence of more direct testimony, from its unquestionable results. Yet enough has been retained to preclude all possibility of doubt as to his peculiar greatness in both portions of his career.

a.) Samuel was not of the family of Aaron, and was thereby rendered ineligible for the High Priesthood; but he did spring from another Levitical family,[2] dwelling at Ramah in the land of Zuph among the mountains of Ephraim.[3] This descent would in itself mark him as belonging to quite a different circle from his predecessor Samson, whose youthful dedication he however shared.

For we have no reason to doubt that Samuel, like Samson, was a Nazirite. So says his history;[4] and although the story of his later life mentions no external sign of this peculiarity, yet his whole appearance at that time is confirmatory of such an early dedication. If there was one characteristic more than

[1] At the utmost we can only suppose 1 Sam. xv. to be an ancient discourse in the manner of Samuel; since ver. 23 especially shows a very antique prophetic diction.

[2] This follows from the double genealogy of Samuel's family which we possess independently of 1 Sam. i. 1 (comp. viii. 1 sq.): the first in 1 Chron. vi. 7–13 [22–28], the other in vi. 18–23 [33–38]: for although a multitude of copyists' errors have crept into 1 Chron. vi. 7–13 [22–28], yet this genealogy agrees in substance with the other in the Chronicles, as well as with the Books of Samuel. To be sure, the narrator of 1 Sam. i. 1 might as well have added לֵוִי after אִישׁ, as in Judges xvii. 7, xix. 1, to spare later readers the possibility of misunderstanding; but it is impossible for any one who carefully compares the accounts in the Chronicles, to doubt that Samuel was of Levitical birth. But since the narrator adds אֶפְרָתִי rather than לֵוִי, we may most correctly assume that though Samuel was really a Levite, the narrator lays no stress on the circumstance; as in fact those Levites who were not of Aaron's family seem in early times to have been in closer connection with the rest of the nation. The tithes paid by Elkanah (according to i. 21 of the LXX.), prove nothing against his being a Levite; see my *Alterthümer*, p. 346.

[3] This follows from 1 Sam. i. 1, comp. 19, ii. 11, vii. 17, viii. 4, ix. 5 sqq., xix. 18–24, xxv. 1. Only the first passage gives the full name of the city, Ramathaim (i. e. *Double hill*; the meaning of which name may be understood from ix. 14 sqq.) of the Zuphites (or Sophites); comp. ix. 5.

A place named Soba has been recently discovered, not far west of Jerusalem; and at no great distance to the north-east lies the place now named *Nebi Samvîl* (p. 413 *note* 3). But in fact neither this latter place, nor far less the former, corresponds with what we may conclude from 1 Sam. ix. sq. to have been the situation of Samuel's city. This might be better identified with the more northerly Râm-allâh, whose present name seems still to mark it as a place of ancient sanctity. We are in the meantime enabled from this to fix more nearly the site of the Ramathaim so often named in the Grecian period.

[4] 1 Sam. i. 11, compared with Judges xiii.

another which was superinduced upon his mighty spirit by the times in which he lived, so as to form as it were a hard external shell, it was the inexorable severity with which he acted when he had to carry out what the Jahveh-religion seemed to him to demand:—that severity, fearful perhaps to us, with which, when Saul hesitates, he executes vengeance with his own hand upon the king of the Amalekites;[1] and with which he casts away Saul, his own creature, as a father disowns a son who has proved himself irreclaimable.[2] Now it is certainly true, that such a sinking age could be saved from imminent dissolution and inevitable ruin only by extreme severity. Especially the harshness now adopted as a principle against certain nations, as the Philistines and the Amalekites,—wherein David seems only to follow in the footsteps of his great preceptor,—appears only a last resource employed by the reviving warlike spirit of the people against those by whom it had been long oppressed, to rid itself of them once for all, and break finally their vexatious mastery. So much had the nation already lost of its free scope, and to such a depth was it now in danger of sinking irretrievably, that no slight weapon would now avail; and this tendency to harsh severity was unfortunately of the very essence of the times. He who, however kindly in other respects, was most direct and inexorable in carrying out what seemed urgently needed, he alone could now become the true physician of the times, the successful founder of a better age. Moreover, at a time when it again became a question whether Israel was to have a country to itself or no home at all upon earth, this increased rigour was in fact nothing new, but only a more decided return to the severity which was its original habit (p. 154 sq.). But those in whom this new tendency to increased severity displayed itself first and strongest, were certainly the Nazirites. Samuel is obviously only the intellectually strongest and the most consistent among them; and we can well imagine that from his infancy he was dedicated to the life of a Nazirite. Now this severity takes in Samuel a very peculiar form, of which he is certainly the only example in ancient times. This was due in part to his extraordinary force of mind, unparalleled in his own times; and in part (which cannot but be perceived) to his birth as Levite. For this made it only natural for his parents to have him brought up as God's own at the Sanctuary of Shiloh, thus consecrating him, even more than other Nazirites, to the sacred service. But there, at the centre of government, he must early have become

[1] 1 Sam. xv. 32 sqq. [2] 1 Sam. xiii. 11–14; xv.

conversant with the weightiest concerns of the people; and if he remained faithful to his vow, the jarring contrast which he had before his eyes, in the evil example of Eli's children, could but force more strongly upon his mind the conviction of the great necessity of the age, and impel to still more unflinching rigour his determination to act up to this conviction.

But far more than in this all-subduing tension of will is his real greatness of spirit declared in the fact that he likewise assumed the prophetic office, as the freest and highest sphere of action for purifying and improving the community. By his great example he rapidly raised the power of this agency, till it took the deepest hold of the people, reformed and trained them to nobler aims; so that he was truly the father of all the great Prophets who worked such wonders in the ensuing centuries. It would be quite a mistake, it is true, to consider him the first founder of Israelite Prophecy, and to imagine that never before him had the mighty voice of Prophets been uplifted in the community. The Jahveh-religion (p. 47 sqq., 139 sqq.) contained within itself from the first the power and the justification of all free Prophecy; and so far we can regard it in Samuel as no new manifestation. That before his time great or at least influential prophets had arisen in the community, may be shown with very tolerable certainty; for even if the nameless prophets mentioned by the last author of the Book of Judges,[1] as well as once in the Books of Samuel,[2] owe their existence only to a free style of narrative which thus imparts life to early history, and do not therefore, strictly speaking, come under consideration here; yet still, within the narrow compass of the records relating to these times, Ehud (p. 373) and Deborah (p. 374 sq.), strictly historical characters, are sufficient examples of most important prophetic influence long before Samuel; and both had evidently exercised the prophetic function among their own people long before they rose up to take part against foreign enemies. But in the general degeneracy of the times immediately preceding Samuel, the exercise of the prophetic power must have become rarer, as is expressly stated.[3] The novelty and the wonder, the like of which had not been seen since the days of Moses, was that in Samuel Prophecy now revived with new force, that according to the beautiful legend, even as a child he was called repeatedly, and each time with more irresistible power, by the clear voice of Jahveh, and that then all Israel once more

[1] Judges ii. 1–5, vi. 7–10. [2] 1 Sam. ii. 27. [3] 1 Sam. iii. 1.

yielded itself in perfect trust to the guidance of genuine Prophecy.[1] This deepest and most potent force, which alone could save, lead on, and perfect in the very spirit of the Founder, the community which it had itself originally moulded, now again bursts forth at the right moment, to become that community's deliverer. But this renovated Prophecy, forcing its way upwards with fresh power at so critical a time, must certainly assume a different form from that in which it had first appeared. As Samuel, in this time of threatening ruin, was first Nazirite and then Prophet, Prophecy no longer remains a simple function, merely laying a foundation, and self-justified, but assumes a more austere and decided aspect, allies itself with a distincter purpose to the Jahveh-religion, and rejects more emphatically whatever is antagonistic to that. By Samuel a new and peculiar direction was given to the nation, which we do not perceive under either Ehud or Deborah. With him the possibility of a final triumph of the Jahveh-religion over internal corruption as well as over the heathen is first made prominent; and we see here the germ of what is more and more fully developed in the succeeding centuries. An ancient record[2] states that the image-worship in Dan (mentioned at p. 348) under a degenerate branch of the priesthood continued only till the great convulsion experienced by the entire people at the end of Eli's rule. Thus in the now ensuing time of trial the nation everywhere reverted all the more decidedly to the stricter religion; and from all that we can learn of Samuel, no one contributed more powerfully to this result.

Thus renewing its youth, and working in a soul of such power and so well suited to be its exemplar, Prophecy is no longer the specialty of a few individuals, as heretofore. In Samuel's advanced age we behold an entirely new feature of the times: whole societies of Prophets—Sons or Scholars of the Prophets, as they were called—who, living in common, exercised themselves in prophetic skill, in music, then closely connected with it, and in other noble arts, and, as is shown by their designation, looked to some illustrious type of their special calling as to a father.[3] The previous existence of Nazirites, who from their singular mode of life would naturally keep much

[1] 1 Sam. iii. 20 sq.

[2] Judges xviii. 30 sqq. See my *Alterthümer* p. 258 *notes*.

[3] The expression 'Sons of the Prophets,' however, is not found in 1 Sam. x. 5 sqq., xix. 20 sqq., but in the Books of Kings from 1 Kings xx. 35 onward, as in Amos vii. 14.

together,[1] may have contributed not a little to this rapid change; but its close connection with Samuel is everywhere most evident.[2] Through such a diffusion of prophetic training, the higher truths of prophecy must have been most rapidly diffused among the people, and a new and higher life formed in the nation. The best proof of this is that it was soon deemed a necessary mark of cultivation and high position, to be not entirely strange to the new enthusiasm, to have caught once at least the prophetic fire, and been thrilled with heavenly music by the Sons of the Prophets.[3] Even of those who started with the most hostile intentions against the prophets and their pupils it is related that on approaching they suddenly stood still, spell-bound by the music and the solemn dance of the devotees; then more and more powerfully drawn by the same spirit into the charmed circle, broke forth into similar words and gestures; then, flinging away the upper garment joined in the dance and the music, and sinking down in ecstatic quivering, utterly forgot the hostile spirit in which they had come.[4] Nothing in fact shows so certainly as these popular traditions the incalculable effects which proceeded from this spirit. A new power, and that the most spiritual possible, was thenceforward established among the people; a power which beyond all others was the moving-spring of the succeeding centuries, and produced whatever greatness they were capable of.

b.) Thus in Samuel—Levite, Nazirite at the Sanctuary of Shiloh, Prophet, and destined founder of a mightier prophetic power—were united from the first all spiritual gifts most potent for the welfare of the people; and under his powerful control stood the wheels on which the age revolved. All the later glorification of this mighty hero of the community is embraced in one comprehensive glance by the somewhat idealised account at the commencement of his history, which endeavours to ex-

[1] As must therefore have been still more the case with the Rechabites, Jer. xxxv.

[2] Compare 1 Sam. iii. 1 with x. 5 sqq., xix. 20 sqq.; where this is throughout assumed.

[3] This is shown by the fine legend of Saul among the Prophets in 1 Sam. x. 10–12, xix. 24; a legend which was so familiar as to pass into a proverb, and then to be interwoven with all sorts of stories and the most various contexts.

[4] This is very picturesquely expressed in the legend from the life of Saul and David, 1 Sam. xix. 19–34. One cannot but be reminded of the well-known dances of the Mohammedan Sufis and Fakirs; and it must be confessed that, dissimilar as may be the religions, there is much similarity in the externals of these later developments. But it must never be forgotten that such exercises, so long as they were really new and prompted by true inspiration, as in the time of Saul, must have produced a very different impression from what we meet with in later times.

plain what his great spirit was from the beginning, and in what circumstances he was early placed. In the existing legend Samuel, like so many heroes of his stamp, appears as a late-born son; thence is sketched a pleasing picture of the birth and dedication of the future hero. This picture, quite different from that of the earlier Nazirite, Samson (p. 408), adheres strictly to natural occurrences without introducing for effect any supernatural persons or words. His mother, like Rachel, receives him after long and vain desire, in answer to fervent prayer to Jahveh at the Sanctuary, and after Eli's blessing; and then, in fulfilment of her vow, gives the child, when between two and three years old, as a Nazirite, to that same Sanctuary.[1] Now while he there performs the lower services, and in direct contrast to Eli's grown-up sons, whose iniquities he has ever before his eyes, grows daily better 'towards Jahveh, as towards men,' the voice of Jahveh comes to him, quite unexpectedly early, and without his being himself at first aware of it, but ever stronger and more irresistibly, at first in a dream. He is thereby urged against his will to announce to Eli the sad doom of his house, which had already been previously foretold to him by another prophet.[2] The floods of disaster which soon break over Eli's house, too quickly confirm the young prophet's melancholy prediction.[3] The description how the voice from above calls young Samuel, at first entirely without, indeed *against*, his own knowledge and will, is in its way exquisitely beautiful and appropriate; but in this form, and this special reference to Eli's rank in the Sanctuary and the fate of his house, it shows itself to be no original tradition, but a conception suggested by the survey of the prophet's entire life and times, as an expression of the fact of the early awakening in Samuel of the prophetic faculty.[4]

How old he was at the time when disaster overtook the house of Eli, we cannot indeed determine exactly; one would suppose that he was still very young, since this was only the commencement of the twenty years' recovered ascendancy of the Philistines, and deepest humiliation of Israel.[5] Such round

[1] 1 Sam. i. 1–ii. 11. Hannah's song, however, ii. 1–10, has been here interpolated by a later hand (comp. i. p. 158); if only because, from the analogy of i. 19, the last words of verse 28 (where we ought to read וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ as in ver. 19) ought to be immediately followed by the words in ii. 11. As each of the four strophes of the song (noticed at p. 355 *note* 1) consists of eight lines, the words in ver. 2 must have been borrowed from some other source.

[2] 1 Sam. ii. 12–iii.

[3] 1 Sam. iv.

[4] Even the description of Jahveh's presence in the dream (iii. 10) is quite as poetic in colouring as that in Job iv. 16.

[5] 1 Sam. vii. 2.

numbers, however, have, according to p. 366, no great weight. But it is clear that at that time Samuel had long been acknowledged in all parts of the country as a great Prophet;[1] he had thereby already made a great step towards the position of Judge, though the general confusion which followed the disastrous events alluded to prevented his becoming Judge immediately. But at last under the pressure of a foreign yoke, the people sighed all the more fervently for Jahveh and his salvation,[2] thus the narrative runs; and Samuel, responding to this intense longing, held in Mizpeh, not far from his paternal city Ramah, a national Assembly, where the people in deep remorse for the first time voluntarily submitted to him as Judge, and was ready to obey all his ordinances (comp. p. 361 sqq.). When the Philistines heard of the new zeal which had come upon Israel, and of this strong union to be formed under a new head, the actual assembly at Mizpeh came suddenly upon them. While Samuel was still offering sacrifice, the people marched forth against their enemies; and it was as if Jahveh answered Samuel's petition and scattered them with his loudest thunders, so great was the victory achieved by Israel, and the rout of the Philistines, who fled to below Beth-car and Aphek (mentioned p. 412), where Samuel afterwards erected the memorial from which arose the place named Eben-ezer ('Stone of help or victory'). The Philistines were so completely broken, that for a long time they never again dared to pass the frontiers of Israel, and were obliged to restore the conquered cities of the district between Ekron and Gath in which Hebrews dwelt. The intermediate kingdom of the Amorites (p. 328 sqq.), which had latterly adhered to the Philistines, was at the same time taken again under the protection and government of Israel, and received amnesty and peace on these conditions.[3]

c.) Now if even this Judge, who combined in himself all the highest powers then known in the community, could not permanently reestablish the nation in quiet and security, then it

[1] This follows clearly from the position of 1 Sam. iii. 20 sq. before ch. iv.

[2] This must be the sense of the words וַיִּנָּהוּ־אַחֲרֵי יְ vii. 2: 'They sighed and lamented after Jahveh who had departed from them, wishing he might return:' *to lament after* resembling the phrase elsewhere used, *to call after some one*, &c. But on this very account these words must be in close connection with ver. 5; and there are also other indications which induce us to refer the intermediate words, vv. 3 and 4, to a later hand. See i. p. 158.

[3] This is the meaning of the last words in vii. 14; before וְאֶת גְּבוּלָן the words אֶת הֶעָרִים must have been dropped out; as we see also from v. 6. That the son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlvi. 18) should understand these Amorites as equivalent to the Tyrians, whose name was better known at his day, is intelligible, but can have no strict historical significance.

was clearly proved that the Judgeship, even in its purest and brightest form, could no longer suffice. And indeed it was pretty soon evident in the sequel, that even so extraordinary a Judge as Samuel was unable to cure the deep-rooted evils of the time with the temporal power as limited as it had hitherto been.

It is indeed said by the second principal author of the Books of Kings, that the Philistines 'felt the hand of Jahveh' all the days of Samuel.[1] But this can be taken only as a general expression, allowable in such a brief survey as is here given by this author. It is quite possible that in the days of Samuel the Philistines may for a considerable time have kept quieter; but how little the danger threatening from that quarter was really averted, is shown by certain facts relating to this period which come to light in the history of the commencement of Saul's reign. It here appears that the Philistines had a permanent camp near Michmash on the eastern slope of the mountain-range towards the southern Jordan,[2] thus virtually commanding the country; and at Gibeah, not far to the south-west of Michmash, they had an official who could serve only to collect the tribute payable to them.[3] Indeed they compelled the Hebrews of the conquered districts to serve in their own armies against Israel, or as much of Israel as still remained free or took up arms.[4] While they thus drew levies from one portion of Israel for their own service, on the other portion they had imposed the hard condition of bearing no arms, and delivering up even the smiths and other makers of weapons.[5] Such signs point clearly to a lasting subjugation of large districts. The rise of monarchy in Israel, taking the Philistines by surprise, may soon have interrupted the truce, and excited to violent hostilities against Israel, but this entire state of things cannot possibly have had its first origin under Saul. We must rather admit what is unmistakably true, that after the days of Samson (p. 399) a great part of Israel paid tribute to the Philistines, and could hope for nothing better than to prolong a truce on conditions not too dishonourable to be borne. The victories of Eli and Samuel could hardly obtain more than such bearable truces, with a rate of tribute not too high; and even these were not lasting. Even during Samuel's Judgeship the

[1] 1 Sam. vii. 13.
[2] 1 Sam. xiii. 11 sqq.
[3] 1 Sam. x. 5, xiii. 4.
[4] 1 Sam. xiv. 21. It appears from hints in Zech. xii. 2 sqq., that a similar occurrence took place at a late period, during the last attacks upon Jerusalem under the monarchy before its destruction.
[5] 1 Sam. xiii. 19–21. It would seem however from Judges v. 8, that a similar tyranny was also practised in the period before Deborah's victory.

fruits of his victories must have been again lost; while at the same time the Ammonites, who had rallied after the victories of Jephthah (p. 336 sq.), renewed their pressure from the north-east. In fact we see plainly from one indication,[1] that the earlier of the chief narrators must have explained the rise of the monarchy from the great distress which the Philistines had once more brought upon the people.

We cannot accuse Samuel of weakness on that account; he was above all things a Prophet; and just as we see that Moses never had recourse to arms but in the last resort (p. 240), so Samuel might still less consider warfare his nearest duty, since to compel the people to arms by no means fell within the competency even of a Judge. But another reason was now added, of which we are briefly informed by the second of the chief narrators.[2] The two sons, Joel and Abijah, whom Samuel in advancing years had made his assistants in the judicial office, the one in Bethel for the north, the other in Beersheba for the south, if not so depraved as the sons of Eli, were yet sufficiently so to provoke complaints from the people who sought justice at their hands.

If then even under Samuel, towards his latter years, the office of Judge proved externally and internally too weak, and inefficient for permanent security, the time was at last come when the people must either submit to some more complete human authority, and thus, though with many sacrifices, renovate their existing institutions, or else fall into hopeless decay. Even the noblest and most spiritually-gifted human instrument that could be produced or indeed tolerated by the ancient constitution, in whom centred all its purest powers, could no longer adequately resist the evergrowing weight of evil. What hope then of deliverance within the limits of this ancient constitution?

But the basis for the right solution of this complication of centuries was already present, though unacknowledged; and rarely in history has a terrible complication been so easily ended by the unravelling of all its seemingly hopeless tangles. Amid the pressure of the ever-growing confusion of all the ancient elements of order, there had been fashioned during the last century a new people, spiritually strengthened first by the mys-

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 16 points to a circumstantial account now lost to us of the renewed Philistine ascendancy in Samuel's latter days, in the usual full and graphic manner of the principal narrator.

[2] 1 Sam. viii. 1–3. That one son was in Bethel, is mentioned only by Josephus *Ant.* vi. 3, 2; but it is so suitable that it must have come to him from some better text of the Books of Kings; it is omitted even by the LXX. For Joel in 1 Sam. viii. 2 and 1 Chron. vi. 18, 1 Chron. vi. 13 has erroneously וְשֵׁנִי; the name Joel which has here dropped out, should be restored, and then we must read וְיוֹאֵל

terious power of the Vow, and finally by Samuel's great Prophetic power. And to a nation which like Israel then makes of its school of suffering a school of virtue, and thence blooms forth into new and vigorous life, what is impossible? From the band of those who were braced by the force of the Vow, there comes forth at last that most spiritual of all the Judges, who accepted the Judgeship only as a Prophet for the people's welfare, and possesses the true heroism exhibited in laying it down again for the people's sake when convinced by clear Divine monition, and in bending all his powers to put the new constitution on its right basis. There is now at length this advantage, that all possible forms of incomplete sovereignty have been already tried and exhausted; thus facilitating the introduction of the true and complete form, which Abimelech had anticipated in blind impatience more than a century before (p. 389).

Samuel is the last hero of the period of the Judges. Such a last hero sometimes arises in various times and nations, to be remembered as an honourable token of that final destruction of an existing people or kingdom, which he struggled against without being able to avert. The second period of the history of Israel concludes thus with Jeremiah as its last great yet unsuccessful champion. But in Samuel we behold a hero in whom culminated the growth of many centuries, and whose rare felicity it was to introduce by his own powerful sympathy a new era of more rapid movement and fuller development, in a government and people still the same; and after he had been all-powerful in Israel, to receive a still higher distinction as the spiritual father of a people worthy of him, and aspiring like him after new and better times.

APPENDIX.

A SHORT DISSERTATION

ON

THE TRUE PRONUNCIATION OF THE DIVINE NAME

יהוה

(JAHVEH, JEHOVAH)

BY THE EDITOR.

APPENDIX.

ON THE DIVINE NAME יהוה (*JAHVEH, JEHOVAH*).

§ 1. THE VOWELS are, as a general rule, not written in Hebrew, nor in the cognate Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic languages. Only the long vowels were sometimes indicated, *ō* and *ū* by ו *v*, and *ē* and *ī* by י *y*; which actually introduced a new element of uncertainty, since each of these letters is susceptible of two vowel and one consonantal sound. The letter ה *h* was also employed to designate the final vowel (*a*, *e*, or *o*) of words ending in a vowel. It will be observed that this system closely resembles modern systems of shorthand, which disregard the vowels except where they are important from their length or essential for distinction.

§ 2. So long as the language lived, this system was sufficient; but when it began to die out, and the pronunciation of the vowels especially was endangered, it became necessary to note these also, if the correct pronunciation, or any approximation to it, was to be maintained. But a consonantal alphabet was already in habitual use, and could not easily be superseded. The most natural mode of indicating the vowels was to append to the consonantal letters preceding them dots and other small marks (generally beneath, in one instance above). Thus (reading from right to left) לְמַךְ *Lmch*, לֶמֶךְ *Lamech*, כהן *chn*, כֹּהֵן *cohen*. And this mode of noting the vowels cannot have been adopted by mere accident, since it is in itself peculiarly adapted (as cannot be fully shown here) to the genius of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, and appears in them all alike, even where borrowing is very unlikely.

§ 3. The Divine name was יהוה *Jhvh*.[1] What vowels must be attached to these consonants to restore the old pronunciation?

The name יהוה had from the first been treated as preeminently sacred. As the sign of a Covenant between God and his people, it was reserved for use between them, and not employed in speech to the heathen nor heard on heathen lips. From this point it not unnaturally gradually so advanced in sanctity that Hebrews themselves would not utter

[1] Throughout this essay, as in the proper names in the English Bible generally, *j* represents the Hebrew י, which is however sounded as *y*. יהוה is therefore properly *yhvh*. An inverted comma (ʻ) here represents the peculiar guttural letter ע, and a simple comma (ʼ) the א or spiritus lenis.

it,[1] but in reading the Scriptures substituted אֲדֹנָי Adonaj *the Lord* (properly *my Lord*), except in the instances where God is called אֲדֹנָי יהוה *my Lord Jhvh*; here, to avoid the double אֲדֹנָי, they substituted for יהוה a different word altogether, viz. אֱלֹהִים Elohim, *God*. To facilitate these substitutions, when the vowel-points were appended to the text as above explained, the word יהוה was treated as if it were אֲדֹנָי Adonaj or אֱלֹהִים Elohim, and the vowel-points belonging to these were appended to it. Thus we obtain the written combinations of letters יְהוָֹה and יֱהוִֹה. The former differs, indeed, from אֲדֹנָי in using ְ instead of ֱ as the vowel belonging to the first letter. But these vowels differ only as the French mute *e* (in *recevoir*, *fondre*) from the shortest imaginable *ă*—a difference so slight as to be immaterial.[2]

§ 4. The fact of the substitution of other words for יהוה is perhaps proved most cogently by the curious circumstance just mentioned, that the punctuation is changed according as one name or the other is required by the context. But other facts remain which would suffice alone to prove the substitution.

a.) אֲדֹנָי Adonaj ends in *j* (=*y*), a consonant, יהוה (however it be pronounced) in a vowel (see § 1). Now the initial letter of a word beginning with ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, פ *p*, כ *c*, or ת *t*, is always softened into *v*, *gh*, *dh*, *ph*, *ch*, *th*, under the influence of the final vowel of a closely connected preceding word. But the ב *b*, &c. of the word following יהוה is marked to be pronounced hard; whence it follows that the punctuators intended it to be read אֲדֹנָי Adonaj.

b.) Certain prefixes when attached to יהוה are found with vowel-points incompatible with the ְ Je of יְהוָֹה Jehovah, but suitable to a following אֲ *ă*, as in אֲדֹנָי Adonaj. Thus instead of בִּיהוָֹה bihovah, the

[1] Feeling preceded, Biblical authority (Lev. xxiv. 11, 16) was found afterwards to justify the feeling. This is psychologically the natural order; and is certainly the true order here, since the sense of the Biblical text is generally acknowledged to be perverted.

[2] In the Semitic languages, the vowel attached to one radical letter is the usual agent for distinguishing the various derivatives from one root, and the other radicals therefore require no vowel. But the vowel which is not needed to give the word its meaning may be indispensable to make it pronounceable, or for euphony; but a vowel thus intruding ought obviously to be very slight, and is bound to no particular sound; so that it may be partially determined by the consonant which precedes it, since with certain consonants certain vowels are more easily uttered than others. Hence the various *half-vowels* in Hebrew, ֲ, ֱ, ֳ, *ă*, *ĕ*, *ŏ* respectively; and hence it may be understood why it is really more true to regard them as the same vowel, varying in pronunciation according to circumstances, than as three separate vowels. They were undoubtedly long expressed by the simple sheva ְ, and from this period dates the punctuation יְהוָֹה for אֲדֹנָי. Later, when the influences that determined the pronunciation of the imperfect vowel towards *a*, *e*, or *o*, were no longer felt, it was necessary to add vowel-points to show this to the eye; and what mode could be devised more simple and self-evident than to append to the sheva ְ, the vowel towards which it tended, ַ, ֶ, or ָ? At this later period, the simple sheva ְ was left standing when the half vowel was so slight as not to tend markedly towards one of the three vowels. At the same time the spelling of proper names in the Greek version (LXX.) shows that even the simple sheva was felt as a short *α*, *ε*, *ο*, or even *υ*, as in כְּנַעַן Χανααν, שְׁמוּאֵל Σαμουήλ, שְׁכֶם Συχέμ (Σίκιμα, Σήκιμα), שְׁלֹמֹה Σαλωμών LXX., Σολομών N. T., Σελομών Gr. Venet., רְמַלְיָהוּ Ῥομελίας, יְרִחוֹ Ἰεριχώ, נְחֶשְׁתָּן Νεεσθάν; so impossible was it to preserve a strictly neutral rudimentary vowel.

only form possible if 'Jehovah' were read, we always find בַּיהוָה written. This can only be intended to be read בַּאֲדֹנָי bădonaj, since the vowel of the prefix בַּ bă can only be produced by the influence of a following guttural like the א of אדני.

c.) The Greek translation of the Seventy from its antiquity affords even more important testimony than the Hebrew punctuators of a later date. This always renders יהוה by *κύριος*, which is the literal translation of אֲדֹנָי, but cannot possibly be intended to represent יהוה, which is a *proper name*, as is seen by the absence of the article, by its inability to take a genitive after it, or a possessive pronoun with it, and by many other grammatical circumstances.

§ 5. The points attached to יהוה, then, so far from indicating its pronunciation, were put expressly to prevent its being pronounced at all, and to order the substitution of another word. Had it been otherwise, we should still have been in doubt about its pronunciation; since not only the form יְהוָה Jehovah, but also יֱהוִה Jehovih occurs, as has been shown. This is not the only instance in which the punctuators have constantly affixed to a word vowel-points which belong to another. The pronoun הוּא hu *he* is sometimes written when the feminine *she* is required. In these instances it is always pointed הִוא, in order that the usual feminine form הִיא hi may be substituted.

§ 6. יהוה is therefore in the position of an unpointed word; all that is given us is *Jhvh*, and we have to discover what vowels are to be inserted, and where, to make out of this skeleton the original word. It is safest here to argue mainly from analogy, i.e. from the observed capabilities of the Hebrew tongue; and to reserve for subsequent mention whatever historical testimony exists worth recording. The argument will be most clearly presented under the following heads:

a.) The name is first formally proclaimed to the people by Moses (Ex. vi.), and therefore belongs to the early ages of the nation and the language. Now these early ages exhibit a peculiar formation of men's names, which became rare in the Postmosaic period, and extinct under the Monarchy. These names are formed directly from the imperfect (future) tense of verbs, retaining the prefixed י *j*, which is the characteristic of that tense. Thus from יִצְחָק jits-chăk, *he laughs*, יַעֲקֹב ja'ăkob, *he trips up*, יוֹסֵף joseph, *he adds*, יִפְתַּח jiphtăch, *he opens*, are derived the names יִצְחָק Jits-chāk, *Isaac*, יַעֲקֹב Ja'ăkob, *Jacob*, יוֹסֵף *Joseph*, יִפְתָּח Jiphtāch, *Jephthah*. The roots of these names are therefore צחק ts-ch-k, עקב ʿ-k-b, וסף v-s-p, פתח p-t-ch. The form יהוה must almost of necessity be formed in analogy to these. In that case its root is הוה h-v-h, which appears in many grammatical forms as identical with היה h-j-h *to be*. It is therefore one of the large class of roots called ל״ה, or having ה as third radical. The derivatives of these roots are formed with extreme uniformity, and both the imperfect tense and the derived nouns and adjectives take the vowel *ĕ* in the last syllable; thus we must have יהוֶה J-h-vĕh. The second letter of the word, ה, if I am right in treating it as an analogous form to יִצְחָק Jitschak, &c., must be without a vowel; thus we get יְהוֶה J-hvĕh. The only point

now left open is what vowel the first syllable has. Following the analogy of יִצְחָק Jitschak, we should say יִהְוֶה Jihveh; but a guttural letter (like the ה) at the end of a syllable almost always takes the vowel *ă* before it in preference to any other, as in יַעֲקֹב Ja'ăkob; and hence we obtain יַהְוֶה Jahveh. There are indeed other slightly differing possible formations:

1. יַהֲוֶה Jahăveh and יֶהֱוֶה Jehĕveh, possible because a guttural (like the ה) is peculiarly liable to take a very slight (or half) vowel instead of no vowel at all. But as the root היה h-j-h, with which our root הוה h-v-h is always assumed to be connected, treats its ה as a hard consonant and not as a guttural, and therefore makes יִהְיֶה jihjeh, not יַהֲיֶה jahăjeh or יֶהֱיֶה jehĕjeh, and as חיה ch-j-h, which closely follows the conjugation of היה, also forms יִחְיֶה jichjeh, יִהְוֶה J-hveh is far more probable than יַהֲוֶה J-hăveh or יֶהֱוֶה J-hĕvĕh.

2. From the imperfect (future) of the verb היה h-j-h being יִהְיֶה jihjeh (with *i* in the first syllable, notwithstanding the following guttural), the form יִהְוֶה Jihvĕh would be expected. It should however be remembered that the vowel of the first syllable of the imperfect is not fixed but very variable, even when a guttural follows: thus we have יֶחֱזַק jechĕzak, but יַחֲלֹם jachălom; יֶהְגֶּה jehgeh, but יַהֲפֹךְ jahăphoch. Still, the prefix of the imperfect of the verb and that of the derived noun is certainly generally if not always the same. On this head, therefore, we have some argument in favour of יִהְוֶה Jihveh as against יַהְוֶה Jahveh. Taken by itself, this would lend probability to the former; but it is not of sufficient force to disprove the latter against other and stronger evidence: below, *b.*) and *c.*). See however § 9.

b.) But the Divine name, besides standing alone as a distinct word, also enters into composition with other words to form men's names, like *Apollo* in the Greek *Apollodorus*. It occurs both as a prefix and as an affix. As a prefix it assumes the form יְהוֹ Jĕho, contracted in later times into יוֹ Jo: יְהוֹנָתָן Jehonathan, יוֹנָתָן Jonathan, יְהוֹשָׁפָט Jehoshaphat (Joshaphat), יְהוֹיָקִים Jehojakim (Jojakim). As an affix it is originally יָהוֹ Jahu, but contracted almost ad libitum into יָה, and even ־ִי: יִרְמְיָהוּ Jirmĕjahu, יִרְמְיָה Jirmĕjah (Jeremiah); and similarly אֵלִיָּהוּ 'Elijjahu, 'Elijjah; מִיכָיָהוּ Michajahu, or מִיכָיְהוּ Michajĕhu, מִיכָיָה Michajah, and even מִיכָה Michah; עֹבַדְיָהוּ 'Obadjahu ('Obadiah), otherwise pronounced עַבְדִּיָּה 'Abdijjah (LXX. Ἀβδίας), עַבְדִּי 'Abdi. One curious instance is יְהוֹיָכִין Jĕhojachin, Jojachin, also called (by inversion of the component parts) יְכָנְיָהוּ Jĕchŏnjahu (Jechŏnjah), and כָּנְיָהוּ Conjahu. Now the form of the name יהוה from which these contractions *Jahu*, *Jah*, *Jĕho*, and *Jō* are most easily deducible, is יַהְוֶה Jahveh. By an apocope of the final vowel usual in verbs whose third radical is ה, the full form יַהְוֶה Jahveh would at the end contract with perfect regularity into יָהוּ Jahu.[1] At the beginning, on the other hand, the vowel *a* must be shortened into *ĕ* and produce the form יְהוֹ Jĕho.[2] The form יִהְוֶה Jihveh could not easily yield the affixed form יָהוּ Jahu.

[1] Compare וַיִּשְׁתָּהוּ from וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה.

[2] As זָכַר zachar, at the beginning of זְכַרְיָהוּ Zĕcharjahu; נָתַן nathan, at the beginning of נְתַנְיָהוּ Nĕthanjahu.

c.) But the name itself, when standing alone, is liable to abbreviation into the form יָהּ Jah, which, fortunately for us, was not treated as too sacred for utterance, and therefore has its own vowel preserved. It occurs not unfrequently, especially in the later Psalms. It is scarcely explicable from any other form of name than יַהְוֶה Jahveh, but from that it is seen to be a not unnatural contraction; especially when the use of the word as an affix in the abbreviated form יָהוּ Jahu and יָהּ Jah is considered. This form pleads strongly for *a* as the vowel of the first syllable of יהוה.

§ 7. Thus we are led by various lines of argument to regard the form יַהְוֶה Jahveh as the most probable. But to bring the issue within as narrow limits as possible, I must say a few words as to the forms that are *not* possible.

a.) The last syllable cannot be ־ָה ah. This termination is confined to feminine nouns and adjectives. To סוּס sūs *horse* corresponds סוּסָה sūsah *mare*. The masculine nouns or adjectives derived from ל״ה (whose third radical is ה) described above (§ 6. *a*) as always ending in ־ֶה ĕh, form their feminines by exchanging this ־ֶה ĕh for ־ָה āh: thus we have *m.* קָצֶה katsĕh, *f.* קָצָה katsāh; [הָרֶה] *f.* הָרָה harāh; *m.* מוֹרֶה mōrĕh, *f.* מוֹרָה mōrāh. The termination ־ָה āh is therefore strictly reserved for feminines, whether the ה h be radical or not.[1] It may, I think, be fearlessly asserted that the highest name of the special God and Protector of Israel could not have a feminine form.[2] He is *a priori* more likely to be designated by an epithet—the Eternal, Brilliant, Mighty, Father, King, or something of that nature, which must be masculine, than by a figure—Heaven, Light, Lion, Eagle, &c., which alone could be feminine.

b.) It is difficult to imagine any mode of formation which would give

[1] מוֹרָה mōrāh, *razor*, is indeed used as masc., but (unless an incorrect mode of writing מוֹרָא, or something else) must surely be properly fem. The nouns in ת, like קֶשֶׁת kĕshĕth, נְחֹשֶׁת nĕchoshĕth, which sometimes pass into the masc. gender, are not to the point, since the final ת becomes so welded to the root as even to be treated like a radical letter, and therefore lose its power of expressing an accident (the fem. gender). There are many masc. proper names in ־ָה, a list of which is given by Mr. F. Chance in the *Athenæum*, No. 2119 (1868) p. 796; but they fall chiefly under the following heads:

1. Compound names, in which the second element *happens* to be fem.: Aholibamah, properly אָהֳלִי בָמָה Ŏhŏli bamah = 'My tent a high place.'

2. Names clearly descriptive, where the noun used *happens* to be fem.: as יוֹנָה Jonah = 'dove.' A Roman noble family had the name *Asina* (not *Asinus*).

3. Names in which the ־ָה ah is a contraction of the affixed יָהוּ jahu, יָהּ jah, as יִמְרָה Jimrah for יִמְרָיָה Jimrejah, (like מִיכָה Michah for מִיכָיָה Michajah, see § 6. *b*).

4. Names of foreigners, Edomites, and others, which are not properly Hebrew at all.

5. Names in which the form in ־ָה ah is only a shortened or secondary one: thus בִּלְגָה Bilgah and עֵיפָה Ephah stand respectively for בִּלְגַי Bilgai and עֵיפַי Ephai, which also occur.

6. Names which belong more properly to nations than to individuals, and therefore are regularly fem. יְהוּדָה Jehudah, Judah, is of this class; see next note but one.

[2] I am glad to have for this the authority of J. Buxtorf the younger, who said, 'Haud esse conveniens majestati divinæ ut nomen ipsius in terminationem exeat fœmininam.'—*De Nom. Dei*, § 20, rat. 1.

to the second letter ה *h* a vowel. None, certainly, from the root הוה. And although from a root יהו jhv (were the existence of such a root to be assumed) an adjective יְהוֹ jaho might be regularly formed, yet the final ה would appear only in its feminine יְהוָה; but we have seen reason to reject all purely feminine forms (§ 7. *a*). There remains one possibility, which Mr. F. Chance appears inclined to seize. Supposing there be a root יוה jvh, a derivative verb of causative force (called *Hiphil*) might be formed from it, of which the imperfect (future) would be properly יֹוֶה joveh, but might be expanded into יְהוֶה jĕhoveh; from this tense the Divine name might be *Jehoveh*, or (as he contends) *Jehovah*. To this the most generally intelligible objection is that both reason and the ancient belief of the Hebrews (Ex. iii.) sanction the derivation from הוה=היה and the meaning of the *Existing*, *Eternal*, than which we could find nothing more natural or satisfactory; that, resting satisfied in this, we feel no temptation to relinquish this firm basis of fact for a hypothetical root and a very questionable mode of formation from it, with no well-grounded signification as the result of the process.[1]

§ 8. The form *Jehovah*, therefore, must be treated as impossible. It plainly arose through oblivion of the proper vowels to be attached to the consonants יהוה, and a belief thence arising that the vowel-points attached to the word really belonged to it. That the Jews, who never ceased to use their Scriptures in Hebrew, could have fallen into this oblivion, or rather this gross ignorance of the meaning of the mode of writing the Supreme Name, is not credible. It is the Christians who made the confusion, from ignorance of the Jewish devices of writing. But the name JEHOVAH, so written and pronounced, is not so old as would probably be supposed. It was probably first so written in Roman characters and the corresponding pronunciation suggested, though hardly sanctioned,[2] by Petrus Columna Galatinus, in his *Opus*

[1] The imperfect (future) Hiphil of יוה would be יֹוֶה joveh, not יְהוֶה jĕhoveh. The latter form, which retains the original ה of the prefix uncontracted with the י, only appears in the latest forms of Hebrew and in Chaldee; so much so indeed as to afford one of the best criteria for deciding the date of a book or a passage. The name derived from it in the early age should therefore be יֹוֶה Joveh, and only in much later times would יְהוֶה Jĕhoveh, naturally appear. Yet what is the fact? יֹוֶה never appeared in any age whatever, but only יהוה. Moreover, when a contraction of this form was adopted, it was not the ה, but the final וה, that was thrown out, leaving יָהּ Jah (with the *guttural* ה at the end). But this shows the importance of the letter ה to the word, and forces us to regard it as a radical, not a prefix. Mr. Chance adduces as a parallel formation the word יְהוּדָה Jĕhudah, afterwards contracted into יוּדָה Judah, which is usually (and with Biblical authority, Gen. xlix. 8) derived from the root ידה, Hoph. perf. הוּדָה, imperf. יוּדֶה, or expanded יְהוּדֶה, with the passive sense given by the Hophal, *the Praised*. But is either of these words sufficiently certain in its etymology to add any strength to the other? Certainly יְהוָה cannot confirm יְהוּדָה, because all independent evidence goes to prove that there is no יְהוָה, but יַהְוֶה, or something similar. And the vaguely eulogistic sense assigned to the name יְהוּדָה forces me to regard the Biblical etymologist here with more than usual suspicion. I might moreover adduce the Chaldee form יְהוּד as pointing to a Hebrew יְהוּד, fem. יְהוּדָה, which would come from a root יהד, not ידה.

[2] 'Sed sic omnino debet et scribi et pronunciari (si tamen pronunciandum est),'

de arcanis catholicæ veritatis, in A.D. 1516.[1] Thence it has passed into ordinary use in English and other modern languages. Yet, as it is studiously avoided in our Bibles (except of course in Ex. vi. 3, where it is essential), rarely heard in prayers, and indeed in general has by no means become familiar and naturalised, it seems possible to restore even now the true name of the God of the Hebrews in writing their history.

§ 9. But we are not left to discover the derivation of יהוה from the root הוה for ourselves. The writer of Ex. iii. 14 himself gives us the etymology as he understands it, ascribing to the root the idea of *becoming*, *being*, and identifying it with היה: 'And God said to Moses I am *he who is*;[2] and he said, Thus shalt thou say to the sons of Israel: *He who is* has sent me to you'—he who is, i.e. the (ever) Existing, the Eternal. Many, if not most, of the etymological explanations of names in the Old Testament are against the rules of language,[3] or otherwise forced and absurd;[4] and we are therefore not bound to accept this. Ewald suggests something different in *History of Israel* i. p. 580 [2d ed.

Génébrard, the Benedictine Archbishop of Aix, a noted Hebraist of the middle of the sixteenth century, observes on the passage where Diodorus mentions the Jewish god, Jao: 'Conatus est exprimere tetragrammatum, sed satis incommode. Nam literæ quidem ad hunc sonum [Jao] inflecti possunt, ut *ad illum quem hodie multi novitatis cupidi efferunt, Java* vel *Jehova*, verum aliena, imo vero irreligiosa, imperita, nova et barbara pronunciatione, ut contra Calvinianos et Bezanos multis locis docuimus.' 'Jehovah' therefore was the form adopted by innovators, and was a 'foreign, nay even irreligious, ignorant, new, and barbarous pronunciation;' and the Apostles and the ancients generally, he says further, would not have even known what the word meant. He attributes this innovation to Sanctes Pagninus (born 1466), 'qui vocem peregrinam Jehova primus confinxit ac irreligiosa profanaque novitate novatores istos [apparently the Calvinists] imbuit.' I do not, however, find anything in his treatment of the Name in his 'Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ' 1529, to substantiate this charge. Génébrard himself says that 'either the true pronunciation is lost . . . or it is *Ihvé* or *Jahvé*.' J. Drusius decides for *Jahavé*, contracted later into *Jave* (Ἰαβέ).

[1] Mr. Chance (l. c.), indeed, objects to this: 'If the form Jehovah originated with a Christian only 300 years ago, how is it that the Jewish tradition is in favour of this form, as I am assured it is by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, a Jewish Rabbi, and teacher of Rabbinical and Talmudical Hebrew to the University of Cambridge?' In No. 2123, however, Mr. Chance speaks of the Jews as 'being forbidden to pronounce, and, according to the Talmud, even to think of the name *Jhvh*,' which sounds inconsistent with a strong opinion how to pronounce it. As to the assertion concerning Jewish tradition, it runs so counter to the statements of the weightiest authorities on the subject, that I can only suppose some misunderstanding between Mr. Chance and his Rabbi, and at any rate cannot confide in it till supported by some tangible evidence.

[2] אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה, literally 'I am he who *am*,' the first person in the relative clause being occasioned by the fact that its subject, the relative pronoun, refers back to a first person pronoun, as in Ex. xx. 2; see Knobel on Ex. iii. 14. To render it quite clear that this sentence is the definition of his nature, Jahveh then quotes from it, and says (still retaining the first person in speaking of himself), 'אֶהְיֶה (*he who is*) has sent me to you.' The LXX. understand this quite correctly: Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν. . . . Ὁ ὢν ἀπέσταλκέ με πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

[3] E.g. that of Moses in Ex. ii. 10, as '*drawn out* of the water,' which would require a passive form; whereas מֹשֶׁה (if it be Hebrew at all, and from the root משׁה) is the active participle, and might mean *the drawer-out, deliverer* (out of Egypt).

[4] E.g. that of Samuel in 1 Sam. i. 20: as if שְׁמוּאֵל were שְׁמוּעֵ־אֵל *exauditus a Deo*; those of Jacob's sons in Gen. xxix, xxx, &c.

ii. p. 157] note 3. But the difference of opinion that can legitimately exist affects the meaning to be ascribed to the root rather than the mode of formation from it. Of this at least the Biblical etymologist has a perfectly correct apprehension, and it is difficult to imagine a Hebrew misconceiving so very obvious and ordinary a formation.

The original interpretation in Exodus is given again in Rev. i. 4: *χάρις ὑμῖν . . . ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*; ib. 8: *ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. p. 666, Oxon.), again, says that the mystic name is *Ἰαού*, 'which is interpreted who is and who will be;' and Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.* 20) calls *Ἰαβέ* 'he who was and is and always is; as he interprets it to Moses, "thou shalt say to them, *He who is* sent me;"' Theodoret (*Quæst.* 15 *in Exod.*) also interprets Ἰα. (יָהּ) 'the Lord, or him *who is*.' In other words, the idea of Being is in this name to be understood without limitation of time. This is characteristic of the imperfect tense from which it is derived; and similarly Isaac יִצְחָק, the Laughing, Cheerful, is not he who once laughed or once laughs, but he who 'was and is and will be' laughing. In the Divine name, therefore, the idea of Being becomes intensified into that of Eternity. This fact, which the Greek interpreters had expressed by the use of the three tenses, past, present, and future, has given rise among the Jews to the notion that the very word יהוה has been put together out of the three tenses: הָיָה *he was*, הוֶֹה *he is*, יִהְיֶה *he will be*. As a philological idea this is beneath criticism. Languages are not so formed, nor are words the senseless agglomerations of letters requisite in a memoria technica. Still, they herein taught a truth, and an old traditional one, though by illegitimate devices.

But though the derivation from the root הוה *to be*, be established, yet there is at least one other mode of derivation, and one other sense, which ought also to be considered. To every verb in Hebrew a derivative having a causative sense is possible. Thus from הוה we might have the causative (Hiphil), perf. הִהְוָה hihveh, imperf. יַהְוֶה jahveh. From the latter a name of identical sound might be formed, the meaning of which would be 'he who causes to be, creates,' i.e. not the Creator as one who *once* created the world, but as constantly creating, moulding, new-forming. If we may adopt this explanation, the difficulty about the vowel of the first syllable, which was felt at § 6. *a.* 2, disappears. We obtain an epithet for God which has probably existed in all times and countries, and to which the Hebrews attached especial importance. If we may extend the idea of this constant creating so as to include the moulding, fashioning, or educating Israel to be his son, of which the later Isaiah so often and so eloquently speaks, the name may even seem to be taken by the Hebrews' God with special appositeness at this moment; since this was the time when that relation of father and son commenced, and was ratified by the Covenant at Mount Sinai. This derivation and signification are suggested by Gesenius, and preferred to the other by Fürst and Lagarde. I should be glad on grammatical grounds to agree with them, but it is to me impossible so

completely to set aside the testimony of antiquity, and the belief of every writer from the author of Exodus to the Fathers of the fifth century, that the mystic name denoted the *Existing*. And moreover the Hebrews attached a higher, more solemn meaning to eternal existence than to creative energy. In Rev. i. 8, God is called 'the Alpha and the Omega,' 'the beginning and the end,' 'he who is, and who was, and who is coming'—three epithets signifying eternity, which are followed by one only 'the almighty' indicating power. I believe, therefore, that we must still regard יְהוָה as derived from יְהוָה the original (or *Kal*) verb, and not from its derivative causative (or Hiphil) יְהוָה.

§ 10. It would be of course of the highest importance to obtain direct historical testimony to the pronunciation of the Name. But there are obvious reasons why historical testimony of the highest authority is here impossible. From the date of the Septuagint at all events the name was not pronounced, but the term 'the Lord' was substituted. The question how to speak an unspeakable word could not even arise. The only exception to the disuse of the name would seem to be found in the tradition that once a year on the day of Atonement, in the Holy of Holies, the High Priest did call God by his sacred name, and that its true pronunciation was for this purpose transmitted from one High Priest to another, but without divulgation to others. It is therefore useless to look to Hebrew writers for information, and Josephus gives no hint. Diodorus, however (50 B.C.), mentions (i. 94) the God called Ἰαῶ as giving laws to the Jews through Moses. Christian writers, however, of the first four or five centuries, give evidence which is worth considering, and has some intrinsic value. Irenæus (born about 120 A.D.) is perhaps the earliest. He (*Adv. Hær.* i. 4) gives the form Ἰαώ as used by the Gnostics. Clement of Alexandria (died 217 A.D.) has this curious passage (*Strom.* v. p. 666, Oxon.): 'But there is also that four-lettered mystic name, which was bound round those to whom alone the ἄδυτον was accessible; it is called Ἰαού, which is interpreted "He who is and who will be."' Epiphanius (lived 310–403) mentions (*Adv. Hær.* 20) among the names of God, Ἰά [יָהּ] as meaning Κύριος, and Ἰαβέ as meaning ὃς ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἀεὶ ὤν, to which he adds, as if to ensure our identifying this with יהוה in Ex. vi. 3, 'as he interprets it to Moses, &c.' Theodoret (lived 387–458 A.D.) says in his commentary on the passage in Exodus, 'It is written by the four letters, and is therefore called τετράγραμμον. The Samaritans call it Ἰαβέ, but the Jews Ἀϊά [for which we must read with another MS. Ἰά, Heb. יָהּ].' That Theodoret read Hebrew is shown by many passages besides this: on Ps. cx. he says of *Hallelujah*, 'For ἀλληλού means αἰνεῖτε, and Ἰα, Κύριον ἢ τὸν ὄντα.' It is remarkable that he is not satisfied with the explanation Κύριον, as a reader of the LXX. would be, but adds ἢ τὸν ὄντα. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 9) speaks of Sanchoniathon as having received information from a priest of Ἰενώ. The *Breviarium in Psalterium* on Ps. viii, falsely ascribed to St. Jerome, says the name 'may be read IAHO;' but this evidence is worthless, partly because the book is spurious, and partly

because of the vague language (*legi potest* IAHO), which indicates doubt or indifference in the writer.

Among these writers we easily detect the later very common abbreviation יָהּ, which is ascribed by Theodoret specially to the Jews, while he attributes Ἰαβέ (יַהְוֶה) to the Samaritans. Epiphanius, however, gives us both forms, and without distinction of nationality; indeed by saying that Ἰαβέ was the word explained to Moses by God himself, he shows it to be in his judgment the original Hebrew name. And we may well believe that when the abbreviation Jah had become popular with the Jews (to whom it was not, like יהוה, an ἄῤῥητον), the form יַהְוֶה might remain with the Samaritans, and thus account for Theodoret's distinction. These two most explicit statements strikingly corroborate our own independent conclusions. Clement's form Ἰαού exactly agrees with the abbreviated form of יָהוּ, which is found as a prefix to proper names. Lastly, the form Ἰαώ or Jaho, may represent this same abbreviation, or like Sanchoniathon's Ἰενώ (יְהוֹה *Jehvoh*) it may be a foreign pronunciation; let it be observed that it is attributed to the Gnostics and Phenicians. None of these forms seem to lend themselves in the slightest degree to the confirmation of 'Jehovah.'

§ 11. If it be urged that, according to my own showing, the pronunciation *Jahveh* is only the most probable, but by no means certain as to both its syllables, we may admit the fact, but retort that, whatever be right, *Jehovah* is certainly wrong in fact and produced through ignorance only; since it adopts the vowels which were never intended for that word at all; whereas on the other hand *Jahveh* must be either exactly or very nearly correct. The difference of sound between the forms *Jahveh*, *Jahăveh*, *Jehveh*, *Jehĕveh*, *Jihveh*, is extremely slight: but between *Jehōvah* (with the long vowel after the *h*) on the one hand, and those five forms (where the *h* has either no vowel or else the very shortest possible) on the other, there is all the difference in the world; and any one who is convinced that the first is impossible, does better to risk any of the five latter, than to let the first stand.[1]

§ 12. In English the name is best written *Jahveh*. The *j* ought in this, as in all Biblical names, properly to be pronounced *y*. With wonderful inconsistency this is understood in the one word *Hallelu-Jah*, but ignored in all others, Jesus, Jacob, Joseph, &c. The first *h*

[1] So in Latin, if we could not be sure whether the plural of *liber* was *libĕri* or *libri*, it would surely be better to take either of these than to say *libēri*. So Reland (*Decas Exercitt.* preface) was convinced of the barbarism of the form *Jehovah*, and through doubt of the true pronunciation adopted in reading its substitute *Adonai*, and observes, 'At qua specie, precor, nova illa lectio [Adonai] dici potest, quæ semper in ecclesia Christiana usitata fuit, quam Christus ipse, quam Apostoli (qui nulla nomina hominibus propria in sermonibus suis et scriptis mutare solent, et hoc tamen Deo soli proprium nomen, יהוה, nunquam *Jehova*, quod potuissent, et jure quis ab iis expectasset, sed per Κύριον, i. e. אדני efferre consueverunt), quam sacri Codicis interpretes, aliique scriptores ad unum omnes secuti sunt, donec vix duobus abhinc sæculis nonnulli et sibi et aliis persuadere conati sunt, puncta vocalia, quæ ipsi Judæi (quorum maxime intererat hoc depositum cœleste tueri et de eo gloriari) aliunde esse desumta uno ore clamant, esse vera puncta nominis יהוה, contra omnes omnino rationes grammaticas?'

should be slightly aspirated. The final *h* is silent as in all Hebrew words (not specially marked out to be aspirated), such as *Manasseh*, *Mizpeh*, *Hannah*. In *Jahveism*, *Jahveist* (which latter ought to be used instead of *Jehovist*), the final *h* should be dropped, since the ה *h* is silent in Hebrew only at the end of the word, and is therefore omitted when another syllable is appended, which brings the ה into the middle of the word. In English also, if we wrote *Jahvehism*, there would be a strong temptation to pronounce it Jahve-*hism*, which is barbarous.

§ 13. It ought to be remarked that the pronunciation of the word by modern readers and speakers cannot be regulated entirely by a conviction of what is right. All classical scholars know that the Latin *j* is properly *y*, yet how few have the courage to innovate so far as to speak *Yupiter* instead of *Jupiter*! The pronunciation *Jehovah* has gained a hold among modern nations through the very free use made of it by paraphrasers of Scripture and poets, which it never would have had from the Bible, where 'the LORD' takes its place. Whether to retain 'Jehovah' as too firmly established to be uprooted, or to substitute 'Jahveh' as the correcter pronunciation, must be left to taste and good sense. Ewald does the latter, and undoubtedly wishes his readers to follow him; but those who read him can of course read 'Jahveh' as 'Jehovah' if the change is distasteful to them, or if they are not convinced by the arguments I have here brought forward.

§ 14. As the old Jewish substitute for the sacred Name has been adopted in our Bibles as *the Lord*, it is desirable to note here the injury that is done by that practice, and the importance of restoring the real Name. Jahveh is a *proper* name, and as strictly the personal name of the Hebrew God, as Jupiter, Mars or Saturn, of the Roman deities. This makes the *point* of all the passages where it is used at all emphatically, as especially frequently in the later Isaiah, e.g. Is. li. 13, 'and forgettest JAHVEH thy [Israel's] maker;' 15, 'I am JAHVEH thy God' [= Israel's special God and protector]; xlix. 23, 'that thou mayst know that I am JAHVEH' [= that I who now address thee am thine own God and protector]. And in Ps. cxliv. 15, we have אַשְׁרֵי הָעָם שֶׁיְּהוָה אֱלֹהָיו, 'Blessed is the people whose God is Jahveh,' but the Greek and Latin versions, *μακάριος ὁ λαὸς οὗ κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ*, *Beatus populus, cujus Dominus Deus ejus*, at least look as if the substitution of the title for the name had produced an entire misapprehension, since the natural rendering (at least of the Latin) would be 'Blessed is the people whose Lord is its God,' i. e. which is ruled theocratically, by a divine and not a human sovereign. A mere title, *Lord*, carries no individuality with it, as it might be (and was) equally applied to many other beings, Divine and human; and it must therefore entail frequent confusion. Perhaps the best instance of this is the use of *κύριος* in the New Testament Epistles, where it is constantly ambiguous whether God or Christ is meant. So long as we retain THE LORD in the Old Testament, we cannot fully enter into the spirit of the Jahveistic religion, which contrasts JAHVEH with the heathen

gods, regarding him and them alike as actual or possible divine persons, having their distinctive personal names like men, glorying in Jahveh's power and goodness, and scorning the weakness and folly of the heathen's gods. Moreover, the phrase *the Lord God* leaves quite a false impression—the title and the name having changed places; for *God* is the epithet attached to the previous word, as is obvious when we restore *Jahveh the God*, or *God Jahveh*.

§ 15. I have here endeavoured to make the main points of the argument intelligible to readers who have no knowledge of Hebrew. Those who have some knowledge of the language, and desire a fuller exposition of the subject, should refer to the article יהוה in Gesenius' great *Thesaurus*, which is an almost exhaustive treatise, and has supplied me (as it must supply anyone who now writes on the subject) with all the chief data. Shorter articles on the same subject are contained in Gesenius' *Lexicon*, in Fürst's *Lexicon*, translated by Davidson, in Gussetius' *Lexicon*, 1743 (who contends for יְהֹוָה or יִהְוָה); also in Winer's *Real-Encyklopädie*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (by Wright); in Ewald's *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. 199, 291, xi. 213. Among older writers Reland's *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehovah*, Utrecht 1707, 8vo., containing five treatises against the pronunciation *Jehovah* (by J. Drusius, S. Amama, L. Cappellus, J. Buxtorf and J. Alting), and five for it (by N. Fuller, T. Gataker, and J. Leusden, who writes three), is the most important.

INDEX.

Aaron, ii. 36, 59, 177–85, 225; his rod or sceptre, ii. 180
Abaris (Avaris), city, i. 391, 393 sq., 395, ii. 11 sq., 85
Abdias' Ten Books of Apostolic History, i. 60
Abdon, ii. 364, 366
Abel, town, ii. 302
Abimelech, son of Gideon, ii. 342 sq., 389 sq.
Aborigines of Palestine, i. 224–32
Abraham, i. 292, 297 sq. 300 sq., 305, 306–37; his name, i. 324
Achan and Achor, ii. 249
Ages of the world, four, i. 257 sqq.; the first two, i. 261–77; the third, i. 288 sqq.
Ahiah and Ahimelech, ii. 415
Ai, its conquest and destruction, ii. 248 sqq.
Ain, town, ii. 294
Ajalon, place, ii. 251
Altar-fire, ii. 179 sq.
Amalek, people of, i. 108 sqq., 248–54, 396 sq., ii. 43 sq.; a place, i. 250
Amenophis, king, ii. 83 sqq.
Ammon, people of, i. 312, 422 sq., ii. 204, 207, 295, 339 sq., 393 sq.
Amorites, i. 72, 230, 233 sq., ii. 204–207, 427
Anak, sons of, i. 228 sq., ii. 284
Anathoth, town, ii. 310 *note*
Ancestors, the first and the second groups of ten. See *Forefathers*
Ancient nations, their peculiarities, i. 2 sq.
Annals of the kingdom. See *State-Annals*
Anonymous character of the historical books, i. 56–61
Arabian tradition, i. 20, 33
Arabs and Arabian nations, i. 286, 326
Arad, a place, ii. 190, 286
Arameans, i. 311, 384, ii. 302, 318 sq.
Argob, district, ii. 299
Aristotle, i. 203
Ark of the Covenant, ii. 8; its fortunes, ii. 413–18
Ar-Moab, ii. 295
Army, ii. 275 sq.
Aroer, town, ii. 394 *note* 1
Arphaxad, i. 264, 282 sqq.
Artapanus, ii. 89 sq.
Ashdod, Philistine town, ii. 339
Asher, tribe of, ii. 291 sq.
Ashteroth-karnaim, town, ii. 295
Askelon, Askelonians, i. 249
Ass, for riding, ii. 242, 389; image of, in the Temple, ii. 87
Avaris. See *Abaris*
Avvim or Avvites, people, i. 230 sq., 242

Baal-berith, god, ii. 342 sq., 381
Balaam, ii. 213–16
Balak, ii. 215 sq.
Barak, ii. 375 sqq.
Bashan, land, ii. 295, 301
Bedan, judge, ii. 364
Beer, place, ii. 203 sq., 209, 390
Beer-lahai-roi, place, i. 305
Beersheba, place, *i. 305*
Benjamin, tribe of, ii. 281–83; left-handed Benjamites, ii. 375
Bethel, place, i. 304, 306, 353, 359, ii. 413 sq.
Beth-jesimoth, place, ii. 210
Beth-shean (Scythopolis), city, ii. 331
Bezek, town, ii. 284
B'ne Kedem (Saracens), i. 253, 314 sq., ii. 213 sq.
Bocchoris, king, ii. 86
Book of Covenants, i. 69–74, ii. 391
Book of Origins, i. 74–96, 213, ii. 26–28, 233, 257 sq.; the great Book of Origins, i. 61–132
Byblus, city. See *Gebal*

Cain, Cainan, i. 264 sq.
Caleb, ii. 285 sq.
Calf, golden, ii. 183
Canaan, conquest of, ii. 239–43; division among the conquerors, ii. 255–61
Canaanites, i. 232–42; in the narrower sense, i. 236 sq., 244; their new rising, ii. 415 sq.
Caphtor, country, i. 245 sq.

CAR

Carians, i. 248
Census of the people, ii. 195-97, 274-76
Cepheus, king, ii. 90
Cerethites. See *Crete*
Chæremon, ii. 85 sq.
Chaldeans, i. 282 sq., 311, 335 sq.
Chalil, el, i. 335
Charrae, in Mesopotamia. See *Harran*
Chemosh, god of the Moabites, ii. 206
Child and parent, i. 338–40
Chittim or Chittites, people, i. 110
Chronicles, Books of, i. 169–97; their sources, i. 183 sqq.
Chronicon Samaritanum, ii. 227, 267 sq., 372, 411
Chronology of the early history, i. 204–13; of the ten Forefathers before and the ten after the Deluge, i. 274–77; of the Great Patriarchs, i. 324 sq., 400 sq., 417; of the residence in Egypt, i. 392, 397–404, ii. 11 sq., 83 sq.; of the wanderings in the Desert, ii. 185–88; of Moses, ii. 211; of Joshua, ii. 254 sq.; of the Judges and till Solomon, ii. 367–73
Chushan-rishathaim, king, ii. 318
Circumcision, i. 324
Civic system and the Civic Union, ii. 342–44, 381
Comedy of Errors, i. 346 sq., 350, 354–56
Commandments, the ten. See *Decalogue*
Community of Jahveh, ii. 135–44; its regulations and morals, ii. 151–55; its constitution under Joshua, ii. 258–62
Concubines, as mothers of tribes, i. 374 sq.
Congregation. See *Community of Jahveh*
Coniah. See *Jehoiachin*
Covenant, Ark of the. See *Ark of the Covenant*
Covenant with God, ii. 143 sq.
Covenants, book of. See *Book of Covenants*
Crete, Cerethites and Pelethites, i. 245–49
Cyamon, town, ii. 268

Daberath, Debaria, place, ii. 376
Dagon, god, ii. 332, 415 sq., 417
Damascus, city of, i. 311–13; Aramean kingdom of, ii. 302
Dan, tribe and city, i. 181, ii. 289 sq., 338, 348
Debir, town, ii. 285
Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, i. 293 sq., ii. 375 *note* 2
Deborah, the Judge, ii. 374-79; her Song, ii. 319, 350 sq., 354 sq.
Decalogue, i. 48, 73, ii. 17 sq., 20, 158–64; similar decads of Commandments, ii. 162–68

FOR

Delilah, ii. 407
Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomist, i. 117-32, ii. 30 sq., 234; divisions of the book, i. 120 sqq.; Deuteronomic treatment of the history of the kings, i. 156 sqq.
Dinah, Jacob's daughter, i. 378 sq.
Dreams, sacred, i. 329 sq.

Ebal and Gerizim, mountains, ii. 279
Eden, land of, i. 282
Edom and the Edomites, their history, i. 75, 109 sqq., 344, 348 sq., 353, 368 sq., 375, ii. 200 sq.
Edrei, place, ii. 207, 295
Egypt, Israel's residence in, i. 385–422, ii. 3–15, 34–94; exodus from, ii. 67–76, 97–101, 185–201
Egyptian cavalry, ii. 74 sq.
Egyptian-Hebrew words, ii. 3 sq.
Egyptian plagues, ii. 61–65
Egyptian religion, its contrast to that of Israel, ii. 8 sq., 39 sq., 55 sq., 58
Egyptian vessels and raiment carried off at the Exodus, ii. 65–67
Ehud, judge, ii. 373 sq.
Elath or Elah, place on the sea-coast, ii. 200
Eldad and Medad, ii. 29, 311
Elders of the people, after Joshua, ii. 311–14, 341–44
Eleazar, son of Aaron, ii. 262, 267, 313; his high-priestly family, ii. 409 sq.
Eli, judge, ii. 408–11; his sons, ii. 412 sq.
Eliezer, of Damascus, i. 294
Elim, place, ii. 99
Elon, judge, ii. 366
Elulæus, king of Tyre, i. 110
Emim, people, i. 228
Encampments of the Israelites in the Desert, ii. 67 sqq., 97–101, 191 sqq.
Enoch, Forefather, i. 265 sq., 281
Ephraim and Ephrath, country, i. 382 sq., ii. 276 sq.; tribe, ii. 277–81, 321 sq.
Epic poetry, i. 37
Esau, son of Isaac, i. 234, 300, 344 sq.
Esther, Book of, i. 60, 197 sq.
Etham, place, ii. 68
Eupolemus, the historian, i. 50
Exodus from Egypt, ii. 57, 67–94
Ezekiel, a Jew of Alexandria; his Ἐξαγωγή, ii. 88
Ezra, his memoirs, i. 192
Ezra and Nehemiah, Books of, i. 169, 188–95

Families, family histories, i. 23 sq., 179–81, 195, 210 sq., 362 sqq., 381 sqq.
Forced labour in Egypt, ii. 13–15, 82
Forefathers, the first and the second groups of ten, i. 264 sqq.

FOR

Forty years in the Desert, ii. 185–88
Free cities, ii. 342–44

Gaal, son of Jobel, ii. 343, 358
Gad, tribe, ii. 296 sqq., 324 sq.
Galilee, name, ii. 331
Gath, town, ii. 417
Gaulon (Gôlân), town and district, ii. 295
Gazer. See *Geshur*
Gebal or Byblus, town, ii. 293
Genesis Parva, i. 202
Gerar, district, i. 240, 243, 245, 305
Gergesa, Gergashites, i. 232
Gerizim and Ebal, mountains, ii. 279
Geshur or Gazer, city and principality in the south, i. 231, ii. 328–30
Geshur, principality in the north-east, ii. 302
Gibeah, town; crime there and its chastisement, ii. 352 sq.
Gibeon, town, ii. 251, 415
Gideon, judge, ii. 379–88; his sons, ii. 388–90
Gilead, district, i. 347, 356, ii. 300 sq., 322, 344; in a proverb, ii. 384
Gilgal, town, ii. 244–46, 250, 262, 374
God of the Patriarchs, i. 317–23, 333–35, ii. 37
Gods, names of, their employment, i. 94, 103, 113 sq., 133, 154 sq., 168, 317–23, ii. 37 sq., 122 sq., 155–58, 380
Goshen, land of, i. 406 sq., ii. 6, 12

Hadad, prince of Edom, i. 76, ii. 336
Hagar, i. 293, 315
Ham, son of Noah, i. 238, 240 sq., 279 sqq.
Hamath, on the Orontes, ii. 294
Hanoch. See *Enoch*
Haran, son of Terah, i. 287
Harran (*Haran*) or Charrae, in Mesopotamia, i. 287, 342, 354 sqq.
Hauran, land, ii. 296, 301
Hazor, town, ii. 250, 253, 326
Hebrew historical composition, commencement of, i. 45–53, early history of, i. 61–198; oldest works of, i. 64–74; writing, i. 47–51, 430 sq.
Hebrews, i. 254 sqq., 268 sq.; their derivation, i. 277–87, 284 sq.
Hebron, city, i. 305 sq., ii. 285
Hecataeus of Abdera, i. 203, ii. 91 sqq.
Heroopolis, city, ii. 11–13
Heshbon, city, ii. 205–207, 295, 298
Hierombal, ii. 380
High Priest, ii. 312 sq., 340 sq., series of, in the age of the judges, ii. 369 sq., 409 sq.
Historical composition, Hebrew. See *Hebrew Historical Composition*
History, oldest works of, i. 64–74

JAI

Hittites, i. 235, 238
Hivvites (*Hivites*), i. 237
Hobab (Jethro), ii. 25, 43–46
Holiness, ii. 136–39
Hor, mountain, ii. 201
Horeb, mountain, ii. 43
Horites, i. 226 sq., 237
Horses, ii. 130 sq., 155, 241 sq.
Hur, ii. 25, 29
Hyksôs, i. 389 sqq.
Hypsuranius, i. 233 sq.

Iapetus. See *Japheth*
Ibzan, judge, ii. 366, 388
Ichabod, grandson of Eli, ii. 413
Idolatry in the time of Moses, ii. 181–85; in that of the Judges, ii. 345–49, 388
Idumea. See *Edom*
Image-worship, ii. 124 sqq.
Immortality, ii. 133–35
Isaac, the Patriarch, i. 292 sq., 298, 326, 332 sq., 338–41
Ishmael and Ishmaelites, i. 299, 315 sq., 369
Isiris (Isirios), i. 360 sq.
Israel, the Patriarch, i. 292, 298, 341–62, 358
Israel, as designation of the nation, i. 4 sqq.; preliminary or primeval history of Israel, i. 256 sqq.; its beginnings, i. 381–85; its migration to Egypt, i. 385–407; beginning of its rising in Egypt, ii. 34–41; Israel at Sinai, ii. 101–106; settled in Canaan, ii. 238–41, 255–57
Israel, land of, its boundaries, ii. 303–307
Issachar, tribe, ii. 282, 290–92, 327
Ithamar, his high-priestly family, ii. 409 sq.

Jabin, king, ii. 326
Jacob, the Patriarch (see also *Israel*), i. 305 sq., 341–62; his twelve sons or tribes, i. 362–81; their original composition, i. 371 sqq.
Jadduah, high priest, i. 172
Jael, judge, ii. 365
Jael, wife of Heber, ii. 376 sq.
Jahaz or Jahza, city, ii. 209
Jahveh (*Jehovah*), ii. 37 sq., 155–58; as Deliverer, ii. 110 sq.; as One, ii. 120–23; as incapable of plastic representation, ii. 123–28; as spiritual, ii. 131 sq.; as the constant Saviour, i. 131 sq.; his Name, ii. 155–58 and *Appendix*
Jahveh, Book of the Wars of, i. 66–68
Jahveh, Community of. See *Community*
Jahveism, ii. 113 sq.; its fundamental idea, ii. 98–120; consequences of this fundamental idea, ii. 120–35
Jair, judge, ii. 365 sq., 370, 389
Jair, townships of, i. 378, ii. 296, 299 sq.

JAN

Jannes and Jambres, ii. 99
Japheth (Iapetus), i. 279 sqq.
Japho. See *Joppa*
Jared, Forefather, i. 267
Jasher (the Upright), Book of, i. 74, ii. 235
Jazer, city, ii. 204, 207, 298
Jehoiachin (or Coniah), king, i. 160
Jehovah. See *Jahveh*
Jephthah, judge, ii. 392–95; his daughter, ii. 394 sq.
Jericho, its conquest and destruction, ii. 247–50
Jerubbaal, epithet of Gideon, ii. 380–83
Jerusalem, ii. 77, 81 sqq., 251, 284
Jesus, same as Joshua, ii. 229
Jethro. See *Hobab*
Job, Book of, i. 127
Joktan, i. 286
Joppa or Japho, seaport, ii. 90, 329
Jordan, river and valley, i. 245; Joshua's passage of the, ii. 246 sq., 260
Joseph, the Patriarch, i. 374, 405 sq., 407–21, ii. 3 sqq.; as the first-born of Israel, i. 422
Joseph, tribe, i. 416 sqq., ii. 276–81
Josephus, Flavius, as chronologist, ii. 371
Joshua, son of Nun, his name, ii. 229 sq., 236; his position and his victories, ii. 235–54; as ruler, ii. 258–68; his age, ii. 254 sq., 370; his descendants, ii. 321
Joshua, Book of, i. 63 sqq.; Samaritan Book of, ii. 267 sq.
Journals of the Kingdom. See *State-Annals*
Jubal, son of Lamech, i. 272
Jubilee, year of, as a chronological device, i. 209 sq.
Jubilees, Book of, i. 201 sq., ii. 226
Judah and his tribe, i. 365–67; tribe, ii. 283–87, 316–20
Judges, their origin and significance, ii. 357–63; their age, ii. 269–74; their number and order, ii. 363–67; their chronology, ii. 367–73.
Judges, Book of, i. 133, 161–64

Kadesh, place, ii. 193–95, 201
Ken, Kenites, i. 109 sq., 250 sq., ii. 44–46, 286
Kenath, town, ii. 294, 300
Kenizzites, i. 251 sq., ii. 286
Keturah, Abraham's concubine, i. 314–16
Kings, Books of, i. 133–68
Kirjath-sepher, town, i. 241, ii. 285
Korah's insurrection, ii. 178 sq.
Kronos, i. 361 sq.

Laban, son of Bethuel, i. 346–48
Lamech, Forefather, i. 265–67

MIZ

Law, giving of the, at Sinai, ii. 101–108
Laws, in their earliest form, ii. 158–69
Leah, wife of Jacob, i. 293, 371–77
Legislative spirit, i. 82 sqq.
Lepers and leprosy, ii. 80 sq.
Levi and his tribe, i. 359 sq., 364 sq.; his tribe in Egypt, ii. 36; as a priestly tribe, ii. 141 sq., 261 sq.
Levites, as writers, i. 175–77; cities assigned to them, ii. 308–10; their manners in the age of the Judges, ii. 344–50
Lezo-Majesty (*crimen læsæ majestatis*), ii. 164
Literature in the age of the Judges, ii. 356
Lot, Abraham's nephew, i. 299, 313 sq.
Luz, city, i. 304
Lysimachus, historian, ii. 86

Maacah, place, ii. 302
Machir, tribe, ii. 280
Madian. See *Midian*
Magic and Magicians, ii. 55, 63
Mahalal-el, Forefather, i. 267
Mahanaim (*two camps*), place, i. 305, ii. 296
Manasseh, tribe, i. 382 sq., ii. 280 sq.; beyond the Jordan, ii. 299 sq., 324
Manasseh, Prayer of, book so called, i. 186
Manetho, the chronologist, i. 387 sq., ii. 76–85
Manna, ii. 221 sq.
Manners of the people in the age of the Judges, ii. 350–53
Maon, nation, i. 239 sq.
Marah, place, ii. 99
Marches of Israel out of Egypt, ii. 67–76, 97–101, 185–201
Marginal notes to an ancient document, i. 126
Medad and Eldad, ii. 29
Medeba, place, ii. 206
Melchizedek, king, i. 307–309
Meribah, place, ii. 195
Meribosheth (*Mephibosheth*), Saul's grandson, ii. 380
Methuselah, Forefather, i. 267
Midian (also Madian) and Midianites, i. 315, 369 sq., 417, ii. 42–46, 181, 208, 334–36
Mineans, i. 240
Miracles in Egypt, ii. 81 sqq.; under Moses, ii. 217–24
Miriam (or Mariam), ii. 177 sq., 225
Mishnah, i. 201 sq.
Mizpeh (Mizpah), town beyond the Jordan, i. 347, ii. 393
Mizpeh (Mizpah), town north-west of Jerusalem, ii. 413, 427

MOA

Moab, nation, i. 312 sq.; history, ii. 199, 202–10, 333 sq.
Monuments of ancient history, i. 20 sq.
Monarchy, human, ii. 149 sq., 361, 427–30
Mosaic age, its elevation and its relapses, ii. 169–85; ideas on its grandeur, ii. 216–28
Mosaic Sanctuary, its fortunes, ii. 413–18
Moses, ii. 35 sq.; beginning of his history, ii. 41–46; as prophet, ii. 47–57, 224 sq.; his age, ii. 46, 211; his name, ii. 82, 221; close of his life, ii. 211 sq.; his death, ii. 224; whether he invented writing, i. 50; his staff, ii. 19, 61, 221, 223; Book of the Death of Moses (*Petirath Moshe*), ii. 226
Music of the Prophets, ii. 424 sq.

Nabatheans, i. 314–16
Nahor and Nahoreans, i. 268 sq., 310 sq., 369
Naphtali, tribe, ii. 290 sq.
Nazirite, not *Nazarite*, ii. 396 *note* 1
Nazirites, ii. 396–99, 408
Nehemiah, Book of, i. 169, 193 sq., 196
Nehemiah and Ezra, Books of, i. 169, 188–95
Nehemiah's Memoir, i. 170, 193 sq.
Noah, i. 269 sqq.
Nob, town, ii. 310
Nobah, town, ii. 300

Og, king of Bashan, i. 228–30, ii. 207, 295
Oracle, ii. 347 sq.
Origins, Book of. See *Book of Origins*
Othniel, judge, ii. 285 sq., 317 sq.

Palestine, i. 214–24; earliest inhabitants of, i. 224–32
Paradise, where it was, i. 281 sq.
Paraleipomena. See *Chronicles, Books of*
Paran, desert of, ii. 189
Passover, ii. 262
Patriarchs, the first and the second groups of ten. See *Forefathers*
Patriarchs, the three great (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), i. 288–362; historical character, i. 300 sqq.; their God, i. 317–23, 333–35, ii. 37
Patriarchs, the Twelve, Testaments of. See *Testaments*
Peleg (Paleg), i. 268
Pelethites. See *Crete*
Peniel or Penuel (Phanuel), city, i. 304 sq.
Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, i. 63–132
Perizzites, nation, i. 236
Petirath Moshe, book, ii. 226
Pharaoh, king, ii. 59 sq.

SAR

Philistines, i. 242–49, ii. 338 sq., 415–18, 427–29; their language, i. 244 sq., 247; their disease, ii. 415 sq.
Philo, on the life of Moses, ii. 225
Phinehas, Aaron's grandson, ii. 181, 313
Phinehas, Eli's son, ii. 412
Pillar of cloud and fire, ii. 217–20
Pithom, city, ii. 13
Plagues, ii. 60–62, 415 sq.
Polygamy of a Judge, ii. 388
Popular freedom in Israel, ii. 315 sq.
Priests and Priesthood, ii. 141–43, 178–80
Primitive History, Book of, i. 61; Third Narrator of, i. 97–100; Fourth, i. 100–106; Fifth, i. 106–15
Proper names of ancient men and places, i. 16 sq., 20
Prophets: Moses, ii. 47–57; others, ii. 139 sq., 359 sqq., 423–25; their music, ii. 424 sq.; their schools, ii. 424 sq.
Prophetical treatment of history, i. 96 sqq., 119 sqq., 139 sq., 142 sq., ii. 28 sq.
Prototypes of the nation, i. 288 sqq.
Proverbs, i. 18, ii. 383 sq.

Raamses, king and city, ii. 11 sq., 67–69, 339
Rachel, wife of Jacob, i. 293, 296, 371 sqq., 376 sq.
Raguel (Reuel), ii. 25
Rahab, harlot, ii. 247
Ramah, Ramathaim, city, ii. 421
Rebekah, wife of Isaac, i. 339 sq.
Red Sea, passage of the Israelites through it, ii. 70–76
Rekem, prince, ii. 335, comp. 193
Religion, the true, striving towards perfect realisation, i. 4 sq., ii. 107
Religion of the Patriarchs, and of Israel in Egypt, i. 317–23, ii. 36 sqq.; war of religions in Egypt, ii. 57–94; religion of Israel, ii. 108–68; of Egypt, ii. 8 sq., 39 sq., 55 sq., 58
Rephaim, nation, i. 227–29
Reuben and his tribe, i. 373 sq., 422, ii. 296–98, 324 sq.
Riblah, town, ii. 293 sq.
Rimmon, god and place, ii. 192, 332, 353
Ruth, the Moabitess, i. 153–56

Sacrificial fire, ii. 382
Salah, Forefather, i. 264, 268
Salem, city, i. 307
Samaritan Chronicle. See *Chronicon Samaritanum*
Samson, Nazirite and man of the people, ii. 396–401; the round number of his feats, ii. 401–407
Samuel, the Prophet, ii. 419–30; his sons ii. 429
Saracens. See *B'ne Kedem*

SAR

Sarah, wife of Abraham, i. 292 sq., 324, 327
Schools of Prophets, ii. 424 sq.
Scythopolis. See *Beth-shean*
Seder Olam rabba and zutta, i. 200 sq., 209
Seir, nation, i. 344 sq.
Serpent, brazen, ii. 176 sq.
Seth, son of Adam, i. 264 sq.
Seventy sons of Gideon, ii. 388 sq.
Seventy souls who went with Jacob into Egypt, i. 415 sq.
Shamgar, judge, ii. 317, 374
Shechem or Sichem, city, i. 305 sq., ii. 278 sq., 342 sq., 413
Shechem, Hivvite prince, i. 378
Shem, son of Noah, i. 264, 279 sqq.
Shiloh, city, ii. 260 sq., 277 sq., 353, 412–15
Sihon, king of the Amorites, ii. 205 sq., 209, 295
Simeon, tribe, i. 379, ii. 287–89
Sin, desert of, ii. 99 sq.
Sinai, ii. 43, 97 sq.; journey of Israel thither, ii. 95–101; peninsula of, ii. 196 sq.
Sisera, Canaanite general, ii. 375–77
Sodom, city, i. 104, 242, 313 sq., 330 sq.
Solomon, king of Israel, ii. 32
Songs, i. 17 sq., ii. 21, 203, 205–207, 354–56
Sources of the early history, i. 11–203; of the Mosaic history, ii. 15–34; of the history of Joshua, ii. 229–35
Spirituality of God, ii. 120–23
State-Annals, i. 136–38
Succoth, town, i. 305, 391, ii. 386 sq.

Tabernacle, the holy, ii. 18 sq.; its removal, ii. 413
Tacitus, the historian, ii. 90
Tanis (Zoan), city in Egypt, i. 399, ii. 82
Task-work. See *Forced Labour*
Ten Commandments. See *Decalogue*
Terah, father of Abraham, i. 273, 334
Teraphim (Penates), i. 322, ii. 38

ZOO

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, book so called, i. 200, 380
Theocracy in Israel, ii. 1 sq., 145–151; dissolution of pure theocracy, ii. 269 sqq.
Thermuthis, Egyptian princess, ii. 88
Timnath-serah, town, ii. 267, 277
Tob or Tubin, district, ii. 392
Tola, judge, ii. 366, 370
Tradition, its nature, i. 13–45; its multiplication, i. 16; its sources, i. 14–31; its stages, i. 31–41; its committal to writing, i. 41 sqq.; Arabian tradition, i. 20, 33
Trial of Israel in the desert, ii. 195
Tribes of Israel and their subdivisions, i. 363 sqq., ii. 257 sq.; northern, ii. 290–94, 320–22; beyond the Jordan, ii. 294–303, 323–25; settlement of all the tribes, ii. 306–308; their territories, ii. 274–310
Tubal-Cain, i. 272 sq.
Twelve heads of a community, i. 362 sqq.
Types (prototypes) of the nation, i. 288 sqq.

Unity and spirituality of God, ii. 120–23
Ur of the Chaldees, i. 283 sq.
Usôus, i. 233 sq.
Uz, land, i. 345

Vows, ii. 391 sqq.

Wars of Jahveh, Book of the. See *Jahveh*
Worship of Images, ii. 124 sqq.

Zamzummim, nation, i. 229
Zebulon, tribe, ii. 290, 292
Zin, desert, ii. 193 sq.
Zoan. See *Tanis*
Zoar, city, i. 314
Zoolatry, ii. 58

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